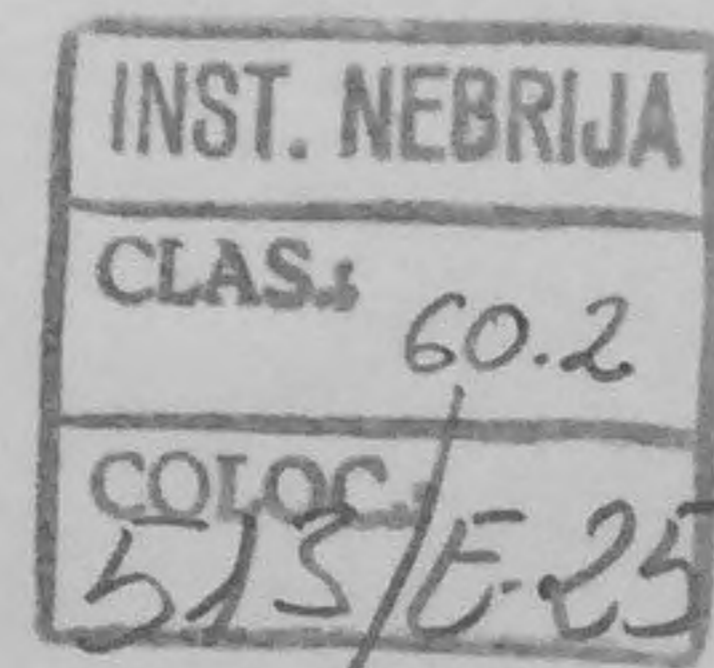


Pow
(A. N.)
(Bidenas)

The Sixteenth Century
Greek Book in Italy

LIBRARY OF THE HELLENIC INSTITUTE OF BYZANTINE
AND POST-BYZANTINE STUDIES - N° 16



EVRO LAYTON

821.14

LAYTONEV sixteen

676443000001

THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY GREEK BOOK IN ITALY

PRINTERS AND PUBLISHERS FOR THE GREEK WORLD



VENICE 1994

Copyright © 1994 by Istituto Ellenico
di Studi Bizantini e Postbizantini di Venezia
and Evro Layton

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

Publication of this book has been aided by a grant
from the A. G. Leventis Foundation

CONTENTS

Acknowledgements	ix
List of Illustrations	xi
Abbreviations	xx
Prolegomena <i>by Nikolaos M. Panayotakis</i>	xxv
Introduction	xxxi

Part One

Types, Illustration, The Books

I Printing Types	3
II Illustration	56
III Liturgical and Other Religious Works	131
IV Texts in Modern Greek	179
Short-Title List of Greek Books for Greek Readers	223
Library Abbreviations	262

Part Two

Editors, Printers, Publishers

Giovanni Aliprandi	267
Ioustinos Dekadios	272
Demetrios Doukas	276
Nathanael Emboros	281
Venediktos Episkopoulos	283
Vettore Fausto	284
Augustin and Antonio Gemelli	286
Ercole Girlandi	290
Francesco Giuliani	291
The Giunti of Florence	297
Emmanouel Glyzounis	303
Bartolomeo Imperatore	316
Zacharias Kallierges	318
Dionysios Katelianos	334
Michael Kontoleon	336
Andreas Kounadis and Damiano di Santa Maria	337

Laonikos of Crete and Alexandros Alexandrou	355
Giacomo Leoncini	358
Theophanes Logaras	369
Gregorios Malaxos	372
Nikolaos Malaxos	376
Aldus Manutius	381
Maximos Margounios	388
Leontios Monghistos	395
Ioannes Nathanael	396
The Nicolini da Sabbio	402
Andronikos Noukios	421
Konstantinos Palaiokapas	424
Nikephoros Parasches	427
Antonio Pinelli, <i>the Elder</i>	429
Domenico de Poloni	433
Francesco Rampazetto	437
Pietro Ravani and Vittore Ravani	441
Melchiorre Sessa	448
Zacharias Skordylis	455
Nikolaos Sophianos	460
Loukas Sougdouris	473
Andrea and Giacomo Spinelli	476
Zuan Battista Tauroceni	483
Hippolitos Valeris	489
Vasileios Valeris	494
Antonios Verghis	500
Symeon Verivelos	506
Georgios Vlastos	508
Ioannis Vonapheus	511
Bartolomeo Zanetti	513
Cristoforo Zanetti	522
Pietro Zanetti	536
Demetrios Zenos	545
Bibliography	553
Index	597
Περίληψη	609

Acknowledgements

This work was researched and compiled over a period of many years. Getting access to a large number of rare books scattered all over Europe, some of which were in inaccessible monastic libraries, involved the help of many scholars. Contributors of specific pieces of information have been thanked in the notes. The acknowledgements that follow are limited to those who supported this project from its inception or who provided sustained help.

First and foremost, I wish to express my gratitude to the former director of the Istituto Ellenico di Studi Bizantini e Postbizantini of Venice, Professor Manousos I. Manousakas, who encouraged me from the very beginning of this project and who proposed that the work be included in the series of monographs published by the Institute. I am also immensely indebted to his successor, Professor Nikolaos Panayotakis, who continued to support and encourage my work, wrote many letters on my behalf, and who provided me with information on the latest research and findings of the scholars working at the Institute.

Over the course of many years, Katharine Pantzer of Harvard's Houghton Library has helped and encouraged me in many ways. I want to thank her especially for taking the time to read the chapter on type and for the suggestions and many discussions we had about fifteenth and sixteenth century printing practices. Many thanks are also due to Eleanor Garvey, also of Houghton, who read the chapter on illustration and provided other assistance during her tenure as head of the Graphic Arts Department. I am also indebted to the staff of the Reading Room at Houghton, especially Susan Halpern, Jennie Rathbun, Emily Walhout and Melanie Wisner.

The staffs of many other libraries aided my research. Special thanks are due to Mrs. Sophie Papageorgiou of the Gennadius Library in Athens, Mr. David Kraus of the Library of Congress and Monsignor Paul Canart of the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana for helping me during my visits and for responding so promptly to my many queries. I also want to thank a friend and fellow bibliographer, Mr. Thomas Papadopoulos, who was always ready to place at my disposal his sixteenth century findings and took the time to recheck some items for me in the National Library of Greece.

Professor Hans Eideneier and Dr. Ulrich Moennig of the University of Cologne generously placed at my disposal their findings and kept me informed of their progress in compiling a catalogue of neohellenic holdings in German libraries (funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft). I am most grateful to them for their help. Mr. Euthymios Litsas of the Patriarchal Institute for Patristic Studies in Thessaloniki helped me acquire information about copies of unique liturgical editions at some of the monastic libraries of Mount Athos and Mr. Agamemnon Tselikas of the National Bank of Greece Cultural Foundation sent me information about some of the unique liturgical editions in the library of the Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem.

I want to thank Leonora Navari for reading the first draft of my book and providing help and encouragement over several years. Professor Mario Vitti has my gratitude for his willingness to help expedite information and microfilm from Italy, and Madame Marie-Josèphe Beaud for

rechecking some items for me at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. Anne Brophy's careful copy editing is also greatly appreciated.

I also wish to acknowledge support from the Bibliographic Society of America, which partially funded a trip to England to work at the British Library, the Bodleian Library, and the libraries of Cambridge University. A grant from the A. G. Leventis Foundation defrayed the cost of the electronic typesetting, which was expertly done by Rich Koch of the Graphic Support Services of the State University of New York at Stony Brook.

This compilation would have taken twice as long were it not for the assistance, support and encouragement I received from my husband Bill and my two children. My son, Alexis, served as technical consultant and programmer, and during his undergraduate years at Harvard performed countless searches for obscure articles in the stacks of Widener Library. My daughter, Daphne, performed the same function at Yale as an undergraduate and at Harvard during her graduate studies. She also helped edit certain sections of the book. My greatest thanks go to my husband B. J. Layton, who encouraged me from the beginning, and whose role in the last two years expanded to almost full-time assistance with editing, entering and formatting text (learning complicated new computer programs to do it), negotiating with electronic type-setters and graphic designers, and generally sharing responsibility with me for completing the project. No words can adequately express my gratitude.

List of Illustrations

1. Manouel Chrysoloras, *Ἑρωτήματα*. Florence, c. 1475?
2. Cicero, *De officiis, Paradoxa*. Mainz, Johann Fust and Peter Schöffer, 1465.
3. Lactantius, *Opera*. Subiaco, Conrad Sweynheym and Arnold Pannartz, 1465.
4. Manouel Chrysoloras, *Erotemata*. Venice, Adam of Ammergau, c. 1471.
5. Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae*. Venice, Nicolas Jenson, 1472.
6. Manouel Chrysoloras, *Ἑρωτήματα*. Vicenza, Giovanni da Reno? c. 1475.
7. C. Lascaris, *Ἐπιτομή τῶν ὀκτὼ τοῦ λόγου μερῶν*. Milan, Dionysius Paravisinus for Demetrios Damilas, 1476.
8. Homer, *Ποίησις ἅπασα*. Florence, Bartolomeo di Libri, 1488.
9. Orpheus, *Ἀργοναυτικά*. Florence, Benedictus Ricardinus for Filippo Giunta, 1500.
10. Theokritos and Hesiod, *Εἰδύλλιον, Ἔργα καὶ ἡμέραι*. Milan, Bonus Accursius, c. 1480.
11. Demetrios Chalcondyles, *Ἑρωτήματα*. Milan, Ulrich Scinzenzeler, c. 1493.
12. Crastonus, *Lexicon Graeco-Latinum*. Vicenza, Dionysius Bertochus, 1483.
13. *Ψαλτήριον*. Venice, Alexandros Alexandrou, 1486.
14. C. Lascaris, *Προοίμιον τοῦ περὶ ὀνόματος καὶ ῥήματος*. Vicenza, Leonardus Achates, c. 1489.
15. Apollonius Rhodius, *Ἀργοναυτικά*. Florence, Laurentius de Alopa for Ianos Lascaris, 1496.
16. Theokritos, *Εἰδύλλια*. Venice, Aldus Manutius, 1495/96.
17. Demetrios Moschos, *Τὸ κατ' Ἑλένην καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον*. Reggio Emilia, Dionysius Bertochus, 1500?
18. Aesop, *Βίος καὶ μῦθοι*. Venice, Bartholomaeus Pelusius, Gabriel Bracius, Joannes Bissolus, and Benedictus Mangius, 1498.
19. Suidas, *Λεξικόν*. Milan, Joannes Bissolus and Benedictus Mangius, 1499.
20. *Ἑτυμολογικὸν μέγα*. Venice, Zacharias Kallierges for Nikolaos Vlastos, 1499.
21. *Ὡρολόγιον*. Venice, Zacharias Kallierges, 1509.
22. *Ὡρολόγιον*. Florence, Heirs of Filippo Giunta, 1520.
23. Pindar, *Ὀλύμπια*. Rome, Zacharias Kallierges for Cornelio Benigno, 1515.
24. Angelus Polizianus, *Miscellaneorum centuria*. Florence, Antonio Miscomini, 1489.
25. Manouel Chrysoloras, *Ἑρωτήματα*. Complutum, Arnao Guillén de Brocar, 1514.
26. Bible. *Old Testament*. Complutum, Arnao Guillén de Brocar, 1517 [vol. 3].
27. *Θεῖαι Λειτουργεῖαι*. Rome, Demetrios Doukas, 1526.

28. *Τριώδιον*. Venice, Nicolini da Sabbio for Andreas Kounadis, 1522.
29. Homer, *Ἰλιάς*. Venice, Stefano Nicolini da Sabbio for Damiano di Santa Maria, 1526.
30. *Ὡρολόγιον*. Venice, Nicolini da Sabbio for Martino Locatelli, 1523.
31. *Διήγησις εἰς τὰς πράξεις, τοῦ περιβοήτου στρατιγοῦ [sic] τῶν ῥωμαίων, μεγάλου Βελισσαρίου*. Venice, Pietro Nicolini da Sabbio for Damiano di Santa Maria, 1548.
32. Saint Joannes Damascenus, *Ἐκδοσις Ὁρθοδόξου πίστεως*. Verona, Stefano Nicolini da Sabbio, 1531.
33. Oecumenius, *Ἐξηγήσεις παλαιαί*. Verona, Stefano Nicolini da Sabbio, 1532.
34. Theophylaktos, Abp. of Achrida, *Ἑρμηνεία εἰς τὰ τέσσαρα Εὐαγγέλια*. Rome, Antonio Blado, 1542.
35. Eustathius, Abp. of Thessalonica, *Παρεκβολαὶ εἰς τὴν Ὀμήρου Ἰλιάδα καὶ Ὀδύσσειαν*. Rome, Antonio Blado, 1542-50 (vol 2).
36. *Παρακλητική*. Venice, Cristoforo Zanetti, 1559.
37. *Παρακλητική*. Venice, Andrea Spinelli, 1559-60.
38. Zacharias Skordylis, *Περὶ τῶν τῆς συγγενείας βαθμῶν*. Venice, Andrea Spinelli, 1564.
39. *Ὡρολόγιον*. Venice, Victor à Rabanis, 1532.
40. *Ὡρολόγιον*. Venice, Bartolomeo Zanetti, 1535.
41. *Ψαλτήριον*. Venice, Cristoforo Zanetti, 1547.
42. *Διήγησις εἰς τὰς πράξεις, τοῦ περιβοήτου στρατηγοῦ τῶν ῥωμαίων, μεγάλου Βελισσαρίου*. Venice, Giacomo Leoncini, 1567.
43. Manouel Chrysoloras, *Ἑρωτήματα*. Paris, Gilles de Gourmont, 1507.
44. *Alphabetum graecum*. Paris, Robert Estienne, 1543.
45. Antonios Achelis, *Βιβλίον σὺν θῶ περιέχον τῆς μάλας πολιορκίαν*. Venice, Cristoforo Zanetti, 1571.
46. *Ψαλτήριον*. Venice, printed for Antonios Verghis, 1578.
47. *Νέον Ἀνθολόγιον*. Rome, Typografia Apostolica Vaticana, 1598.
48. *Ψαλτήριον*. Venice, Aldus Manutius, c. 1496-98.
49. Musaeus, *Τὰ καθ' Ἡρὼ καὶ Λέανδρον*. Venice, Aldus Manutius, c. 1497.
50. *Ἑτυμολογικὸν μέγα*. Venice, Zacharias Kallierges for Nikolaos Vlastos, 1499.
51. Galenus, *Θεραπευτική*. Venice, [Zacharias Kallierges] for Nikolaos Vlastos, 1500.
52. (a, b) *Ὡρολόγιον*. Florence, Heirs of Filippo Giunta, 1520.
53. *Τριώδιον*. Venice, Nicolini da Sabbio for Andreas Kounadis, 1522.
54. *Ὡρολόγιον*. Venice, Nicolini da Sabbio for Martino Locatelli, 1523.
55. *Θεῖαι Λειτουργεῖαι*. Rome, Demetrios Doukas, 1526.
56. Hesiod, *Ἔργα καὶ ἡμέραι*. Venice, Bartolomeo Zanetti for G. F. Trincavelli, 1537.
57. *Εὐαγγέλιον*. Venice, Cristoforo Zanetti, 1552.
58. *Ψαλτήριον*. Venice, Nicolini da Sabbio for Andreas Kounadis, 1521.

59. a) Saint John of Damaskos, b) the Crucifixion, c) the Resurrection. *Ὁκτώηχος*. Venice, Nicolini da Sabbio for Damiano di Santa Maria, 1523.
60. *Ψαλτήριον*. Venice, Melchiorre Sessa and Pietro Ravani, 1525.
61. Woodcuts of David on the title pages of: a) *Ψαλτήριον*. Venice, Nicolini da Sabbio for Damiano di Santa Maria, 1546. b) *Ψαλτήριον*. Venice, Cristoforo Zanetti, 1547. c) *Ψαλτήριον*. Venice, Cristoforo Zanetti, 1555.
62. *Ὁκτώηχος*. Venice, Andrea Spinelli, 1549.
63. Ioannikios Kartanos, *Τὸ παρὸν βιβλίον ἔναι ἡ παλαιά τε καὶ νέα διαθήκη*. Venice, Giacomo Leoncini, 1567.
64. *Ἱερὸν Εὐαγγέλιον*. Venice, Andrea Spinelli, 1550.
65. *Παρακλητική*. Venice, Andrea Spinelli, 1559-60.
66. *Τριώδιον*. Venice, Giacomo Leoncini, 1565.
67. *Βιβλίον τοῦ Μάρτιος*. Venice, Pietro Zanetti, 1586?
68. *Μὴν Φεβρουάριος*. Venice, Domenico de Poloni, 1599.
69. *Εὐαγγέλιον*. Venice, Andrea Spinelli, 1550.
70. (a-c) *Ὡρολόγιον*. Venice, Andrea Spinelli, 1563.
71. *Στιχηρά...Αὐγούστου*. Venice, Andrea Spinelli, 1549.
72. *Παρακλητική*. Venice, Andrea Spinelli, 1559-60.
73. a) *Ὡρολόγιον*. Venice, Andrea Spinelli, 1563. b) *Παρακλητική*. Venice, Andrea Spinelli, 1559-60.
74. *Παρακλητική*. Venice, Andrea Spinelli, 1559-60.
75. *Ἀκολουθία τοῦ Ἀναγνώστου*. Venice, Federico Torresano, 1549.
76. *Ἱερὸν Εὐαγγέλιον*. Venice, Giacomo Leoncini, 1575.
77. *Ἱερὸν Εὐαγγέλιον*. Venice, Andrea Spinelli, 1550.
78. *Ἱερὸν Εὐαγγέλιον*. Venice, Giovanni Aliprandi, 1586.
79. *Ἱερὸν Εὐαγγέλιον*. Venice, Giacomo Leoncini, 1575.
80. *Ὁκτώηχος*. Venice, Pietro Zanetti, 1589.
81. Markos Depharanas, *Λόγοι διδακτικοί*. Venice, Printed for Damiano di Santa Maria, 1543.
82. *Βιβλίον τοῦ Μάρτιος*. Venice, Pietro Zanetti, 1586?
83. *Μὴν Ὁκτώβριος*. Venice, Francesco Giuliani for Emmanouel Glyzounis, 1595.
84. (a-f) *Μὴν Ἰαννουάριος*. Venice, Zuan Battista Tauroceni, 1582.
85. *Θεία Λειτουργία*. Venice, Giacomo Leoncini, 1574.
86. (a-g) *Ἱερὸν Εὐαγγέλιον*. Venice, Giovanni Aliprandi, 1586.
87. (a, b) *Μὴν Ὁκτώβριος*. Venice, Francesco Giuliani for Emmanouel Glyzounis, 1595.
88. Alexios Rartouros, *Διδαχαί*. Venice, Printed for the author, 1560.
89. Woodcut portrait of Zacharias Skordylis as shown in his edition of St Gregorius Nazianzenus, *Νικήτα φιλοσόφου...Ἑρμηνεία εἰς τὰ τετράστιχα...Γρηγορίου τοῦ Ναζιανζηνοῦ*. Venice, Francesco Zanetti, 1563.

90. a) Zacharias Skordylis, *Περὶ τῶν τῆς συγγενείας βαθμῶν*. Venice, Giacomo Leoncini, 1564.
b) Zacharias Skordylis, *Περὶ τῶν τῆς συγγενείας βαθμῶν*. Venice [Zuan Battista Tauroceni] c. 1581.
91. Portrait of Ioannes Nathanael. *Θεία Λειτουργία*. Venice, Giacomo Leoncini, 1574.
92. *Πένθος θανάτου*: a) Venice, Nicolini da Sabbio for Damiano di Santa Maria, 1528. b) Venice, Giacomo Leoncini, 1564. c) Venice, Antonio Pinelli, 1600.
93. Homer, *Ἰλιάς*. Venice, Nicolini da Sabbio for Damiano di Santa Maria, 1526. Woodcut nos. 1=93a, 6=93b, 13=93c, 60=93d, 127=93e, 133=93f.
94. a) Woodcut no. 12 from the *Iliad* group on the title page of Bergadis, *Ἀπόκοπος*. Venice, Nicolini da Sabbio for Damiano di Santa Maria, 1534. b) Copy of no. 12 *Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μακεδών*. Venice, Marco Pinelli, 1603.
95. Copy of woodcut no. 13 of the *Iliad* group. *Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μακεδών*. Venice, Marco Pinelli, 1603.
96. (a-c) *Ἐξήγησις τοῦ θαυμαστοῦ Υμβερίου* [sic]. Venice, Cristoforo Zanetti, 1553.
97. *Διήγησις εἰς τὰς πράξεις, τοῦ περιβοήτου στρατηγοῦ τῶν ῥωμαίων, μεγάλου Βελισσαρίου*. Venice, Giacomo Leoncini, 1567.
98. (a, b) *Θησέος καὶ γάμοι τῆς Ἑμήλιας*. Venice, Nicolini da Sabbio for Damiano di Santa Maria, 1529.
99. Leonardos Phortios, *Ποίημα...περὶ στρατιωτικῆς πραγματίας*. Venice, Vettore Ravani della Serena, 1531. a) Title page border signed by Eustachio Celebrino. b-c) Woodcuts of war machines.
100. (a-e) Ioannikios Kartanos, *Τὸ παρὸν βιβλίον ἔναι ἡ παλαιά τε καὶ νέα διαθήκη*. Venice, Bartolomeo Zanetti, 1536.
101. (a-e) Ioannikios Kartanos, *Τὸ παρὸν βιβλίον ἔναι ἡ παλαιά τε καὶ νέα διαθήκη*. Venice, Printed for Damiano di Santa Maria, 1549.
102. (a-c) Ioannikios Kartanos, *Τὸ παρὸν βιβλίον ἔναι ἡ παλαιά τε καὶ νέα διαθήκη*. Venice, Giacomo Leoncini, 1567.
103. *Σπανός*. Venice, Cristoforo Zanetti, c. 1553.
104. *Σπανός*. Venice, Cristoforo Zanetti, 1562.
105. *Βιβλίον ὀνομαζόμενον Σπανός*. Venice, Nikolaos Glykys, 1803.
106. Damaskenos Stoudites, *Βιβλίον ὀνομαζόμενον Θησανυρός*. Venice, Cristoforo Zanetti, 1561.
107. *Βιβλίον ὀνομαζόμενον Θησανυρός*. Venice, Giacomo Leoncini, 1570.
108. (a, b) Emmanouel Glyzounis, *Βιβλίον πρόχειρον...λογαριαστικήν*. Venice, Francesco Rampazetto for Emmanouel Glyzounis, 1569.
109. Emmanouel Glyzounis, *Βιβλίον πρόχειρον...λογαριαστικήν*. Venice, Francesco Giuliani for Emmanouel Glyzounis, 1596.
110. Emmanouel Glyzounis, *Βιβλίον πρόχειρον...λογαριαστικήν*. Venice, Pietro Zanetti, 1596.
111. (a-d) Antonios Achelis, *Βιβλίον σὺν θῶ περιέχον τῆς μάλτας πολιορκίαν*. Venice, Cristoforo Zanetti, 1571.
112. Saint Joannes Climacus, *Κλίμαξ τοῦ Παραδείσου*. Venice, Francesco Giuliani for Maximos Margounios and Emmanouel Glyzounis, 1590.
113. *Ψαλτήριον*. Venice, Nicolini da Sabbio for Melchiorre Sessa, 1545.

114. *ᾠρολόγιον*. Venice, Victor à Rabanis & Socii, 1532.
115. *ᾠρολόγιον*. Venice, Παρὰ Νικολάῳ Σοφριανῷ καὶ τῶν ἐταίρων, 1545.
116. *ᾠρολόγιον*. Venice, Francesco Rampazetto for Giacomo Leoncini, 1563.
117. *ᾠρολόγιον*. Venice, Zuan Battista Tauroceni, 1581.
118. *Ὁκτώηχος*. Rome, Zacharias Kallierges, 1520.
119. *Ὁκτώηχος*. Venice, Nicolini da Sabbio for Damiano di Santa Maria, 1523.
120. *Ὁκτώηχος*. Venice, Francesco Giuliani, 1596.
121. *Τριώδιον*. Venice, Antonio Pinelli, 1600.
122. *Ἀπόστολος*. Venice, Giacomo Leoncini, 1573-78.
123. *Ἀπόστολος*. Venice, Παρὰ τοῖς κληρονόμοις Πέτρου τοῦ ντζανέτου, 1596.
124. *Σύνταγμα τινῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀκολουθιῶν*. Venice, Francesco Giuliani for Emmanouel Glyzounis, 1595.
125. *Ἡ Θεία Λειτουργία*. Venice, Giacomo Leoncini, 1574.
126. *Βιβλίον τοῦ Ἀπριλλίου*. Venice, Giacomo Leoncini, 1569.
127. *Βιβλίον τοῦ Μαρτίου*. Venice, Hippolitos Valeris, 1568.
128. *Μῆν Ἰαννουάριος*. Venice, Zuan Battista Tauroceni, 1582.
129. *Μῆν Ὁκτώβριος*. Venice, Francesco Giuliani for Emmanouel Glyzounis, 1595.
130. *Τυπικὸν καὶ τὰ Ἀπόρρητα*. Venice, Nicolini da Sabbio, 1545.
131. *Ἀκολουθία τοῦ ἀναγνώστου*. Venice, Federico Torresano, 1549.
132. *Εἰρμολόγιον*. Venice, Vasileios Valeris and Demetrios Marmaretos, 1549.
133. *Εἰρμολόγιον*. Venice, Ἐκ τῶν τύπων τοῦ Κουνάδου, 1584.
134. Ioannikios Kartanos, *Τὸ παρὸν βιβλίον ἔναι ἡ παλαιά τε καὶ νέα διαθήκη*. Venice, Bartolomeo Zanetti, 1536.
135. Ioannikios Kartanos, *Τὸ παρὸν βιβλίον ἔναι ἡ παλαιά τε καὶ νέα διαθήκη*. Venice, For Damiano di Santa Maria, 1549.
136. Ioannikios Kartanos, *Τὸ παρὸν βιβλίον ἔναι ἡ παλαιά τε καὶ νέα διαθήκη*. Venice, For Damiano di Santa Maria, 1549.
137. Ioannikios Kartanos, *Τὸ παρὸν βιβλίον ἔναι ἡ παλαιά τε παλαιά τε καὶ νέα διαθήκη*. Venice, Bartolomeo Zanetti, 1536.
138. Damaskenos Stoudites, *Βιβλίον ὀνομαζόμενον Θησαυρός*. Venice, Cristoforo Zanetti, 1561.
139. Damaskenos Stoudites, *Βιβλίον ὀνομαζόμενον Θησαυρός*. Venice, Cristoforo Zanetti, 1561.
140. Damaskenos Stoudites, *Βιβλίον ὀνομαζόμενον Θησαυρός*. Venice, Giacomo Leoncini, 1570.
141. (a, b) Alexios Rartouros, *Διδαχαί*. Venice, Printed for the Author, 1560.
142. Zacharias Skordylis, *Περὶ τῶν τῆς συγγενείας βαθμῶν*. Venice, Pietro Zanetti, 1588.
143. Saint Joannes Climacus, *Κλίμαξ τοῦ παραδείσου*. Venice, Francesco Giuliani for Maximos Margounios and Emmanouel Glyzounis, 1590.

144. Gabriel Severos, *Συνταγμάτιον περὶ τῶν ἁγίων καὶ ἱερῶν μυστηρίων*. Venice, Giovanni Antonio Pinelli, 1600.
145. Bergadis, *Ἀπόκοπος*. Venice, Nikolaos Kallierges, 1509.
146. Bergadis, *Ἀπόκοπος*. Venice, Nikolaos Kallierges, 1509.
147. Bergadis, *Ἀπόκοπος*. Venice, Nicolini da Sabbio for Damiano di Santa Maria, 1534.
148. *Πένθος θανάτου*. Venice, Antonio Pinelli, 1600.
149. *Ἀπολώνιος*. Venice, Nicolini da Sabbio for Damiano di Santa Maria, 1524.
150. *Ἀπολώνιος*. Venice, Nicolini da Sabbio for Damiano di Santa Maria, 1524.
151. *Ἀπολώνιος*. Venice, Cristoforo Zanetti, 1553.
152. *Ἀπολώνιος*. Venice, Cristoforo Zanetti, 1579.
153. *Ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μακεδών*. Venice, Nicolini da Sabbio for Damiano di Santa Maria, 1529.
154. *Θησέος καὶ γάμοι τῆς Ἑμήλιας*. Venice, Nicolini da Sabbio for Damiano di Santa Maria, 1529.
155. *Θησέος καὶ γάμοι τῆς Ἑμήλιας*. Venice, Nicolini da Sabio for Damiano di Santa Maria, 1529.
156. *Ἐξήγησις τοῦ θαυμαστοῦ Ἡμπερίου* [sic]. Venice, Nicolini da Sabbio for Damiano di Santa Maria, 1543.
157. *Ἐξήγησις τοῦ θαυμαστοῦ Υμπερίου* [sic] Venice, Cristoforo Zanetti, 1553.
158. Markos Depharanas, *Λόγοι διδακτικοὶ τοῦ πατρὸς πρὸς τὸν υἱόν*. Venice Damiano di Santa Maria, 1543.
159. *Διήγησις εἰς τὰς πράξεις, τοῦ περιβοήτου στρατηγοῦ τῶν ῥωμαίων, μεγάλου Βελισσαρίου*. Venice, Cristoforo Zanetti, 1577.
160. *Διδασκαλία παραινετικὴ κυροῦ ἀλεξίου κομνηνοῦ τοῦ λεγομένου Σπανέα*. Venice, Cristoforo Zanetti, 1550.
161. *Σπανός*. Venice, Cristoforo Zanetti, 1553.
162. Antonios Achelis, *Βιβλίον σὺν θῶ περιέχον τῆς μάλας πολιορκίαν*. Venice, Cristoforo Zanetti, 1571.
163. Antonios Achelis, *Βιβλίον σὺν θῶ περιέχον τῆς μάλας πολιορκίαν*. Venice, Cristoforo Zanetti, 1571.
164. Antonios Achelis, *Βιβλίον σὺν θῶ περιέχον τῆς μάλας πολιορκίαν*. Venice, Cristoforo Zanetti, 1571.
165. Emmanouel Glyzounis, *Βιβλίον πρόχειρον...λογαριαστικὴν*. Venice, Francesco Giuliani for Emmanouel Glyzounis, 1596.
166. Emmanouel Glyzounis, *Βιβλίον πρόχειρον...λογαριαστικὴν*. Venice, Pietro Zanetti, 1596.
167. *Ἱερὸν Εὐαγγέλιον*. Venice, Giovanni Aliprandi, 1586.
168. *Ἱερὸν Εὐαγγέλιον*. Venice, Giovanni Aliprandi, 1586.
169. *Ψαλτήριον*. Venice, Aldus Manutius, c. 1496-98.
170. *Αἱ Θεῖαι Λειτουργεῖαι*. Rome, Demetrios Doukas, 1526.
171. *Αἱ Θεῖαι Λειτουργεῖαι*. Rome, Demetrios Doukas, 1526.

172. Αἱ Θεῖαι Λειτουργεῖαι. Rome, Demetrios Doukas, 1526.
173. Πορτολάνος. Venice [Cristoforo Zanetti] 1573.
174. Sophocles, Τραγωδίαί ἐπτά. Florence, Heirs of Filippo Giunta, 1522.
175. Aristoteles, Ἡθικῶν Νικομαχείων βιβλία δέκα. Florence, Bernardo Giunta, 1547.
176. Porphyrius, Περὶ ἀποχῆς ἐμψύχων. Florence, Bernardo Giunta, 1548.
177. Ὁρολόγιον. Venice, Heirs of Filippo Giunta, 1520.
178. Saint Joannes Climacus, Κλίμαξ Παραδείσου. Venice, Francesco Giuliani for Maximos Margounios and Emmanouel Glyzounis, 1590.
179. Emmanouel Gluzounis, Βιβλίον...λογαριαστικήν. Venice, Francesco Giuliani for Emmanouel Glyzounis, 1596.
180. Ὁρολόγιον. Venice, Bartolomeo Imperatore, 1552.
181. Ἑτυμολογικὸν μέγα. Venice, Zacharias Kallierges for Nikolaos Vlastos, 1499.
182. Ἑτυμολογικὸν μέγα. Venice, Zacharias Kallierges for Nikolaos Vlastos, 1499.
183. (a-f) Ἑτυμολογικὸν μέγα. Venice, Zacharias Kallierges for Nikolaos Vlastos, 1499.
184. Ὁρολόγιον. Venice, Zacharias Kallierges, 1509.
185. Pindar, Ὀλύμπια. Rome, Zacharias Kallierges for Cornelio Benigno, 1515.
186. Ὀκτώηχος. Rome, Zacharias Kallierges, 1520.
187. Τριώδιον. Venice, Nicolini da Sabbio for Andreas Kounadis, 1522.
188. Ὁρολόγιον. Venice, Nicolini da Sabbio for Damiano di Santa Maria, 1524.
189. Bergadis, Ἀπόκοπος. Venice, Nicolini da Sabbio for Damiano di Santa Maria, 1534.
190. Tzanes Ventramos, Ἱστορία τῶν γυναικῶν. Venice, Nicolini da Sabbio for Damiano di Santa Maria, 1549.
191. (a-d) Ὁρολόγιον. Venice, Nicolini da Sabbio for Damiano di Santa Maria, 1524.
192. Homer, Ἰλιάς. Venice, Nicolini da Sabbio for Damiano di Santa Maria, 1526. Woodcuts: a) no. 5, state 1 (β2^V); b) no. 5, state 2 (π1^R); c) no. 73 (μ8^R); d) no. 91 (ο2^V).
193. Isocrates, [Λόγοι]. Venice, 1535.
194. Τυπικόν. Venice, Giacomo Leoncini, 1577.
195. Ioannikios Kartanos, Τὸ παρὸν βιβλίον ἔναι ἡ παλαιά τε καὶ νέα διαθήκη. Venice, Giacomo Leoncini, 1567.
196. Zacharias Skordylis, Περὶ τῶν τῆς συγγενείας βαθμῶν. Venice, Giacomo Leoncini, 1567.
197. Ὁρολόγιον. Venice, Giacomo Leoncini, 1561.
198. Ὁρολόγιον. Venice, Ἐκ τῶν τύπων τοῦ Κουνάδου, 1584.
199. Isocrates, [Λόγοι καὶ ἐπιστολαί]. Venice, Heirs of Aldus Manutius and Andrea Torresano of Asola, 1534.
200. Ἀκολουθία τοῦ ἀναγνώστου. Venice, Federico Torresano, 1549.
201. Θεία Λειτουργία. Venice, Giacomo Leoncini, 1574.
202. Ἀπόστολος. Venice, Giacomo Leoncini, 1573-78.

203. *Βιβλίον Ἀπριλλίου*. Venice, Giacomo Leoncini, 1569.
204. Michael Psellos, *Ἐπίλυσις εἰς τοὺς ἕξ τῆς φιλοσοφίας τρόπους*. Venice, Nicolini da Sabbio, 1532.
205. Epictetus, *Σιμπλικίου ἐξήγησις εἰς τὸ τοῦ Ἐπικτήτου ἐγχειρίδιον*. Venice, Ioan. Antonio and Brothers Nicolini da Sabbio, 1528.
206. Epictetus, *Σιμπλικίου ἐξήγησις εἰς τὸ τοῦ Ἐπικτήτου ἐγχειρίδιον*. Venice, Ioan. Antonio and Brothers Nicolini da Sabbio, 1528.
207. Saint Basil, *the Great, Opera*. Venice, Stefano Nicolini da Sabbio, 1535.
208. Gabriel Severos, *Συνταγματίον περὶ τῶν ἁγίων καὶ ἱερῶν μυστηρίων*. Venice, Antonio Pinelli, 1600.
209. Homer, *Ἰλιάς*. Venice, Giovanni Pietro Pinelli, 1640.
210. *Εὐχολόγιον*. Venice, Antonio Pinelli, 1619-1620.
211. *Μὴν Φεβρουάριος*. Venice, Domenico de Poloni, 1599.
212. *Ὁρολόγιον*. Venice, Francesco Rampazetto for Giacomo Leoncini, 1563.
213. Emmanouel Glyzounis, *Βιβλίον...λογαριαστικήν*. Venice, Francesco Rampazetto for Emmanouel Glyzounis, 1569.
214. Emmanouel Glyzounis, *Βιβλίον...λογαριαστικήν*. Venice, Francesco Rampazetto for Emmanouel Glyzounis, 1569.
215. *Ψαλτήριον*. Venice, Melchiorre Sessa and Pietro Ravani, 1525.
216. Leonardos Phortios, *Ποίημα...περὶ στρατιωτικῆς πραγματίας*. Venice, Vettor Ravani della Serena, 1531.
217. Manouel Chrysoloras, *Ἐρωτήματα*. Venice, Heirs of Pietro Ravani, 1545.
218. Manouel Chrysoloras, *Ἐρωτήματα*. Venice, Heirs of Pietro Ravani, 1550.
219. *Ψαλτήριον*. Venice, Melchiorre Sessa and Pietro Ravani, 1525.
220. C. Lascaris, *De octo partibus orationis*. Venice, Melchiorre Sessa, 1533.
221. *Ψαλτήριον*. Venice, Nicolini da Sabbio for Melchiorre Sessa, 1545.
222. Plutarch, *Παιδαγωγός*. Venice, Βαρθολομαῖος ὁ καλλιγράφος [i. e. Bartolomeo Zanetti] 1544.
223. *Εὐχολόγιον*. Venice, Nikolaos Sophianos, Markos Samariaris and Nikolaos Eparchos, 1545.
224. *Εὐχολόγιον*. Venice, Nikolaos Sophianos, Markos Samariaris and Nikolaos Eparchos, 1545.
225. *Ὁρολόγιον*. Venice, Andrea Spinelli, 1563.
226. *Παρακλητική*. Venice, Andrea Spinelli for Nikolaos Kouvlis, 1559-60.
227. *Παρακλητική*. Venice, Andrea Spinelli for Nikolaos Kouvlis, 1559-60.
228. *Ἀπόστολος*. Venice, Zuan Battista Tauroceni, 1584.
229. *Μὴν Μάρτιος*. Venice, Zuan Battista Tauroceni, 1584.
230. *Ὁρολόγιον*. Venice, Zuan Battista Tauroceni, 1581.
231. Zacharias Skordylis, *Περὶ τῶν τῆς συγγενείας βαθμῶν*. Venice [Zuan Battista Tauroceni] 1581?
232. *Βιβλίον τοῦ Μαΐου*. Venice, Hippolitos Valeris, 1568.
233. *Βιβλίον τοῦ Μαρτίου*. Venice, Hippolitos Valeris, 1568.

234. *Εἰρμολόγιον*. Venice, Vasileios Valeris and Demetrios Marmaretos, 1549.
235. *[Τριώδιον-Πεντηκοστάριον]*. Venice, Vasileios Valeris, 1555.
236. *Ψαλτήριον*. Venice, Printed for Antonios Verghis, 1578.
237. *Ὁκτώηχος*. Venice, Printed for Antonios Verghis, 1578.
238. *Ὁκτώηχος*. Venice, Printed for Antonios Verghis, 1578.
239. *Ὁκτώηχος*. Venice, Printed for Antonios Verghis, 1578.
240. *Ὁκτώηχος*. Venice, Printed for Antonios Verghis, 1578.
241. (a-c) Ioannikios Kartanos, *Τὸ παρὸν βιβλίον ἔναι ἡ παλαιά τε καὶ νέα διαθήκη*. Venice, Bartolomeo Zanetti, 1536.
242. (a, b) Aristoteles, *Ὅργανον*. Venice, Bartolomeo Zanetti, 1536.
243. Ioannikios Kartanos, *Τὸ παρὸν βιβλίον ἔναι ἡ παλαιά τε καὶ νέα διαθήκη*. Venice, Bartolomeo Zanetti, 1536.
244. Joannes Stobaeus, *Ἐκλογαὶ ἀποφθεγμάτων*. Venice, Bartolomeo Zanetti, 1536.
245. *Ὡρολόγιον*. Venice, Cristoforo Zanetti, 1546.
246. Antonios Achelis, *Βιβλίον σὺν θῶ περιέχον τῆς μάλας πολιορκίαν*. Venice, Cristoforo Zanetti, 1571.
247. Antonios Achelis, *Βιβλίον σὺν θῶ περιέχον τῆς μάλας πολιορκίαν*. Venice, Cristoforo Zanetti, 1571.
248. *Ψαλτήριον*. Venice, Cristoforo Zanetti, 1547.
249. *Ὁκτώηχος*. Venice, Cristoforo Zanetti [1558].
250. *Ὁκτώηχος*. Venice, Cristoforo Zanetti [1558].
251. *Ὁκτώηχος*. Venice, Cristoforo Zanetti [1558].
252. *Ὁκτώηχος*. Venice, Cristoforo Zanetti [1558].
253. *Ψαλτήριον*. Venice, Cristoforo Zanetti, pre-1577.
254. *Μῆν Ὁκτώβριος*. Venice, Heirs of Cristoforo Zanetti, 1592.
255. *Ἀπόστολος*. Venice, Heirs of Pietro Zanetti, 1596.
256. Zacharias Skordylis, *Περὶ τῶν τῆς συγγενείας βαθμῶν*. Venice, Pietro Zanetti, 1588.
257. *Ἀπόστολος*. Venice, Heirs of Pietro Zanetti, 1596.
258. *Ὁκτώηχος*. Venice, Heirs of Pietro Zanetti, 1598.

Abbreviations

ADAMS	Adams, H. M. <i>Catalogue of Books Printed on the Continent of Europe, 1501-1600</i> , in <i>Cambridge Libraries</i> . Cambridge, 1967. 2v.
ANNALI	<i>I Giunti tipografi editori di Firenze</i> . Firenze, 1978-1979. 2v.
ASCARELLI	Ascarelli, F. <i>La tipografia cinquecentina italiana</i> . Firenze, 1953. (Contributi alla biblioteca bibliografica italiana, 1).
ASCARELLI-MENATO	Ascarelli, F. & M. Menato. <i>La tipografia del '500 in Italia</i> . Firenze, 1989. (Biblioteca di bibliografia italiana, 116).
BAKELANTS-HOVEN	Bakelants, L. & R. Hoven, <i>Bibliographie des oeuvres de Nicolas Clénard (1529-1700)</i> . Verviers, 1981. 2v.
BEES	Βέης, Ν. Α. <i>Τὰ χειρόγραφα τῶν Μετεώρων. Κατάλογος περιγραφικὸς τῶν χειρογράφων κωδίκων τῶν ἀποκειμένων εἰς τὰς μονὰς τῶν Μετεώρων</i> . Ἐν Ἀθήναις, 1967-
BGV	Legrand, E. <i>Bibliothèque grecque vulgaire</i> . Paris, 1880-1902. 9v.
BH	Legrand, E. <i>Bibliographie hellénique, ou Description raisonnée des ouvrages publiés en grec par des Grecs aux XV^e et XVI^e siècles</i> . Paris, 1885-1906. 4v.
BH XVIIIs.	Legrand, E. <i>Bibliographie hellénique, ou Description raisonnée des ouvrages publiés en grec par des Grecs au dix-septième siècle</i> . Paris, 1894-1903. 5v.
BLADO	<i>Catalogo delle edizioni romane di Antonio Blado Asolano ed eredi (1516-1593)</i> . Roma, 1891-[1961] 4v. Vols. 1-2, compiled by G. Fumagalli and G. Belli. Vols. 3-4, compiled by E. Vaccaro Sofia.
BMC	British Library. Dept. of Printed Books. <i>Catalogue of Books Printed in the XVth Century Now in the British Museum</i> . London, 1908-1962. 9v.
BORSA	Borsa, G. <i>Clavis typographorum librariumque Italiae, 1465-1600</i> . Baden-Baden, 1980. 2v. (Bibliotheca bibliographica Aureliana, 35, 85).
BRUNET	Brunet, J.-C. <i>Manuel du libraire et de l'amateur de livres</i> . Paris, 1860-1865. 6v.
CANART	Canart, P. Scribes grecs de la Renaissance: Additions et corrections aux répertoires de Vogel-Gardthausen et de Patrinélis, <i>Scriptorium</i> , 17(1963)56-82.
CAVE	Cave, Wm. <i>Scriptorum ecclesiasticorum historia literaria</i> . Basel, 1741-45 2v. Vol. 2. Section entitled: De libris & officis Eccl. Graecorum.
CURI NICOLARDI	Curi Nicolardi, S. <i>Una società tipografico-editoriale a Venezia nel secolo xvi: Melchiorre Sessa e Pietro di Ravani (1516-1525)</i> . Firenze, 1984. (Biblioteca di bibliografia italiana, 103).
DAVIES	Davies, H. W. <i>Devices of the Early Printers, 1457-1560</i> . London, 1935.
DBI	<i>Dizionario biografico degli italiani</i> . Roma, 1960-
DELIALES	Δελιαλῆς, Ν. Π. <i>Κατάλογος ἐντύπων Δημοτικῆς Βιβλιοθήκης Κοζάνης</i> . Θεσσαλονίκη, 1948-1964. 2v. (Δημοσιεύματα Δημοτικῆς Βιβλιοθήκης Κοζάνης, 1, 3).
DROULIA	Ἑλληνικὴ Ἑταιρεία Βιβλιοφίλων. Ἀπαρχὲς τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Τυπογραφίας. Κατάλογος ἐκθέσεως. Ἐπιμ. Λουκία Δρούλια. Ἀθήνα, 1976.

- EHINGER Ehinger, E. *Catalogus bibliothecae amplissimae reipublicae Augustanae*. Augustae Vindelicorum, 1633.
- EISS Istituto centrale per il Catalogo unico delle biblioteche italiane e per le informazioni bibliografiche. *Le edizioni italiane del xvi secolo: Censimento nazionale*. Roma, 1985-
- ESSLING Essling, V. Masséna, prince d'. *Etudes sur l'art de la gravure sur bois à Venise. Les livres à figures vénitiens de la fin du XV^e siècle et du commencement du XVI^e*. Florence, 1907-1909. 3v in 5.
- FINAZZI Finazzi, M. *La stampa greca a Venezia nei secoli XV e XVI. Catalogo di mostra*. Venezia, 1968.
- GAMILLSCHEG-HARLFINGER Gamillscheg, E. & D. Harlfinger, *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten 800-1600*. Wien, 1981- (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Byzantinistik, 3).
- GHINIS-MEXAS Γκίνης, Δ. Σ. & Β. Γ. Μέξας, *Ἑλληνικὴ βιβλιογραφία, 1800-1863*. Ἐν Ἀθήναις, 1939-1957. 3v. (Πραγματεῖαι τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν, 11).
- GÖLLNER Göllner, C. *Turcica; die europäischen Türkendrucke des XVI. Jahrhunderts*. Bucuresti, Berlin, 1961-1978. 3v. (Bibliotheca bibliographica Aureliana, 23, 70).
- GOFF Goff, F. R. *Incunabula in American Libraries*. New York, 1964.
- GW *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*. Hrs. von der Kommission für Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke. 2. Aufl. Stuttgart, 1968-
- HUSUNG Husung, M. J. *Die Drucker- und Verlegerzeichen Italiens im XV Jahrhundert*. München, 1929.
- IGI Guarnaschelli, T. M. & E. Valenziani. *Indice generale degli incunaboli delle biblioteche d' Italia*. Roma, 1943-1955. 6v.
- ILIOU Ἡλιοῦ, Φ. *Προσθήκες στὴν ἑλληνικὴ βιβλιογραφία. Α'. Τὰ βιβλιογραφικὰ κατάλοιπα τοῦ É. Legrand καὶ τοῦ H. Pernot (1515-1799)*. Ἀθήνα, 1973.
- ISAAC Isaac, F. S. *An Index to the Early Printed Books in the British Museum. Part II, MDI-MDXX*. London, 1938.
- KONTOSOPOULOS Κοντοσόπουλος, Ν. Γ. Τὰ ἐν Βενετίᾳ τυπογραφεῖα ἑλληνικῶν βιβλίων κατὰ τὴν Τουρκοκρατίαν, *Ἀθηνᾶ*, 58(1954)286-342.
- KORDOSIS A Κορδώσης, Μ. Σ. Ἑλληνικὰ παλαιότυπα σὲ βιβλιοθήκες τῆς πόλεως τῶν Ἰωαννίνων. II. Παλαιότυπα Ζωσιμαίας Βιβλιοθήκης καὶ ἄλλων βιβλιοθηκῶν τῆς πόλεως, *Δωδώνη*, 5(1976)133-91.
- KORDOSIS B Κορδώσης, Μ. Σ. Ἑλληνικὰ παλαιότυπα τῆς Μονῆς Παντοκράτορος Ἀγίου Ὁρους, *Κληρονομία*, 11(1979)403-41.
- KRISTELLER Kristeller, P. *Die italienischen Buchdrucker- und Verlegenzeichen bis 1525*. Strassburg, 1893. Repr. 1969.
- LADAS Λαδᾶς, Γ. & Α. Χατζηδημός. *Προσθήκες, διορθώσεις καὶ συμπληρώσεις στὴν Ἑλληνικὴ βιβλιογραφία τοῦ Émile Legrand γιὰ τοὺς αἰῶνες XV, XVI καὶ XVII*. Ἀθήνα, 1976.
- LADAS XVIII Λαδᾶς, Γ. & Α. Χατζηδημός. *Ἑλληνικὴ βιβλιογραφία. Συμβολὴ στὸ δέκατο ὀγδοο αἶώνα*. Ἀθήνα, 1964-1976. 2v.

- LADAS 1791-95 Λαδάς, Γ. & Α. Χατζηδημόσιος. *Ἑλληνικὴ βιβλιογραφία τῶν ἐτῶν 1791-1795*. Ἀθήνα, 1970.
- LAYTON Layton, E. *Greek Bibliography: Additions and Corrections (c. 1471-1829)*, *Θησαυρίσματα*, 16(1979)89-112.
- LAZAROU Λαζάρου, Α. *Κατάλογος ἐντύπων βιβλιοθήκης Ὀλυμπιωτίσσης*. Ἀθήναι, 1964. (Δημοσιεύματα Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἑλασσῶνος, 2).
- LOVERDOU Λοβέρδου-Τσιγαρίδα, Κ. *Τὰ παλαιὰ ἑλληνικὰ βιβλία στὶς ἐκκλησίες τῆς Καστοριάς*, *Μακεδονικά*, 20(1980)237-51.
- MANOUSAKAS Μανούσακας, Μ. Ι. Προσθῆκαι καὶ συμπληρώσεις εἰς τὴν ἑλληνικὴν βιβλιογραφίαν τοῦ E. Legrand (Συμβολὴ πρώτη), *Ἐπετηρὶς τοῦ Μεσαιωνικοῦ Ἀρχείου*, 7(1958)34-83, 137.
- MORTIMER Harvard University. Library. Department of Printing and Graphic Arts. *Catalogue of Books and Manuscripts. Part II. Italian 16th Century Books*. By R. Mortimer. Cambridge, MA, 1974. 2v.
- MOSCHONAS Μοσχονᾶς, Θ. Δ. *Κατάλογοι τῆς Πατριαρχικῆς Βιβλιοθήκης*. Ἀλεξάνδρεια, 1945-1947. 3v.
- NORTON Norton, F. J. *Italian Printers, 1501-1520*. London, 1958. (Cambridge Bibliographical Society Monograph, 3).
- NORTON-SP Norton, F. J. *A Descriptive Catalogue of Printing in Spain and Portugal 1501-1520*. Cambridge, 1978.
- PAPADOPOULOS Παπαδόπουλος, Θ. Ι. *Ἑλληνικὴ βιβλιογραφία (1466 ci.-1800)*. Ἀθήναι, 1984-1986. 2v. (Πραγματεῖαι τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν, 48).
- PAPADOPOULOS A Παπαδόπουλος, Θ. Ι. Προσθῆκες στὴν Ἑλληνικὴ βιβλιογραφία, *Ὁ Ἐρανιστὴς*, 14(1977)138-84.
- PAPADOPOULOS B Παπαδόπουλος, Θ. Ι. *Ἑλληνικὴ βιβλιογραφία (1544-1863). Προσθῆκες-Συμπληρώσεις*. Ἀθήνα, 1992.
- PAPAZOTOS Παπαζῶτος, Θ. *Τὰ παλαιότυπα τῶν ναῶν τῆς Βέροιας (16^{ος}-18^{ος} αἰ.)*. Προσθῆκες στὸν E. Legrand καὶ στοὺς Γ. Λαδᾶ-Α. Χατζηδημόσιος, *Κληρονομία*, 12(1980)353-65.
- PASTORELLO Pastorello, E. *Tipografi, editori, librai a Venezia nel secolo XVI*. Firenze, 1924. (Biblioteca di bibliografia italiana, 5).
- PATRINELIS Πατρινέλης, Χ. Γ. *Ἑλληνες κωδικογράφοι τῶν χρόνων τῆς Ἀναγεννήσεως*, *Ἐπετηρὶς τοῦ Μεσαιωνικοῦ Ἀρχείου*, 8-9(1958-59)63-124.
- PAVLOPOULOS Παυλόπουλος, Ν. *Τὸ Α, Β, Γ, τοῦ καταλόγου τῆς βιβλιοθήκης τῶν ἐντύπων τῆς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Λειμῶνος*. Μυτιλήνη, 1976.
- PHOSKOLOS A Φώσκολος, Μ. *Τὰ παλαιὰ ἑλληνικὰ βιβλία τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Κολλεγίου τοῦ Ἁγίου Ἀθανασίου τῆς Ρώμης*, *Ὁ Ἐρανιστὴς*, 9(1971)1-62.
- PHOSKOLOS B Φώσκολος, Μ. *Συμπλήρωμα στὶς Ἑλληνικὲς ἱστορικὲς βιβλιογραφίες (1523-1874)*, *Ὁ Ἐρανιστὴς*, 12(1975)28-53.
- PLOUMIDES Πλουμίδης, Γ. Σ. *Τὰ παλαιὰ ἑλληνικὰ βιβλία τῆς Βιβλιοθήκης τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Ἰνστιτούτου Βενετίας*, *Θησαυρίσματα*, 6(1969)120-56.
- RENOUARD Renouard, A. A. *Annales de l'imprimerie des Alde*. 3. éd. Paris, 1834.

SANDER	Sander, M. <i>Le livre à figures italien depuis 1467 jusqu' à 1530</i> . New York, 1941. 6v.
SATHAS	Σάθας, Κ. Ν. <i>Νεοελληνική φιλολογία</i> . Ἐν Ἀθήναις, 1868.
SKLAVENITES	Σκλαβενίτης, Τ. Ε. Προσθήκες στὴν ἐλληνικὴ βιβλιογραφία (1536-1799), <i>Θησαυρίσματα</i> , 14(1977)127-56.
STC	British Library. Department of Printed Books. <i>Short-title Catalogue of Books Printed in Italy and of Italian Books Printed in Other Countries from 1465 to 1600 Now in the British Museum</i> . London, 1958.
STOYANOV	Stoyanov, M. <i>Stari gretski knigi v Bulgariia. Livres grecs anciens en Bulgarie</i> . Sofia, 1978.
ΘΗΕ	<i>Θρησκευτικὴ καὶ Ἠθικὴ Ἐγκυκλοπαίδεια</i> . Ἀθῆναι, 1962-1968. 12v.
VACCARO	Vaccaro, E. <i>Le marche dei tipografi ed editori italiani del secolo XVI nella Biblioteca Angelica di Roma</i> . Firenze, 1983. (Biblioteca di bibliografia italiana, 98).
VG	Vogel, M. & V. Gardthausen. <i>Die griechischen Schreiber des Mittelalters und der Renaissance</i> . Leipzig, 1909. (Beihefte zum Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen, 33).
VRETOS	Βρετός, Α. Παπαδόπουλος. <i>Νεοελληνική φιλολογία, ἥτοι Κατάλογος τῶν ἀπὸ πτώσεως τῆς Βυζαντινῆς αὐτοκρατορίας μέχρι ἐγκαθιδρύσεως τῆς ἐν Ἑλλάδι βασιλείας τυπωθέντων βιβλίων</i> . Ἐν Ἀθήναις, 1854-1857. 2v.
WEALE-BOHATTA	Weale, W. H. J. & H. Bohatta. <i>Bibliographia liturgica. Catalogus missalium ritus latini, ab anno M.CCCC.LXXIV. impressorum</i> . London, 1928.
ZAPPELLA	Zappella, G. <i>Le marche dei tipografi e degli editori italiani del Cinquecento: Repertorio di figure, simboli e soggetti e dei relativi motti</i> . Milano, 1986. 2v. (Grandi opere, 1).

Prolegomena

AS Director of the Hellenic Institute for Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Studies in Venice I am delighted to have the opportunity to preface a book by an old friend of mine and of the Institute, Evro Layton. Her book will be the sixteenth in the Institute's "Library"; it is in every way an excellent work and a valuable addition to our series of publications. Her theme is Greek printing in Venice up to 1600, and in particular the books intended to be read by Greeks, whatever their country of residence. However, the content of the book will be discussed in more detail below. First, something must be said about Ms Layton's relationship with the Institute, which goes back to the time of my predecessor, Professor Manoussos I. Manoussacas, now of the Academy of Athens, who initially encouraged Ms Layton, fifteen years ago, to work on this topic, and promised to publish her book in the Institute's series. I am pleased to have the opportunity to carry out this promise.

Since about 1980 Ms Layton has been pursuing her researches with unrivalled persistence, untiring diligence and an approach which is truly Anglo-Saxon in its thoroughness. She set out to collect information from all the libraries, some of which have published catalogues of their printed books, but also from small town libraries and from private collections scattered throughout Europe. Visiting the least accessible libraries in person, or writing to others to order microfilm or photocopies (usually with success, though by no means always), she gradually began to weave the first threads of her book. She had to create a whole system for obtaining information, not only from libraries, but also from friends, visitors and neighbours of inaccessible or unhelpful informants, so that finally it can be said, I think, that the material she has collected provides almost complete coverage of the field. The writer is now in a position to say that she has seen everything she needed to see, or almost everything, for in bibliographical research the unexpected is always waiting to surprise us. The books which were known to exist and which could not be found or could not be inspected amount, fortunately, to a very small percentage of the material which Ms Layton examines in her work. The Institute helped Ms Layton to the best of its ability in her dealings with the sources of information, by writing on her behalf to various libraries, especially those which had not responded to her enquiries. Some of the latter did take the trouble to reply to the Institute, and thus a number of gaps were filled. This shuttling of information continued until the very last moment, for the Institute's desire was to respond to and assist the author's unrelenting perfectionism.

A fruit of Ms Layton's individual pieces of research in this field — something that bonds her even more closely with the Institute — was the publication of three studies by her in our journal *Thesaurismata*, in 1979,¹ 1981² and 1990.³ The last of the three was particularly revealing, as it solved definitely a minor problem of Modern Greek literature, on which much ink had been spilled. It is a unique and unexpected "find": an undiscovered and so far unknown first edition of Bergadis' "Apokopos", a Cretan poem of the beginning of the 15th century, which was the first book to have been printed as early as 1509, a full decade before the assumed date of its first edi-

tion. Ms Layton found the book in the municipal library of the small French town of Sélestat (Schlettstadt) in Alsace. This superb find, announced, as we said, in the 1990 issue of *Thesaurismata*, has linked her name permanently with the "Apokopos", and I have no doubt that something similar will happen after the publication of the present volume: her name will be indelibly associated with the history of the first Greek printed books.

Through her work Ms Layton shows that her knowledge of the Greek printed books of the 15th and 16th centuries has very few if any rivals throughout the world. This volume is and will remain for a long time a reference book to which everyone working on medieval Greek civilisation will resort. And on that point I would like to emphasise how important this medieval Greek civilisation is for us, the Greeks of today, and how little we are disposed to understand and study it. Weaned as we are on a national ideology which gives absolute priority to the heritage of Greek Antiquity, we modern Greeks have a tendency to marginalise and devalue the heritage of the Greek Middle Ages, of the Byzantine and post-Byzantine periods, despite the fact that this second heritage is the one that actually confirms the unbroken linguistic unity and, more generally, the cultural continuity and the identity of Hellenism. At a time when the use of arguments from history for patriotic purposes and on issues of national concern has acquired (somewhat belatedly) more vital importance than ever before, references to the history of medieval Hellenism, if we know how to use them in a sober and accurate manner, without fanaticism and sloganeering, are far more persuasive and effective than references to distant Greek Antiquity. It is self-evident that modern Greek culture was born out of medieval Greek culture, and it is unhistorical and foolish to think that this fact offers us fewer reasons for national pride (if that is what we are mainly seeking) than a direct association with Ancient Greece, to which we habitually transport ourselves with extreme, almost magical, ease, passing over the centuries, the glorious centuries, of the Greek Middle Ages. I firmly believe that only the study of medieval Hellenism can bring modern Greeks closer to their roots, can provide ideological enrichment and can establish a firmer and more consistent historical self-awareness.

The Greek Middle Ages, as we have mentioned, should be understood as including the post-Byzantine period, which extends from the Fall of Constantinople to the end of the 16th century. This was an exceptionally critical period, during which the struggle for the national survival of the modern Greeks was primarily decided. It is truly a miracle that the struggle was eventually won, despite very unfavourable circumstances; a miracle which is due mainly to the Greeks of the Diaspora, to the nuclei of Hellenism which had been created in the midst of Europe by the refugees from the conquered Byzantine Empire and by emigrants or travellers from the Greek regions of the Levant under Western rule. There were, of course, Greeks everywhere: from the Danube to Alexandria and from Pontus to southern Italy. They were thinly spread, though, and they were minorities surrounded by arithmetically larger populations which threatened to remove all trace of the Greeks through assimilation to their own languages and religions. That these Greeks, scattered as they were to the ends of the earth, were able to join forces, to revolt and to found a state, which today has almost total ethnic homogeneity, more so than any other European state (apart from Portugal), is a tremendous historical achievement.

So everything began with the Hellenism of the Diaspora. And the most important centre of the Greek Diaspora for about two centuries after the Fall of Constantinople was Venice, where the Greek presence was proportionately more numerous than in other European cities. It has been calculated, not without a little exaggeration, that in the sixteenth century the Greeks of Venice reached 15,000 in number, in other words that they amounted to one tenth of the city's popula-

tion. Quite early, 1498, the oldest Greek Orthodox Community of the Diaspora was founded in Venice; its members included prosperous merchants, professionals and seamen, all genuine patriots and true benefactors to their nation. Within 43 years of the foundation of their Community the Greeks of Venice had managed to start building the church of St George, the most magnificent Greek Orthodox church in the West, and had created a support centre for their numerous compatriots who arrived as refugees from Turkish-occupied Greece, especially after the fall of Nauplion (1540) and of Cyprus (1571). They commissioned distinguished architects in the city, and they also sought out the best Greek artists in the Byzantine style for their church's internal decoration and its imposing iconostasis. Among the Community's first members were some well-known personalities in the Venetian printing industry, such as Markos Mousouros, who was Aldus Manutius' main collaborator in the editing of Ancient Greek texts and one of the greatest literary scholars the Greek nation has ever produced. Other members of the Community, if not themselves artists or professional scholars, were people with a deep and informed interest in the arts and in scholarship, and it was they who set the tone of the intellectual life of the Greek community in Venice, a city which was then one of the most important cultural centres in Europe. An organic and creative element in their intellectual life was undoubtedly the printing industry, of which Venice was the undisputed European capital.

On the Ottoman and Western occupied Greek Levant, throughout the 16th and 17th centuries, there was not a single printing press producing books in Greek. This was not due to a lack of demand for printed books — on the contrary, the Turkish occupied Greek East was actually the richest market to which the Greek editions produced in Venice were channeled — but to the prohibitions which were in force, deriving from the Ottomans' originally quite generalized attitude of suspicion towards the printer's art, and also to their indifference and contempt for the culture of their subjects. The adventures of Nikodemos Metaxas are well known. A native of Kefallenia and friend of the Ecumenical Patriarch Cyril Loukaris, he is mentioned as having printed three books in Constantinople between 1625 and 1627 — though actually, as Ms Layton has shown,⁴ he only printed half a book — before the Turks broke up his printery, urged on by the Jesuits, who were well aware that the printed work could be a dangerous weapon in the hands of their rivals. For Hebrew printing-presses there were no such restrictions; the Turks knew very well that their far less numerous Jewish subjects were no danger to the Ottoman Empire. And so as early as 1494 Hebrew printing-houses had already been founded in Constantinople and were remarkably productive.⁵ The first book to be printed in Modern Greek (and also in Spanish) in the Levant was published in Hebrew characters in Constantinople in 1547.⁶ The first printed books from within the borders of the Greek state were produced at the beginning of the 16th century by Jewish printing houses in Thessaloniki, where their production continued from then on almost without a break.⁷ A second attempt at establishing a printing-press within the present borders of Greece occurred in 1568-1574, when the Venetian governor of Kefallenia, Marcantonio Giustiniani, and his son Antonio, well-known editors and printers of Hebrew and Arabic books in Venice, moved their printery to the fortress of St George on that Venetian-occupied Greek island when the printing of Hebrew books was banned in their own city. There they began once again to print their books, or, more probably, to place surreptitiously on the market books which they had brought to Kefallenia from their warehouses in Venice, until finally they were denounced and were forced by the Holy Inquisition to stop their activities.⁸

In the Latin-occupied Greek Levant there predominated a similar feeling of suspicion, the same implicit or overt bans and restrictions on the free circulation of books. In these areas it

seems that there was, or was believed to be, a real risk that a Greek intelligentsia might emerge, dangerous in the long run for the Latin conquerors and the Catholic Church. Crete, for example, because of its geographical position, would have been an ideal place for the printing, marketing and exporting of books to the surrounding Greek- and Arabic-speaking world. Nonetheless, no conceivable impediments could stop the exporting of Greek books from Venice and their sale at commercial fairs or even in some general stores in the large cities.⁹ Both the popular chapbooks and ecclesiastical texts such as the *Octoechos*, the *Horologion* and the *Book of Psalms*, which were also used as school readers, formed the spiritual nourishment of large sections of the Greek population under Ottoman or Latin rule. A humble and poor nourishment for their spiritual needs, yet it was all that was available, and for that reason its value was inestimable.

For about 400 years Venice was to be the spiritual capital of modern Hellenism, the centre from which culture would radiate towards the mainly Turkish-occupied Greek East. One source of this culture was the neighbouring University of Padua, the principal centre where Greeks studied in the post-Byzantine period. But the most important source of all were the printed books, the books intended not for the Hellenists of Europe but for a humbler Greek readership. It has been shown that the sum total of Greek books in the second category, from the invention of printing up to 1600, were printed in Venice, usually by Italians, though also by a small number of Greek printers, among whom the name of Zacharias Kalliergis stands out.

Ms Layton's book examines the whole range of problems arising from her topic with exemplary knowledge and accuracy. She pays particular attention to the type-fonts used in these editions — their history, their design, and the differences between them and the fonts used for editions of Ancient Greek texts. From this point of view Ms. Layton's book supplements and continues the works of Proctor¹⁰ and Barker.¹¹ The meticulous examination of printers' fonts makes possible, of course, the more certain attribution of an edition to a particular printer when there is no other indication of its origin, and indeed it can also provide an indication of the date, where this is not shown on the book. Valuable information of a similar kind can be gleaned from a book's decorations and illustrations, which are treated by Ms Layton in a separate chapter. The illustrations and decorations in Greek books derive largely from Latin and Italian works; even some Orthodox ecclesiastical books have woodcuts whose style is more Renaissance than Byzantine, although some Byzantine influence can be discerned here and there. In secular books the style of the woodcuts is generally Renaissance. The publication and classification of the illustrations and decorations, with an indication of their origin wherever it can be established, forms another important aspect of Ms Layton's work, which here follows in the tradition of the books by the Prince d' Essling and by Max Sander, though necessarily on a much smaller scale because of the limited volume of material.

The two following chapters of the book give an extremely full inventory of all the editions of liturgical and other church books, together with other works on religious subjects, intended for the Greeks of Venice and for the Turkish-occupied Greek East, treating editions of each book separately. These books, which as has been mentioned, were also used as school texts, were reprinted much more frequently than secular works, which were usually small chapbooks with verse texts; larger works, and texts in prose, existed, but were much less common. Ms Layton's listing of the Venetian editions of all categories of books is extremely thorough, and supplements or corrects on many points both the study by Enrica Follieri¹² and that by Linos Politis on modern Greek literary works printed in the 16th century.¹³ The list includes an additional piece of information, exceptionally useful for researchers: it indicates which libraries hold copies of each book.

This information is invaluable for the literary scholar, since, in accordance with the latest demands of the discipline, the critical edition of an early text must take into account all surviving copies of its first editions, in order to establish whether corrections were made to the text by the author, the editor, a proof-reader or even a type-setter.¹⁴ Ms Layton's catalogue also includes books known to have existed although no copy survives, and even some "ghost books", whose inclusion in the list is useful because it establishes once and for all the fact of their non-existence.

The second part of her book is a brief encyclopedia of the persons who were linked in one way or another with the Greek book in 16th-century Venice. It includes exhaustive biographical and bibliographical information on all of them: on the printers, mainly Italians, and on all the people, mainly Greeks, publishers, editors, proof-readers, investors and others — who collaborated with them. In the first half of the 16th century these printers, and to a lesser extent their Greek collaborators, would also print some texts by Ancient Greek authors. Sometimes the opposite happened: famous printing-houses specialising in Ancient Greek texts, such as those of Aldus and the Giunti, tried their luck at printing two or three Greek liturgical books designed for Greek users. However, in the second half of the century the specialisation became more distinct: on the one hand there were presses which produced books specifically for the Greek reading public, and on the other there were those which printed exclusively texts of Ancient Greek writers. The list of books arranged according to their printers, which Ms Layton provides at the end of her work, is another extremely useful tool that makes the work of the researcher considerably easier. This second part of Ms Layton's book is a portrait-gallery of the individuals who played a major or minor role in the history of Greek printing in Venice, and in fact is a most valuable contribution to the history of modern Greek culture.

The author has produced an extremely useful work, for which she deserves the gratitude of all of us who are working on late Byzantine civilisation and on the post-Byzantine roots of modern Greek culture; indeed, of all of us, Greeks and non-Greeks, who are working on the cultural history of modern Greece. At this moment of conclusion we should not, perhaps, omit to mention that the author is a Greek of Cypriot extraction, née Evridiki Zeniou, married to the distinguished American composer B. J. Layton. This too has its importance; for such a long and laborious task one needs more than thoroughness, patience and accuracy; one also needs love for one's subject, self-sacrifice, and a good deal of patriotism. Finally, I would like to express my gratitude to the Leventis Foundation for their generous contribution to the cost of producing this book. Without their assistance it might never have been published.

Venice, May 1994

Nikolaos M. Panayotakis

NOTES

¹ E. Layton, Greek Bibliography: Additions and corrections (c. 1471-1829), *Θησαυρίσματα*, 16(1979)89-112.

² E. Layton, Notes on Some Printers and Publishers of 16th Century Modern Greek Books in Venice, *Θησαυρίσματα*, 18(1981)119-44.

³ E. Layton, Zacharias and Nikolaos Kallierges and the First Edition of the *Apokopos* of Bergadis, *Θησαυρίσματα*, 20(1990)206-17. See also the detailed study of this edition by Nikolaos M. Panayotakis, *The*



text of the first edition of the "Apokopos": a typographical and philological investigation [in Greek], *Thesaurismata*, 21(1991)89-209. In addition to the one mentioned in the next note, other studies by Ms Layton relevant to the topic include: The Modern Greek Collection in the Harvard College Library, *Harvard Library Bulletin*, 19(1971)1-23, and The First Printed Greek Book, *Journal of the Hellenic Diaspora*, 5(1979)63-79.

⁴ E. Layton, Nikodemos Metaxas, the First Greek Printer in the Eastern World, *Harvard Library Bulletin*, 15(1967)140-68.

⁵ Joseph Nehama, *Histoire des Israélites de Salonique*, t. I-II (La communauté Romaniote. Les Séfaradis et leur dispersion). Salonique, 1935, 158-62.

⁶ See the edition with transcription into the Greek alphabet by Dirk C. Hesseling, *Les cinq livres de la loi (le Pentateuque)*. Traduction en néogrec publiée en caractères hébraïques à Constantinople en 1547, transcrite et accompagnée d'un glossaire et d'un fac-simile. Leide-Leipzig, 1897. The translation of books of the Old Testament into Modern Greek and the use of the Hebrew alphabet for (Modern) Greek texts began at least three centuries earlier; see D. C. Hesseling, Le livre de Jonas, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 10(1901)208-16.

⁷ J. Nehama, op. cit., 159-62; idem, *Histoire des Israélites de Salonique*, t. III-IV (L'âge d'or du Séfardisme Salonicien, 1536-1593). Paris-Salonique, 1936, 199-203.

⁸ Paul F. Grendler, *The Roman Inquisition and the Venetian Press, 1540-1605*. Princeton, New Jersey, 1977, 123-27, 143-44. See also the proceedings of this interesting trial, published in the series: *Processi del S. Ufficio di Venezia contro Ebrei e giudaizzanti (1561-1570)*. A cura di Pier Cesare Ioly Zorattini. Firenze, 1982, III, 22-24, 139-72.

⁹ Stefanos Kaklamanis, Information on the trade in Western printed books in Candia under Venetian rule (mid-16th century) [in Greek], *Kretika Chronika*, 26(1986)152-76.

¹⁰ Robert Proctor, *The Printing of Greek in the Fifteenth Century*. Oxford, 1900.

¹¹ Nicolas Barker, *Aldus Manutius and the Development of Greek Script and Type in the Fifteenth Century*. Sandy Hook, Conn., 1985.

¹² Enrica Follieri, Il libro Greco per i Greci nelle imprese editoriali romane e veneziane della prima metà del Cinquecento, *Venezia, Centro di mediazione tra Oriente e Occidente (secoli XV-XVI). Aspetti e problemi*. Firenze, 1977, II, 483-508.

¹³ Linos Politis, Venezia come centro della stampa e della diffusione della prima letteratura neoellenica. *Venezia centro di mediazione*, ut sup., II, 443-82.

¹⁴ N. M. Panayotakis, op. cit., 98-100.

Introduction

Unlike what occurred in other countries, Greek printing began and developed almost exclusively outside Greece. The invention of printing in Germany c. 1450 coincided with the Fall of Constantinople in 1453 and the collapse of the Byzantine Empire, an event that left the Greek world under Turkish occupation for the next four centuries. Thus, while all of Europe was benefiting from this new and momentous invention, it was not possible for the Greek people in the occupied areas to take full advantage of it for a long time.

Printing hardly occurred on Greek soil until a little before the outbreak of the Greek War of Independence in 1821. There was a press established on Mount Athos from which one book, a Psalter printed in 1759, has come down to us. A handful of books and pamphlets came out from the presses of Chios and Kydoniai (now Ayvalik, Turkey), both established in 1819 and destroyed soon after the outbreak of the Greek Revolution. Elsewhere in the eastern Mediterranean the printing of Greek was tried with little success. In 1627 there was an attempt to bring printing to the heart of the Orthodox world, to Constantinople itself. However, because of the political climate created by the religious struggles of the Counter-Reformation, all attempts were short-lived. One book survives from a press in Smyrna in 1764. Moschopolis (now Voskopje, Albania) had a Greek press which produced some Greek religious books for local consumption between 1731 and 1760. The most sustained printing activities in the Balkans came from the Greek presses of the Rumanian principalities, one of which was established at the monastery of Cetatzuia in Jassy by Dositheos, Patriarch of Jerusalem, in 1682 and one in Bucarest in 1690. Later, in the middle of the eighteenth century, the Greeks of Vienna began to produce and finance a great number of Greek books for Greek readers and also published the first Greek newspapers and journals.

It is not accidental, however, that Greek printing in the West was launched in Italy. The Renaissance had generated great interest in the culture of classical Greece and Rome. Moreover, Venice, which had given asylum to the first colony of Greek immigrants after the Fall of Constantinople, became the center of Greek printing not only for the publication of classical authors for Western readers, but also, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, began producing Greek books for Greek readers. The bulk of Greek books for Greek readers continued to be supplied by the Venetian presses until the establishment of the modern Greek State. Venice had a large Greek community of refugee intellectuals who settled there from various parts of the occupied Greek lands. In the fifteenth century the most intensive activity of Greek printing in Italy was centered on classical authors, grammars and lexicons of ancient Greek, and was mainly directed to the humanist scholars of the Western world. By the end of the fifteenth century, however, there were at least three books published that also had a Greek clientele in mind. This activity continued and intensified so that by the middle of the sixteenth century, Greek books for Greek readers not only equalled but surpassed the Venetian output of classical Greek texts.

This work mainly documents the activities of the Greek presses of Venice during the sixteenth century in producing Greek books for Greek readers. There is much that is yet to be revealed

about the role members of the Greek community of Venice played in the production and financial backing of these books. Recent publications of various notarial acts and privilegia from the Venetian archives has demonstrated that many of these books, as was the custom at the time, were financed by small groups of businessmen who formed consortia with the purpose of printing a specific number of books. Until the middle of the sixteenth century the printers and publishers who printed Greek books for Greek readers were the same as those who also produced the classical editions. The only exception was the firm established in 1521 by Andreas Kounadis and Damiano di Santa Maria, which specialized exclusively in publishing books for Greek readers. During the second half of the sixteenth century, most of the printers and publishers who produced these books specialized in books of this category.

Although the emphasis in this study is on the books printed for Greek consumption, an attempt has been made to list all types of Greek books printed by each of the printers studied.

Part One

Types, Illustration, The Books

I

Printing Types

GREEK printing first developed outside the boundaries of the Greek-speaking world, and the demand for it was limited to a very specialized clientele of scholars and patrons of Greek, primarily in Italy. Although Greek words and phrases appeared in Latin books both in Germany and Italy as early as 1465, it was not until about ten years later that entire books were printed in Greek. It should not be surprising, therefore, to find that although there were over 18,000 incunabula printed in Latin throughout Europe during the fifteenth century and about 2,000 printed in Italian,¹ there was only a total of sixty-six or sixty-seven at the most printed in Greek.

Robert Proctor, in his study of Greek printing in the fifteenth century, lists only sixty-three Greek incunabula.² However, to Proctor's list must be added three books "discovered" more recently. One is an undated edition of the *Ἑρωτήματα* of Manouel Chrysolaras (IGI no. 2777; LAYTON no. 2), ascribed to an unknown Florentine press (fig. 1).³ This work, assigned to c. 1475 by the IGI, is at the Riccardiana in Florence. More recently, Nicolas Barker places its publication between 1488 and 1494. He came to this conclusion because the paper used to print the work was in use in Florence between 1491 and 1494, and also because the type was modelled after the one designed by Demetrios Damilas that was used in Florence in 1488 for the printing of the first edition of Homer (BMC VI, 678).⁴ This conclusion might well be correct, since Florence was not among the cities that possessed early Greek type. In the colophon of the very first book printed there in 1471/72, the printers Bernardo and Domenico Cennini told the prospective buyers of the book that, due to the difficulties of printing Greek, spaces had been left blank where Greek quotations should be for the reader to supply them with his own hand.⁵ The other two works now included among the incunabula are *Τὸ καθ' Ἑλένην καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον* of Demetrios Moschos, printed c. 1500 at Reggio Emilia (BMC VII, 1091; BH I no. 26; SANDER no. 4904), and the *Breuissima introductio ad litteras graecas* (SANDER no. 3521; LAYTON no. 3) printed by Aldus Manutius c. 1497.⁶ These additions bring the total to sixty-six. To this list, one could conceivably add the single page of Athenaeus printed by Aldus Manutius in 1499 (GOFF no. A-1175), now at the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York City, to bring the count to sixty-seven.⁷

It was in Mainz, Germany, sometime in 1465, that Johann Fust and Peter Schöffer attempted to include some Greek words and phrases in their edition of Cicero's *De officiis* (BMC I, 23; GW no. 6921; fig. 2). The Greek type in this book was crudely designed. It is obvious that the printers did not know Greek, as some of the letters were printed backwards, and the sentences were often incomprehensible. After the second edition of the work in 1466, Greek type was abandoned by printers in Germany for two decades. German printers either omitted Greek altogether, used

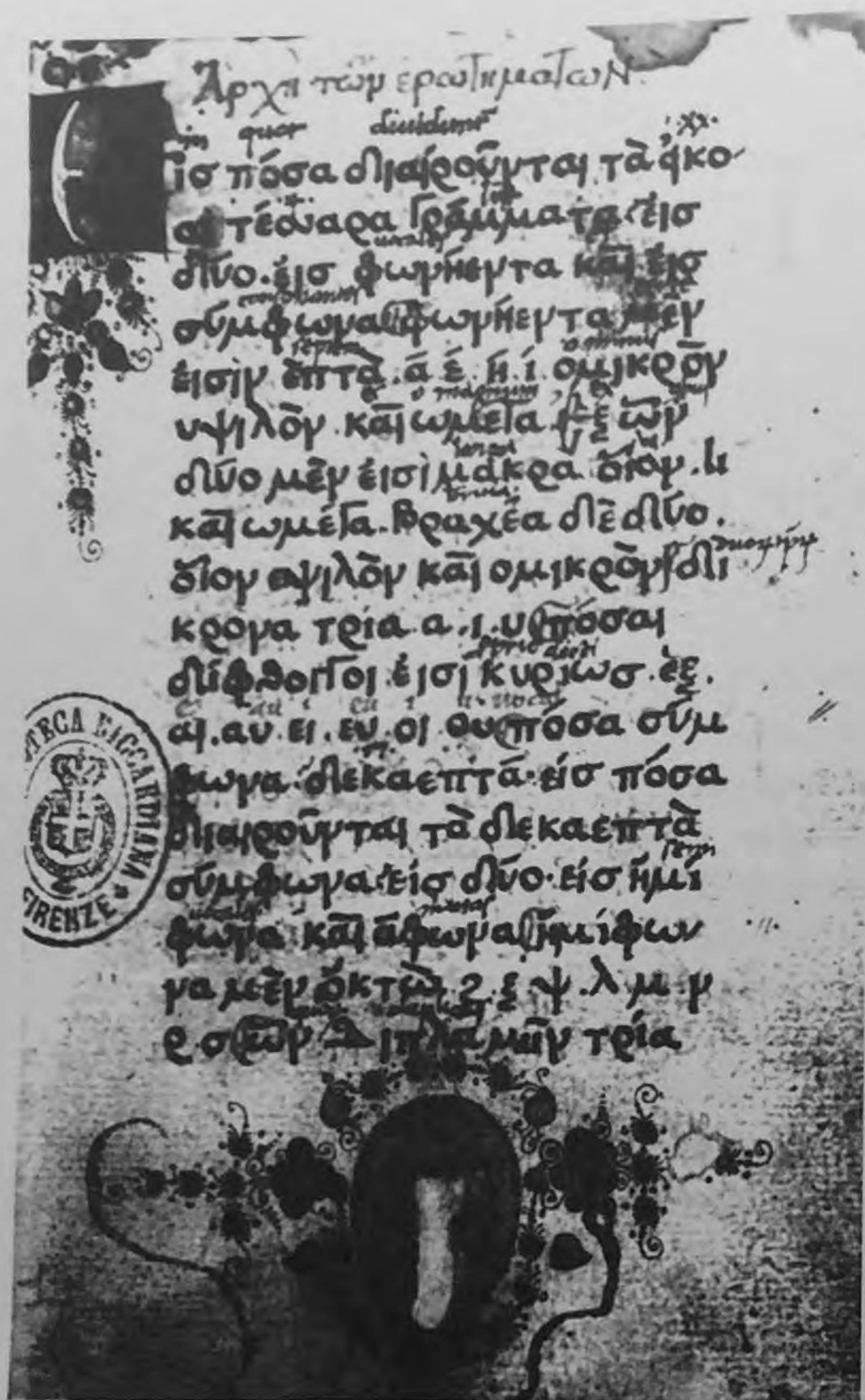


fig. 1

transliteration, or left space for manuscript to be written. It was not until the 1480s that they made more attempts to use Greek words and phrases in their Latin books. The first complete text in Greek did not appear in Germany until the 1513 publication of a Greek and Latin version of the *Batrachomyomachia*, printed in Wittenberg by Johann Grünenberg.⁸ Although Greek was used in Latin books in several countries in the fifteenth century, the only country which produced Greek incunabula, i.e., complete texts printed in Greek, was Italy. In October 1465, at the monastery of Subiaco near Rome, the German printers Conrad Sweynheym and Arnold Pannartz, who introduced printing to Italy, printed the *Lactantius Opera* (BMC IV, 2; fig. 3). This work contained substantial Greek quotations, and the Greek type used was superior to that in the Mainz Cicero in Germany. Although there were no accents or breathing marks — a feature that was to plague subsequent printers of Greek — the font consisted of a complete lower-case alphabet.⁹ From then on,

a good many printers in Italy experimented with Greek type with varying degrees of success.

A number of early printers working in Rome had Greek fonts, although their use of Greek was strictly limited to quotations in Latin books.¹⁰ Besides Sweynheym and Pannartz, who moved to Rome from Subiaco, several other printers possessed Greek type. The Greek letter of the Roman printers of this period is generally larger and rounder in appearance than the early Greek type used by printers in Venice and elsewhere in Italy. None of this type was equipped with breathing marks or accents.¹¹

Greek made its first appearance in Venice in 1471, when several printers acquired Greek type. Only the two most important will be mentioned here: Nicolas Jenson and Adam of Ammergau. Nicolas Jenson's Greek type is considered by many incunabulists to be the best Greek type of the fifteenth century. Adam of Ammergau in 1471 printed what was "the nearest approach to a Greek book made up to that time."¹² The book was a Greek grammar written in Latin with many Greek examples. It was an abridged version of the Chrysoloras *Erotemata* in the redaction of Guarinus Veronensis (GW no. 6701; LAYTON no. 1; fig. 4).

Outside Subiaco, Rome, and Venice, there were printers who had Greek fonts in Padua, Ferrara, Treviso, Vicenza, and Milan. All of these early fonts were used exclusively to print quotations and other Greek passages in Latin books and were designed — with one notable exception to be discussed later — and used by printers who either did not know Greek or whose knowledge of Greek was very limited. The result frequently was the misuse of accents and breathing marks or their complete absence from the font.¹³

Thus far, we have seen that Greek type was used in a number of cities in Italy to print words and phrases in Latin books. This type, although of varying quality of craftsmanship and execution, was, for the most part, an upright miniscule. R. Proctor calls it "Graeco-Latin" because it was modelled after the hand of scribes who were neither Greek nor within the Greek manuscript tradition. This type imitated the Greek found in Latin manuscripts written by Italian or other non-Greek scribes. Undoubtedly, this upright latinized minuscule was used because it blended well with the Roman type with which the books were printed.¹⁴

Continuous texts did not appear in Greek until about 1474. The closest approach to a Greek book before this time was the Latin abridged version of Chrysoloras's *Erotemata* that was printed in Venice by Adam of Ammergau.¹⁵ The Ammergau Chrysoloras used Greek for chapter headings and grammatical examples (fig. 4). Another book which used extensive Greek quotations was Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae*, 1472 (BMC V, 171), printed by Nicolas Jenson (fig. 5).¹⁶ The Greek font used by Jenson is considered by many to be the best Greek font of the fifteenth century. Recently it has been suggested that the Jenson Greek — as well as the previous Greek of John and Wendelyn de Spira — does not belong to the Graeco-Latin group but rather to the "Early Greek Class" because the type was fashioned after the writing of a native Greek hand. However, the writing is not a "natural text hand" but, instead, it resembles "a formalized script appropriate to headings."¹⁷

The first text completely printed in Greek is a *Batrachomyomachia*, c. 1474, attributed to the press of Thomas Ferrandus in Brescia. The work has been assigned to this press because the Roman type used for the Latin translation was the one used by Thomas Ferrandus to print his *Statuta communis Brixiae* in 1473 (BMC VII, 962).¹⁸ The second Greek incunable after the *Batrachomyomachia* is Manouel Chrysoloras's *Erotemata* (fig. 6), printed at Vicenza c. 1475 (BMC VII, 1038; GW no. 6696; BH III no. 77). Here too, as in the case of the *Batrachomyomachia* there is no indication of place, printer, or date of publication in the book. Proctor originally assigned it to the press of Giovanni da Reno, or Renner, who was active in Vicenza at this time. However, the ascription to Giovanni da Reno has been revised, and the book is now listed in various catalogues of incunabula as belonging to an unknown press of Vicenza.¹⁹ The Greek type of the Vicenza Chrysoloras was the very first attempt to reproduce the contemporary cursive hand, thus anticipating the Aldine cursive by some twenty years. Its existence shows that, as early as 1475, there was interest in reproducing the script of the day. Barker has observed similarities between the type of the Vicenza Chrysoloras and the hand of Demetrios Chalcondyles and is convinced that the type was fashioned after his hand.²⁰

ΟΤΙΧ ΟΚΟC ΟCΟΦΟC ΦΑΝΥΘΗΡΟC. ΚΑΙ ΤΙ ΑCΑΦΡΟC
OMnes sapiētes liberos esse. et **Q**UOY AOC.
 Stultos omnes suos. Laudetur vero hic impa-
 tor. aut etiā appelletur. aut h. noīe dignus putetur.
 Quō aut cui tandem hic libero impabit. qui non pē-
 cupiditatibz suis imparet? Refrenet p̄mū libidines.

fig. 2

distenta capelle. Vbera nec magnos memēt armēta leones. Quę poeta scdm
 Cumę libillę carmīa, plocum ē. Erithrea uero sic ait. οἱ δὲ λύκοι σὺν
 αρμαῖς ἐς οὐρεσίμαμαγε εἰδοῦται χορτὸν παρδαλῖς τε
 φοῖς αμαβόσκῃσονται αρκτοὶ σὺν μοσχοῖς ὁμόν καὶ π
 ασί βροτοῖς σαρκόβορος τελευτᾷ φαγεται αχῦρον παρ
 φατμαῖς σὺν βρεφεσί τε δρακοῦ τεσ αματοῖς κοιμησού
 ται. Id est nec lupi cū agnīs in mōtibus dīmīcabūt. Herbāq; līnces cū edīs
 pascent. Vrsi cū mīulis simul omībus aīalibus carnīuorās leo comedet pa
 leas ad p̄sepia. cū infanīb; dracones sine mīibus dormiēt. Et alio loco de
 libertate rerū. καὶ τότε δὴ χαρὰν μεγαλήν θεὸς ἀνδράσι δώ
 σει καὶ γὰρ γῆ καὶ δρυδρα καὶ ἀσπτετα θρεμματα γαῖης δ
 ωσονσί καρποῦτον ἀληθίμου ἀνθρώποισι μ οἶνον καὶ με
 λίτος γλῦκερον λευκὸν τε γαλακτὸς καὶ σίτον ὅπερ ἐσ
 τὶ βροτοῖς καλλίστον ἀπαρτῶν. Id est Et tūc gaudiū magnū
 deus dabit hōibus. nā et terra et arbores et innumerabilia terrę pecora da
 bunt fructū uerū hōibus uini et mellis dulcissimi. et cādidi lactis. atq; tritici.
 qđ ē hōibus optimū oīm. Et alia eodē mō. ἐν σέβειων δε μορὸς ἀγίας

fig. 3

The first Greek book to provide definite information about the place, printer, and date of publication was the *Ἐπιτομὴ τῶν ὀκτῶ τοῦ λόγου μερῶν* of Constantinos Lascaris (BMC VI, 731; BH I no. 1): "Mediolani Impressum per Magistrum Dionysium Parauisinum, MCCCCLXXVI. Die xxx Ianuarii." (fig. 7). Moreover, the Lascaris work also furnished information about the man responsible for its existence; its editor and publisher, Demetrios Damilas, also known as Demetrios of Crete or Demetrios Mediolaneus. In his preface, Damilas spoke of the difficulties he had to overcome in order to print Greek: "Therefore, after much consideration and also after even more experimentation, I finally discovered that I should be able to print Greek books both in agreement with the joining of the letters, which are many and various with the Greeks, and in accordance with the placing of the accents which is especially difficult and requires no small attention."²¹ This passage indicates that Damilas was not merely the editor and publisher of the work, but that he also designed the font. This conclusion is strengthened by the fact that, when Damilas later went to Florence to take part in the printing of the first Homer, he was still in possession of the Lascaris punches or matrices, from which the type was recast for the first edition of Homer (BMC VI, 678; BH I no. 5).²² The type Damilas designed — the type of the Milan Lascaris and the Florentine Homer (fig. 8) — was an upright cursive with few ligatures. It was the first Greek font to introduce a complete set of capitals: decorative, elongated capitals based on Byzantine calligraphic manuscripts. Barker, who has tried to identify the handwriting of the scribe from which each type was fashioned, believes that Damilas, instead of using his own elegant script, chose instead the hand of Michael Apostolis because it was a distinctive hand with an absence of ligatures in it.²³

After the appearance of the Homer in 1488/89, the name of Damilas vanishes from the annals of printing. However, thanks to the recent researches of Mgr. Paul Canart, one can now trace the activities of Demetrios Damilas as a scribe. Damilas, who was in Florence as early as 1484, also copied manuscripts for the Medici and was closely associated with Demetrios Chalcondyles, the editor of the Homer, who most likely brought Damilas to Florence. Mgr. Canart was able to identify

ΠΕΜΠΤΗ Quinta declinatio synaresiatorum
nominum est in neutris in ασ purum vel in
ρασ quorū genitiuus in ατοσ & αοσ & ωσ
synaresiatum facit.

Το κρεασ caro τον κρεατοσ cōiter et κρε
αοσ ionice & κρεωσ attice. Το κερασ cornu
αο in ω. αα in α. αε in α. α ι diuisas in α cū
iota subscripto. & sic est diphthongus īpro-
pria. αοι ī ω cum iota subscripto α & ο puum
uertuntur in ω magnum & iota subscribitur
αω in ω.

Longa uocali pracedente nunquam synaresis
fit. fit autē uel ex breui & longa uel ex duabus
breuibus. semp autē ī longā uertūt hoc mō

α	α	α	α	α	ω	ω	ω	ω
αα	αε.	αη.	αι.	αει.	αο.	αοι.	αον.	αω
η	η	η	ει	ει	οι	ον	ον	ω
εα	εε.	εη.	ει.	εει.	εοι.	εο.	εον.	εω
ω	ον	οι	η	οι	οι	ον	ω	
οα	οε	οει	οη	οι	οοι	οον	οω	
ον			οι					
υ	υ							
υε	υα							

fig. 4

nū: qui se stoicos nūcuparent. Vltroque uerborum & argutiarū fuligie ob oculos audientium iacto: sanctissime disciplinæ nomine mentirēt. εἰπέ μοι περὶ ἀγαθῶν. καὶ κακῶν ἀκούεις. ἰλιόθεν με φέρων ἄνεμος κικόναςί τέλασεν. τῶν ὄντων τὰ μέν ἐστιν ἀγαθὰ. τὰ δὲ κακὰ. τὰ δὲ ἀδιάφορα ἀγαθὰ μέν ὄν. ἀρεταί. κακὰ τὰ μετέχοντα κακίας. ἀδιάφορα δὲ τὰ μεταξὺ τούτων: πλόντος: συνυγία: ζωὴ θάνατος: ἡ δόνη: νόμος: πόθεν οἶδας ὅντως ἐλληνικός λέγει ἐν τοῖς αἰγυπιακοῖς. τί γάρ διαφέρει τούτο εἰπεῖν ἢ ὅτι Διογένης ἐν τῇ ἠθικῇ: ἢ χρυσίππος ἢ κλεάνθης: βεβασάνικας δὴν αὐτό: καὶ λόγος σπαντὸν πεποίησαι: δείκνυε πῶς εἰώθασ ἐν πλοῖῳ χειμάζεσθαι μέμνησαι τάντησ τῆς διαιρέσεως ὅταν ψοφήσῃ τὸ ἰσίον: καὶ ἀνακραυγᾷς ἐάν σοι τίς ὄντως πῶς παρασθεῖς εἴπῃ λέγε μοι σὺ ἄ πρῶν ἤλεγες: μὴ κακίᾳ ἐστὶ τὸ γαναγῆσαι: μὴ τῆς κακίας μετέχον οὐκ ἄρα ξύλον ἐνσεῖσεις αὐτό τί ἡμῖν. καὶ σοὶ ἄνθρωπε. ἀπολύμεθα. καὶ σὺ ἐλθὼν παίζεις. ἐάν δέ σε ὁ καίσαρ μεταπέμψῃται κατηγορούμενον. idest de bonis cedo: & malis

fig. 5

Damilas as the elegant scribe known to paleographers as the "Librarius Florentinus," who, after his sojourn in Florence, moved to Rome in 1490 where he spent several years copying manuscripts for the Vatican.²⁴ Thus Demetrios Damilas was the first of a series of Greek scribes who were actively involved in various capacities with Greek printing in Italy during the fifteenth century.

In Florence, after the printing of the 1488/89 Homer, the Damilas type was used to print three more books before it was retired. The printer who used the type was Benedictus Ricardinus, who printed two of the three books for Filippo Giunta (fig. 9).²⁵ The third book is an undated Chrysoloras (BMC VI, 690; GW no. 6695; BH I no. 2). Although there is no indication of printer or publisher, it is now considered to have been published for the Giunti as well.²⁶

Meanwhile, in Milan, Bonus Accursius²⁷ and the printers B. and J. A. de Honate produced seven books between 1478 and 1481 with a type similar to that of Damilas, but larger (fig. 10).²⁸ The Bonaccorso type passed to the hands of Ulrich Scinzenzeler of Milan, who printed two more books with it, both edited by Demetrios Chalcondyles, who had moved to Milan from Florence around 1491 (fig. 11).²⁹

Although Venice was to become the center of Greek printing in the last decade of the fifteenth century (a supremacy that it also held throughout the sixteenth century, at least in Italy), it did not gain this importance until the advent of Aldus Manutius. It was not until 1484 that the first complete Greek text was printed there, another edition of Chrysoloras's grammar (BMC V, 390; GW no. 6698).³⁰ The font of this first Greek book with a Venetian imprint belonged to the Graeco-Latin group, and the type itself was imported from Vicenza by the printer Dionysius Bertochus.³¹ After printing a Greek-Latin (fig. 12) and a Latin-Greek lexicon by Crastonus (BMC VII, 1049-50; GW nos. 7813, 7817) in Vicenza, Bertochus moved to Venice and entered into partnership with a fellow townsman, Peregrino de Pasquale, who was already working there. Together they brought out the Chrysoloras grammar of 1484 mentioned above.³²

Two years later, two Cretans, Laonikos of Crete³³ and Alexandros Alexandrou, the son of Georgios Alexandrou each printed a book using a type based on early liturgical manuscripts. The type was difficult to read and had a great number of ligatures and contractions that must have

το συγκριτικὸν καὶ διὰ τῆς ὑπερ- τος· τὸν υπερθετικὸν ποιεῖ· οἷον βραχίον· βραχυτέρος· βραχυτά- τος· καὶ ὡς μέν τὰ καλῶν καλίστος· τὰ χιῶν τὰ χιωνέτα· χιῶν· τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ὡς ἄλλοις λεγόντα· ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦ πλεονάζοντος· ἐσέρος· καὶ ἐσατος· ποιεῖ· οἷον σωφρον- σωφρονέρος· σωφρονέστερος· σωφρο- νέστατος· εὐνοῶν· εὐνούτερος· εὐνούνστατος·	Comparatium . & per vtra- tos superlatium facit . vt Breuis . breuior . breuissi- m⁹ . Dulcistamē . dulcior . dulcis- sim⁹ . Celer . celerior . celerrim⁹ . Cetera at̄ i aliud qd d̄sinētia . vt plurimum in ἐσέρος . & ἐσατος faciunt . vt iteger . integrior . Integerrimus . Beniuolēs . beniuolentior . beniuolentissimus .
τὰ συγκριτικὰ, τὰ γενικῶς τάσσεται· οἷον νεώτερος· νεώτε- ρος· ἡ ἀνδριώτερος· ἡ σοφώτερος· καὶ τῆς ὁτι κησμαινοῦσιν ὑπερβο- λῶν· οἷον, φραγκίσκος ἐστὶ μέ- ζων τῆς ἐλπίδος ἐν ἰσχυρίῳ· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὰ ὑπερθετικὰ· πατρωνυμικὸν ὄνομα ἐστὶ, τὸ	Comparatiua genitiuo con- struuntur . vt Iunior te sum . uel fortior . uel prudentior . & datiuo significante hyperbo- len . vt Franciscus est maior spe vno digito : similiter . & superlatiua . Patronymicū nomen est : φ

fig. 6

made it very cumbersome to use. It has been suggested that this type, which was crudely designed and alien to Venetian practice and craftsmanship, perhaps was cut in Crete (fig. 13).³⁴ Because both works, a *Batrachomyomachia* (BMC V, 408; BH I no. 3) and a *Psalterion* (BMC V, 409; BH I no. 4), were printed in red and black, scholars have tended to believe that the printers had planned to issue a series of liturgical publications for the Orthodox Church that, for one reason or another, did not materialize. These three books, the Chrysoloras grammar printed by Peregrino de Pasquale and Dionysius Bertochus and the two books brought out by Laonikos of Crete and Alexandros Alexandrou were the sole contribution of Venice to Greek printing before the establishment of the Aldine press.

Before the advent of the Aldine press and its introduction of the cursive type and while the other printers or designers of Greek type such as Demetrios Damilas, Laonikos, and Alexandros

ΕΠΙΤΟΜΗ ΤΩΝ ΟΚΤΩ ΤΟΥ ΛΟΓΟΥ
ΜΕΡΩΝ ΚΑΙ ἈΛΛΩΝ ΤΙΝΩΝ ἈΝΑΓΚΑΙ
ΩΝ. ΣΥΝΤΕΘΕΪΣΑ ΠΑΡΑ ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝ
ΤΙΝΟΥ ΛΑΣΚΑΡΕΩΣ ΤΟΥ ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΟΥ

Περὶ Διαιρέσεως τῶν γραμμάτων

βιβλίου πρώτου.

Γράμμα ἑστὶ μέρος ἐλάχιστον φωνῆς ἀδι-
αίρετον. Εἰσὶ δὲ ἑξήκοντα εἰκοσιτέσσα-
ρα. Τούτων φωνήεντα μὲν ἑπτὰ. α ε
η ι ο μικρὸν υ φίλον καὶ ω μέγα.
Συμφωνὰ δὲ δεκαεπτὰ. β γ δ ζ
θ κ λ μ ν ξ π ρ σ τ φ χ ψ. Τῶν
δὲ φωνήεντων μὲν δύο η καὶ ω μέγα.
Βραχέα δὲ δύο. ε φίλον καὶ ο μικρὸν. Δίχρονα
δὲ τρία α ἰ υ. Ἐξῶν δὲ φθογγοὶ κυρίως μὲν ἑξ
γίνονται. αι αυ οι α ου. Καταχρηστικῶς
δὲ τέσσαρες α η ω υ. Τῶν δὲ συμφωνῶν ἑ
μίφωνα μὲν οκτώ. ζ ξ ψ λ μ ν ρ σ. Ὡς δὲ
πλὴν μὲν τρία. ζ ξ ψ. Ἀμετάβολα δὲ τέσσα-
ρα. λ μ ν ρ. Ἀφωνα δὲ ἑννέα. β γ δ κ π
τ θ φ χ. Ὡς φίλα μὲν τρία. κ π τ. Δασέα
α δὲ τρία. θ φ χ. Μείσα δὲ τρία. β γ δ.
Ἐκ τῶν διηρημένων δὲ τῶνδε γραμμάτων αὖτε
λαβὰ γίνονται. οἶον πε. ὅθεν αλέξας. οἶον πέ-
τρος. ἐξ ὧν ὁ λόγος οἶον ὅτι πρὸς δὲ γραφῆς ὡς κδ :

fig. 7

Alexandrou were still experimenting, a small but steady production of Greek books printed in the Graeco-Latin tradition continued to appear until 1491. Mention has already been made of the printers working in Brescia, Parma, Vicenza, and Venice. The last printer to use a Graeco-Latin font was Leonardus Achates³⁵ in Vicenza. He printed four books between 1489 and 1491, all of them grammatical compendia and lexicons: two by C. Lascaris (BMC VII, 1032-1033; BH I no. 6 and III no. 38) and two by M. Chrysoloras (BMC VII, 1033-1034; GW nos. 6699-6700; BH III nos. 39-40). With the exception of the very first book in the Graeco-Latin class, the c. 1474 Brescia *Batrachomyomachia* mentioned above,³⁶ all other publications in this group were either grammatical treatises or lexicons. Another characteristic of the Graeco-Latin group was that, invariably, the Greek text was printed in columns parallel with its Latin translation. The only exception was the c. 1489 Lascaris *Προοίμιον τοῦ περὶ ὀνόματος καὶ ῥήματος*, (BMC VII, 1032; BH I no. 6) which was printed entirely in Greek (fig. 14).

In Florence in 1494, Ianos (Janus) Lascaris experimented with a font consisting entirely of two sets of small and large capitals, with accents and breathing marks introduced later. In the dedicatory epistle to Piero de' Medici in his edition of the *Ἀνθολογία διαφόρων ἐπιγραμμάτων*, 1494 (BMC VI, 666; GW no. 2048; BH I no. 13), Lascaris explained that he wished to cleanse Greek type from ugliness and degeneration.³⁷ Besides the Greek anthology of 1494, Lascaris published two undated books printed entirely with this type. They are *Γνῶμαι μονόστιχοι*, 1494-1496 (BMC VI, 667; BH I no. 16), and four plays of Euripides (BMC VI, 667; GW no. 9431; BH I no. 15). All of the Lascaris Florentine editions were printed by Lorenzo di Alopa³⁸. In 1496, a lowercase cursive was added to the font in order to print commentaries whenever it was necessary to add them to a text (fig. 15). The Lascaris cursive appeared a year after the Aldine cursive. Proctor, who describes it in detail, maintains that, although the type was inspired by the Aldine cursive, it was nevertheless quite different in execution and detail, simple, and, in some ways, better.³⁹ Five more books were printed with these types, two in 1496 and three without date of publication, all again printed by Lorenzo di Alopa.⁴⁰ Barker, who has tried to identify the handwriting from which the type was modelled, states that the lowercase cursive type of the Lascaris font was fashioned after the handwriting of Demetrios Damilas. Damilas, who had left Florence for Rome in 1490, "presumably returned from Rome for the purpose."⁴¹ Barker further states that Zacharias Kallierges was the man who cut the Florence lowercase of 1496: "Looking at the two types, the Florentine lower-case of 1496 and Callierges' of 1499, I find it hard to believe that they are not cut by the same hand...there is a similarity about the style of cutting and the stance of the letters on the page which makes the two printed books look more like each other than either is to the manuscripts written by those on whose hands the types are modelled."⁴²

About the time that Ianos Lascaris was experimenting with his majuscule type, Aldus Manutius was launching a style of Greek letter that was to dominate the printing of Greek for a

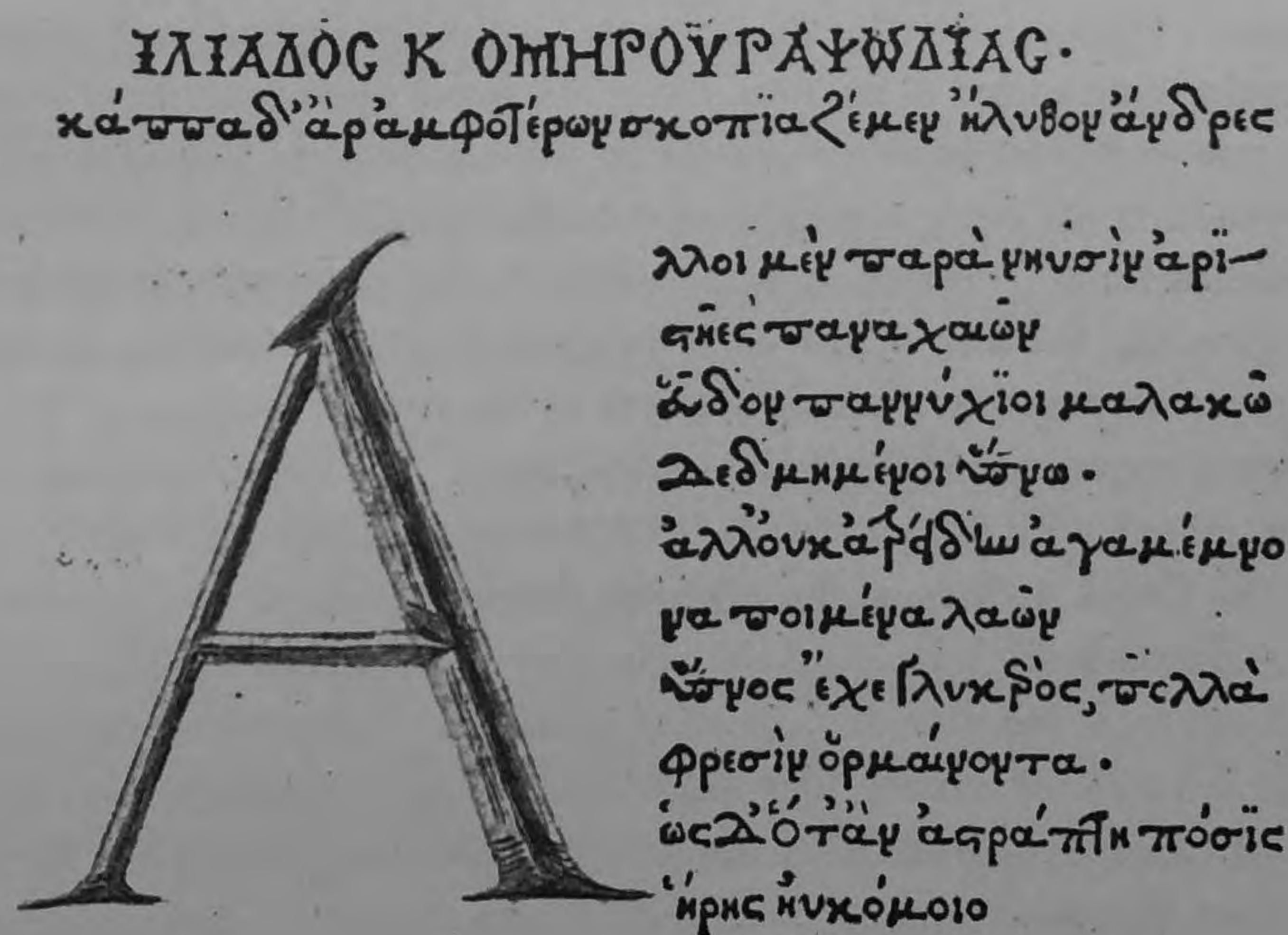


fig. 8

εἰς ἀφροδίτην.
 μέριμναι λυκίων βασιλίδεα κουρα-
 φροδίτην.
 ἦσ' ὅτ' ἀλεξικάκοιο περίπληθοντες ἀρωγῆς,
 παρὶδος ἡμετέρης θεοφράδμοις ἡγεμονῆς,
 ἱερὸν ἰδρύσαντο κατὰ πόλιεθρον ἀγαλμα.
 σύμβολ' ἐχον ποιεοῖο γάμου ποερῶν ὑμεγαλῶν.
 ἡφάστου πυρόεντος· ἰδούρα μιν ἀφροδίτης.
 καὶ ἐβένῳ ὁ ὀμνηαὺ ὀλυμπίαν· ἦς διὰ κέρτος,
 πολλάκι μὲν βαράτοιο βροτοφθόρον ἐκφυγοῖον.
 εἰς δ' ἀρετὴν ἐχον ὄμμα. τολεσιγόμων δ' ἀπὸ λεκτρῶν,
 ἐμπεδος ἀγλαόμητις ἀμασάχυσ κεγεμεθλη.
 πάρτη δ' ἡπιοόωρος ἐν βιότοιο βαλήρη.
 ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμετέρεν ὑποδέχυνσο πότρα θυλήν,
 λεπίης· λυκίων γὰρ ἀφάιματος ἐμὶ καὶ αὐτός.
 τυχήν δ' ἀφ' ἀνάφρον, ἀπ' αἰσχίος εἰς πολὺ κάλλος,
 γηέρεος προφυγοῦσαν ὀλοῖον οἴτρον ἐρωῆν.

fig. 9

long time to come. Aldus chose as his model the cursive script of contemporary Greek scribes. The script of this period had a great many ligatures and contractions, which Aldus's punch-cutter, Francesco Griffo da Bologna, faithfully reproduced. When the accents and breathing marks were added to the font, the result was a great number of sorts. This made the font difficult to use and must have slowed down the compositors considerably. Why did Aldus, who had a reputation for being a good businessman, choose such an expensive way to produce his Greek publications? The reason was neither esthetic nor typographical, but financial. At the very beginning, the aim of the early printers was to produce a printed book which resembled as closely as possible the manuscripts of the time. "Because of this aim, the first printers made certain errors in designing and cutting types, which have profoundly influenced typography, and not always with happy results."⁴³ Aldus, in fashioning his Greek type, tried to imitate the script of the Greek scribes of the fifteenth century because this was the style with which the Italian humanists were most familiar. He wanted to make his publications attractive to his clients. Moreover, at the time, his clients would hardly have found the type difficult to read because this was the style of writing they knew best. In fact, there is reason to believe that it was the type of Ianos Lascaris, with its large and small uppercase capitals that seem to us today so clear and easy to read, that the humanists found difficult to read. M. Lowry mentions that, among the books and manuscripts sent by Guillaume Pellicier, the French ambassador to Rome and Venice during the 1530s and 1540s, was a copy of the Lascaris Greek anthology of 1494 printed in capital letters. When the Pellicier collection was inventoried, the book was classified under a category of "books which cannot easily be read because of their age."⁴⁴

ἩΣΙΟΔΟΥ ΤΟΥ ἈΣΚΡΑΪΟΥ ἜΡΓΑ
ΚΑΙ ἩΜΕΡΑΙ.

α

οὔσαι πιερίνηεν ἀοιδῇσι

κλέφουσαι

δεῦτε δὲ, ἐρμέετε σφέτερον πατέρ
ὑμνέουσαι.

ὅμτε διαβροτοὶ ἄνδρες ὁμῶς ἀφαίετε φατοίτε
ῥητοίτ' ἄρρητοίτε. δι' ὅς μέγαλοιο ἔκητι.
ῥῥα μὲν γὰρ βριάς. ῥέα δὲ βριάοντα χαλέπτει.
ῥῥα δ' ἀρίζηλον μῆνυθαι. καὶ ἄδηλον αἶψαι.
ῥῥα δ' ἐπ' ἰθύμῳ σκολιὸν καὶ ἀγνήγορα κάρφει.
Ζευσὺ ψιβρεμέτης. ὅς ὑπρτατά δώματα ραΐει.
Κλυθὶ ἰδῶν αἰῶντε δ' ἴκη δ' ἴθυρε θέμις ἄσ
Ψύμη. ἐπὶ δέ κε πέρσῃ ἐτήτυμα μυθισαΐμην
ὅουκ ἄρα μοῦνον ἔην ἐρίδων γένος. ἀλλ' ἐπὶ γαῖαν
ἔϊσι δύω. τῇ μέρκεν ἐπαιρῆσθε ροήσας.
ἥ δ' ἐπιμωμητή. διαδ' ἀνδριχα θυμὸν ἔχουσιν
ἡμὲν γὰρ πόλεμόν τε κακὸν καὶ δῆριν ὀφέλλει
σχιστλίν. οὔ τις τῇ γε φιλή βροτὸς ἀλλ' ὕπ' ἀμάγκης
ἄθαράτων βουλῇσιν ἔριν τιμῶσι βαρῦαν
Ψὴν δ' ἐτέρην προτέρην μὲν ἐδάματο μύχ' ἐρεβερνῇ
θῆκε δ' ἐμὶν κροῖδης ὕψιζυγος αἰθέρι ραίων
Γαίνετ' ἰρρίζησι καὶ ἄνδράσι πολλὸν ἀμείνω
ἥ τε καὶ ἀπάλαμνον περ ὁμῶς ἐπὶ ἔργον ἐΐσται.
ἔεις ἕτερον γὰρ τίστε ἰδῶν ἔργοιο χατίζων
Πλούσιον, ὅς σπῶδ' αἰ μὲν ἀρόμμεναι, ἥ δ' ἐφυτεύει.
ὅϊκοι τ' εὖ θέοθαι. ζήλοί δ' ἐτε γέτομα γέτων.
ἔεις ἀφίμον σπένδοιτ' ἀλσθήδ' ἔρις ἥ δ' ἐβροτοῖσι.

ΕΙ

On 25 February 1495/96 Aldus petitioned and received a twenty-year patent for his Greek type from the Venetian Senate: "havendo facto intagliar *lettere greche* in summa bellezza de ogni sorte in questa terra, ne le qual habbia consumato gran parte della sua facultà, cum speranza de doverne qualche volta conseguir utilità, et za molti anni che'l ha consumadi ne l'intaglio de le dicte lettere, habia trovato,...doi novi modi cum i qual stampirà si ben et molto meglio in grecho, de quello che se scrive a penna."⁴⁵ The claim to the new method of printing Greek refers to the way the accents and breathing marks were arranged over the letters by means of kerning or overhanging.⁴⁶

The Greek type of Aldus has been studied by a number of scholars beginning with Robert Proctor, who set the tone regarding the unsuitability of Aldus's adoption of the handwriting of the fifteenth century Greek scribes with its many and elaborate ligatures and contractions.⁴⁷ However, not all the commentary about the Aldine Greek is negative.⁴⁸ The most recent re-evaluation of Aldus's Greek type has been done by N. Barker, who has also attempted to match the four different Greek fonts cut for Aldus by Francesco Griffo with the handwriting of specific scribes. According to Barker, Greek 1, the first and largest of the type, is modelled after the hand of the scribe Emmanouel Rhousotas, who was active in Venice from 1465 (fig. 16). Although the second type, Greek 2 (which first appeared in 1496), is a reduced copy of Greek 1, Barker thinks that it also has new elements reminiscent of the handwriting or writing style of the Gregoropoulos family. Greek 3, used for the first time in 1499, bears a resemblance to the hand of Markos Mousouros, Aldus's chief editor of Greek texts. Finally, Greek 4, the last Greek type cut by Francesco Griffo and introduced in 1502, was modelled after Aldus's own handwriting.⁴⁹

θύω . μ . εὐδ . δ . οὐκ	facifico . occido . impetum .
θυωρίτης . ου . ο .	facio . excito . festino .
θύωρος . ου . ο .	mensarius argentarius .
	mensa .
Θ . cum .	ιακтура δαμνῦ . poena inobædiētia .
θωή . ης . η . ἡμία .	lacero . impetum facio .
θωίττω . μ . ἰξω . ιχῶ .	locus . sedes . concio .
θωκος . ου . ο .	funiculus .
θωμγξ . γος . ο . ὀρμιά .	σωρὸς .
θωμὸς . ου . ο .	fons .
θωος . ου . ὀέ	adulatio .
θωπεία . ας . η .	colo . adulator . assentior . morem .
θωπέυω . μ . ευσδ . δ . εὐκ	gero . accu . iung .
θωράκια . τῶ .	propugnacula .
θωρακοφόρος . ου . ο .	thorace armatus .
θωραξ . κοσ . ο .	pectus thorax .
θωρηκτής . ου . ο .	armatus .
θωρήνω . μ . ἡξω . δ . ηχῶ .	armo . act . accu . iung .
θῶς . ὠος . ο .	genus lupi . animal .
λυκοπάρενρος	mordax .



fig. 12

Κωμῆς ἀντίμου λασκάρους τοῦ βιβλίου προοίμιον τοῦ
περὶ ὁμοματίας καὶ ῥήματος τρίτου.

βιβλίου.

Εἰς τοῖς προεκδοθείσιν ἡμῖν δυσὶ βιβλίοις, ἢ τε
τῶν ὀκτώ μερῶν τοῦ λόγου παράδοσις ἐξέδοτο,
ἢ τε τῶν ῥημάτων ἕως τὰς πτώσεως μετέβασιν, καὶ ἄλλα
ἀμαλκῆς τοῖς ἑσχατοῦς ἐλλησικαὶ λατίμοις. ταῦτα
δὲ πάντα βραχύτατα συνετέθητο, διὰ τε τῶν λατί-
μων ἀλλόφωνον. καὶ διὰ τὸ ἐν ἡλικίᾳ ὁρᾶς συνημ-
τοῖς οἰκείοις. καὶ μὴ δύνασθαι εὐχερῶς τὰ ἡμέτερα μαρ-
θᾶμεν. ἔπειθ' ἐκ σκιογραφίας ἕως ἀληθινῆς γραφίαν
ἐκλήθον διὰ ζωσῆς φωνῆς καὶ ἐπιμελείας καὶ τῆς
γλώττης ἐν μυσίᾳ καὶ ἀκλῆθ' ἐμ' ἐσ, γλῆχον τὰ ἐπιμε-
λῶς ἔδ' ἐμαὶ τὸ βάθος, δ' ἐμ' ὠήθη δι' ἐξίωμ' πάντα
τὰ λήψαμα τῶν παλαιῶν γραμματικῶν καὶ μέων καὶ
πάντας τοὺς ποιητάς. καὶ τρίτον συνετέθεικα περὶ ὁμο-
ματος καὶ ῥήματος. ἐμ' ὡς διεξοδικώτατα τεχνολογίαν
τὴν ποιήσομαι περὶ τῆς κλίσεως πάντων τῶν ὁμο-
μάτων. γένωντέ καὶ καταλήξεω καὶ σχηματισμῶν τῶν
πτώσεων, οὐ μόνον κατὰ τὴν κοινὴν γλῶτταν ἀλλὰ
καὶ τὰς ἄλλας διαλέκτους καὶ ποιητικὴν χρῆσιν. ὁμο-
ιοτρόπως καὶ περὶ τοῦ ῥήματος, οἶμαι δὲ τοῦτ' πολὺ
φελέστατον τοῖς ἑσχατοῦς ἕως πρακτικῆς γραμματι-
κῆς καὶ ποιητικῆς. πάμπολλα διεσπαρμένα περιέχω.
δ' ἐδ' ὁμῶς τοῖς μαθηταῖς οὐ μόνον γραμματικῆς ἀρ-
χῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ποιητικῆς καὶ μετρικῆς τέχνης ἰμ' ἀκριβῶς
ἐπαίωσι. πολλὰ γὰρ περιέχῃ ἀξιώματα τῶν ποιητῶν,
ἕως βεβαιώσιν τῆς ἀληθείας. μὴ δ' ἕως δὲ θαυμάζω μὴ
τὸ διασπρέτω πρὶν ἂν τὸ βιβλίον ἀμαγνῶ. οὐτὲρ γὰρ δό-
ξῃ κεμῇ. οὐτε χρημάτων ἐλπίδι οὐτε πᾶν μου. τοσοῦτον
ἀμέλαστον πόρον. ἀλλ' ὡς φελέσας χάριν τῶν φιλολόγων

α ii



Προχοῇσι· τὸ ποταμῶν οἱ συμβάλλοντες τότε τῇ θαλάσσῃ·
 προχοαὶ λέγονται ὡς ὁ μικρός· ὡς δ' ὅτι ἐπὶ προχοῇσι· Ἡρὴς δὲ πελασγίδος· ὁ
 μικρὸς τὸ ἦσαν πελασγίδα εἶπεν ἐκ τῆς θεσσαλικῆς χώρας· πελαστοὶ γὰρ
 ἐλέγοντο οἱ τὸ φθιωτικὴν κατὰ κενὴν φησὶν ὁ μικρός· νῦν δ' αὖ τοὺς ὅσοι τὸ πελα
 σγικὸν ἄργος ἐναίον· ἀφορίζον αὐτὸ τῆς πελοποννήσου· ἣν ἀχαϊκὸν ἄργος καλεῖ·
 Πρῶτον οὐρφῆος ἠρόδωρος δύο εἰναὶ ὀρφεῖς φησιν· ὧν τὸ ἕτερον συμπλέυσαι
 τὸ ἄργον αὐ
 τας· φερκύν
 δης ἐν τῇ·
 φιλάμωνα
 φησὶ καὶ ὁ
 φέει συμπ
 πλάκεται εἰ
 ναι δὲ ὀρφέας
 κατὰ μὲν ἀσ
 κληπιάδην αὖ
 πολλῶνος καὶ
 καμιοπίας κα
 τὰ δὲ ἐνίχους οἱ
 ἀργεῖ καὶ πλῆ
 μρίας· ἡ δὲ
 ταὶ δὲ διὰ τὸ ὀρ
 φεύει ἀδελφῆς
 ὧν συμπλέ
 τῇ ἠρώσιν· ὅτι
 μαντὶς ὡς ὁ
 χείρων ἐχρη
 σε μὴ δύνα
 σθαι τὰς σφρήνας παρελθὼν αὐτοὺς ὀρφέως μὴ σὺμπλέοντος οὕτως ἠρόδωρος·
 Πιμπλίδος· πιμπλὶς χωρίον κατὰ περὶ αἰοῖ· δὲ ὅρος θράκης οἱ δὲ κρήνην
 καὶ ὡμὴν τῆς περὶ αἰοῖ· ἐλέξαι αὖ παλῆσαι καὶ τέρψαι· ἴσως δὲ ἡ λέξις ἐπὶ
 τῆς μετὰ βλάσης ἀπάτης· νῦν δὲ ὑπερβολικῶς καίεται· αἰοῖ δ' αὖν δὲ ἐν περὶ τῇ
 τῇ ὡδῶν ἐνρυθμίας ὁ κεῖν δὲ ἡ γ' ἐνοπὴ καὶ ἐπὶ πορὺ βλάττειται· Θρηϊκίης

ἵκετο δὲ σπελίην αὐτοσχέδον ἀντιβολήσῃ
 εἰλαπίνῃ· ἦν πατὴρ ποσειδάωνι καὶ ἄλλοις
 ῥέζε θεοῖς· ἦρῃς δὲ πελασγίδος οὐκ ἀλέγισεν·
 αἷτα δὲ τὸν δέσιδον, ἐφράσατο καὶ οἱ ἄεθλον
 ἐντὺε ναυτιλίας πολὺ κηδέως ὅρῃν ἢ πόντωι
 ἢ καὶ ἀλλοδαγοῖσι μετ' ἀνδράσι νόστον ὀλέσσει·
 Νῆα μὲν οὖν οἱ πρόσθεν ἐτι κλείουσιν ἁοιδοὶ
 ἄργον Ἀθηναίων καμῆειν ὑποθημοσύνησι·
 νῦν δ' ἂν ἐγὼ γενέην τε καὶ οὖνομα μυθησάμεν
 ἠρώων· δολιχῆς τε πόρου ἀλός· ὅσσα τέρεσαν
 πλάζομενοι· μοῦσαι δ' ὑποθήτορες εἴεν ἁοιδῆς·
 Πρῶτά νυν ὀρήης μνησώμεθα· τὸν ῥά ποτ' αὐτῇ,
 καλλιόπῃ ὀρήϊκι φησὶν εὐνηθεῖσα
 οἰάγρω· σκεπὴς πιμπληίδος ἄγχι τεκέσθαι·
 αὐτὰρ τὸν γένετοῦσιν ἀτειρέας οὖρεσι γέτρας
 θέλει ἁοιδάων ἐνοπῇ, ποταμῶν τε ῥέεθρα·
 φηγοὶ δ' ἀγρίδες· κείνης ἐτι σήματα μολῆς
 Ἀκτῆς ὀρηϊκῆς ζώνης ἐπὶ τηλεθόῳσαι
 ἐξείης στιχόωσιν ἐπήτριοι· ἄς ὄγερτο πρό

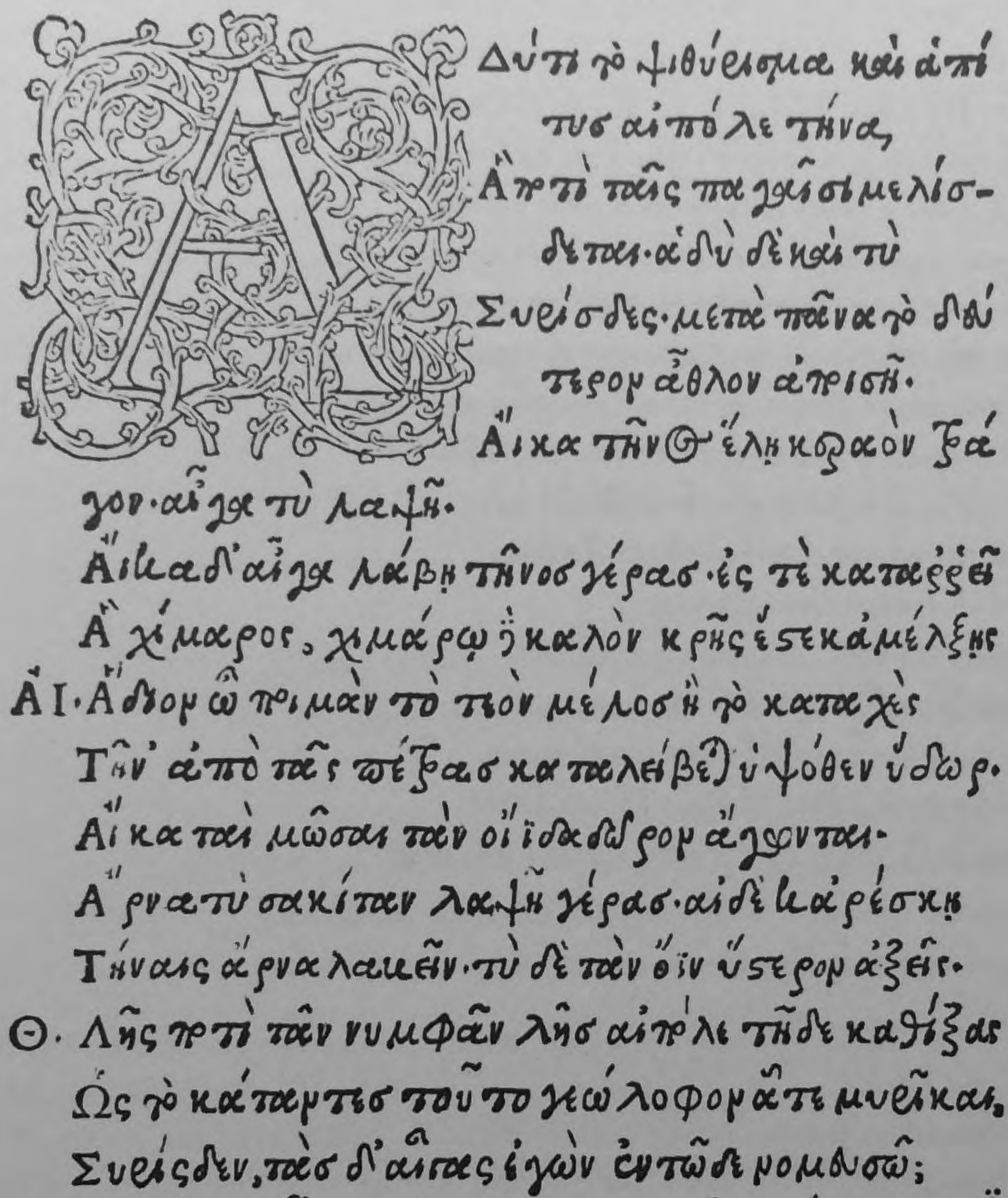


fig. 16

The cursive style of the Aldine fonts, especially Greek 3, became the most successful and imitated type of the time. In fact, all other styles and experiments disappeared, and the cursive became virtually the only Greek type used throughout Europe in the sixteenth century. In Italy, printers began imitating Aldus's cursive immediately. The first printer to do so was Dionysius Bertochus who had earlier printed with a Graeco-Latin font at Vicenza (fig. 12) and Venice between 1483 and 1484.⁵⁰ Bertochus printed an Aesop (BMC VII, 1091; GW no. 314) and a Crastonus *Lexicon* (BMC VII, 1091; GW no. 7818) in 1497, and D. Moschos, *Tò καθ' Ἑλένην καὶ*

operation and abandon Venice. Proctor says that the "cause of the catastrophe was most probably some action by Aldus, intended to protect his copyright in the method of printing Greek invented by him."⁵⁶ Two of the partners, Giovanni Bissoli and Benedetto Dolcibelli, went to Milan, where in 1499 they finished the printing of the Suidas *Lexicon* edited by Demetrios Chalcondyles (BMC VI, 792) using the type that they brought with them from Venice (fig. 19). The punch-cutter, Benedetto Dolcibelli or Mangius, later moved to Reggio Emilia, where in 1501 he printed the Chrysoloras *Erotemata* in the reduction of Guarino in 1501. He then moved to Ferrara, where he devoted himself to punch-cutting and casting. One of the publishers who used type from Dolcibelli was Giovanni Mazzocchi, who teamed with Dolcibelli in 1509 to print another edition of the Chrysoloras *Erotemata*.⁵⁷

The last fifteenth century printer who employed a cursive type for his imprints was the Cretan Zacharias Kallierges, who began printing in 1499. The Kallierges type, which was fashioned after his own handwriting, was better designed and executed than the Aldine. Proctor considers it "unsurpassed for evenness and delicacy of execution."⁵⁸ Nikolaos Vlastos, Kallierges's partner, obtained a patent for the type, which, although it was a cursive font, did not use the Aldine system of kerning and was not challenged by Aldus. Kallierges's method of handling the accents, which were struck together with the letters, was described by Markos Mousouros in his poem printed at the beginning of the *Ετυμολογικὸν μέγα*, 1499 (BMC V, 580; GW no. 9426; BH I no. 23; ESSLING no. 1184; SANDER no. 7110). This poem (fig. 20), constitutes one of the earliest documents describing how the accents were cast in early Greek printing.⁵⁹ Barker, who tried to

Εἰς μύθιον.

Ὁ μῦθος δηλοῖ, ὅτι οἱ διὰ πλεονεξίαν τῶν πλεόνων ὠθυμῶν
 πες, καὶ τὰ παρόντα ἀποβάλλῃσι. Κυωόδητος. χχv.

Διὶ καὶ τίς τις ὑπὸ κυνός, τὸν ἰσὸς μῦθον περιέειπε, ἐν τῷ
 χώρῳ δέ τις αὐτῷ, καὶ γινούσῃ οἰκτεί, ὡς οὗτος εἰπὼν, εἰ σώζε-
 σθαι βούλῃ, λαβὼν ἄρτον, καὶ τοῦτο τὸ αἶμα τῷ παλκῆς ἐκμαλ-
 ξας, τῷ δακνόντι κυνὶ φαγεῖν ἐπίδου. καὶ εἰς τὴν γαλασσὴν ἐφῆ. ἀλ-
 λὰ τοῦτο πρὶν ἴσῃ, δέῃ με ἢ πᾶν τῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει κυνῶν δεχθῆ-
 ναι.

Εἰς μύθιον.

Ὁ μῦθος δηλοῖ, ὅτι ἐν τῷ ἀνθρώπων οἰκονομῶν ἀντιθέτου μῦθοι,
 μάλλον ἀδικεῖν παροξύνονται.

Νεανίσκοι καὶ μαγείρος.

χχvi.

Διὶ ὅτι νεανίσκοι μαγείρῳ παρκαθίστω. καὶ δὴ τῷ μαγείρῳ
 περὶ τῶν οἰκείων ἔρπον ἀρχολομῆου, ἄλλος τοῦ-
 τῶν μῦθος τῶν κρεῶν ὑπελόμῃς, εἰς τὸν θατέρου καθῆκε
 κόλπον. ὡς τῷ φάντος δὲ τῷ μαγείρῳ καὶ τὸ κρέας ὡς ζῆλον
 ἔσθῃ, ὁ μὲν εἰληφὼς ἄμυνε μὴ ἔχειν. ὁ δὲ ἔχωρ, μὴ εἰληφέναι.
 ὁ δὲ μαγείρος ἀποθόμῃς τῶν κακουργίαν αὐτῷ, εἰπὼν. ἀλλὰ
 καὶ ἐμὲ λάθῃτε, τὸν γὰρ πορνεύοντα θεὸς οὐκ οὐκ λήσεσθε.

fig. 18

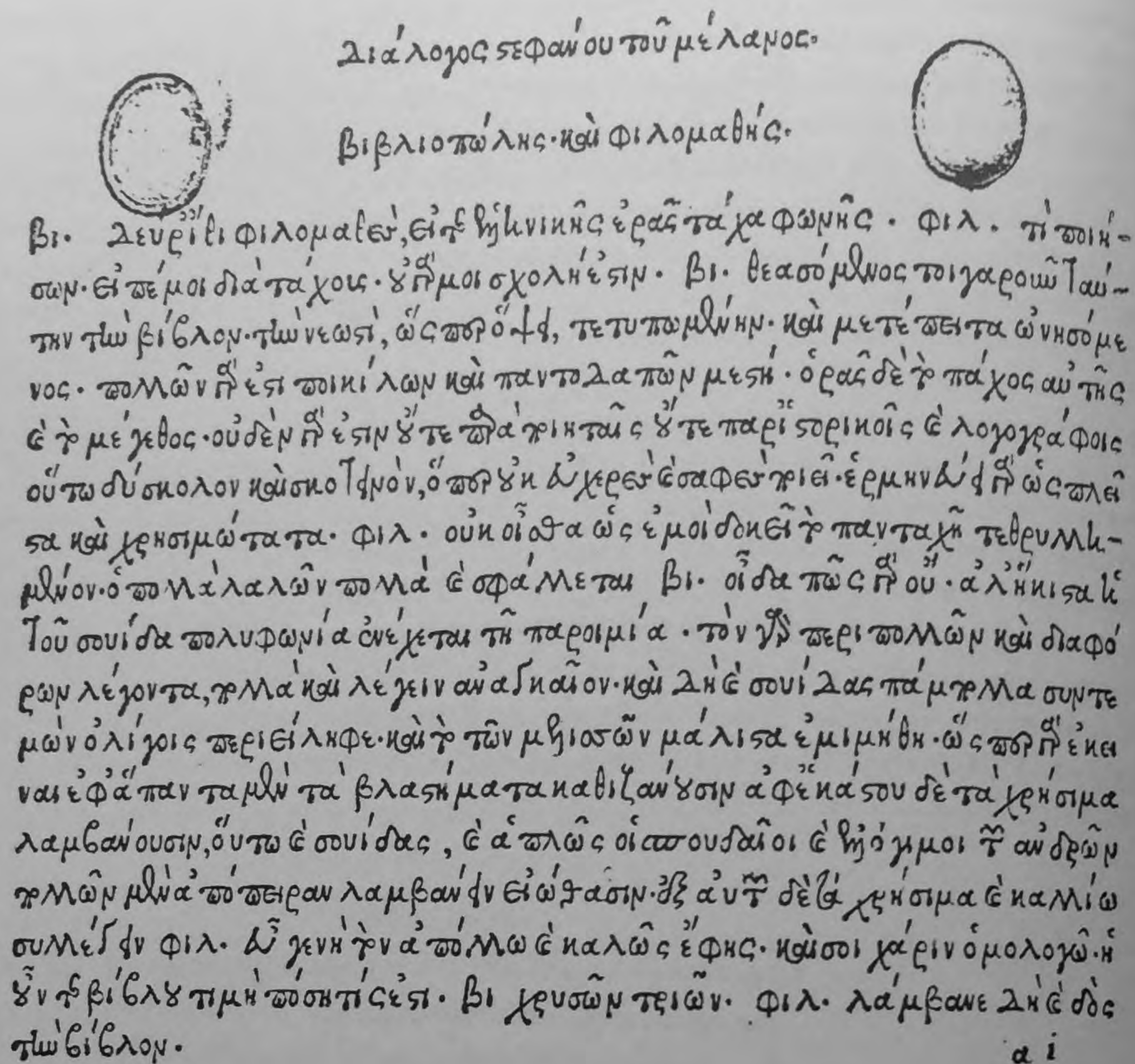


fig. 19

re-interpret the Mousouros poem, believes that Kallierges not only designed the type, but was also his own punch-cutter and type-founder. This is why Kallierges says in one of his colophons that "by his own dexterity...he had designed and cut the type."⁶⁰ The patent obtained by Nikolaos Vlastos on 21 September 1498 was for ten years: "*Nicola Vlastò, candiotto, fece 'intagliar una sorte di bellettissime lettere grece, unide cum i suo' accenti, cossa che non fu mai più facta nè si bona nè cussi bella*".⁶¹ The main difference in execution of the two cursives — the Aldine and that of Kallierges — was the method of treating the accents and breathing marks. Aldus used kerning, while Kallierges added them by clamping on to the body of the punch containing the letter a small punch with the accent or breathing mark.⁶²

Zacharias Kallierges and Nikolaos Vlastos printed four books between 1499 and 1500, after which time the partnership was dissolved. Besides the *Etymologikon* mentioned above, they brought out Simplicius, 1499 (BMC V, 580; BH I no. 24), Ammonius, 1500 (BMC V, 580; GW no. 1618; BH I no. 27), and Galenus, 1500 (BMC V, 581; BH I no. 29). This first type designed and cut by Kallierges, Greek 118, was presumably retired by its owner, Nikolaos Vlastos, for it disappears after the printing of the Galen. The decorative initials and headpieces, however, were acquired by the Giunti of Florence, who used them in a great many of their Greek imprints. It is possible that the type was sold to them also, but, if so, it was never used by the Giunti.

With Kallierges, we now move into the sixteenth century. In 1509, he made a second attempt to print Greek in Venice. This time, his type — again fashioned after his own handwriting — was smaller (20 lines=90 mm), and his stock in general very modest (fig. 21). He brought out only four works with this type, all printed in 1509, before he again stopped printing, presumably because of lack of funds. The works in question were: *Exepsalmata* (BH I no. 34), *Agapetus Diaconus* (BH I no. 35), and *Horologion* (BH I no. 36). The last work to come out of the Kallierges Venetian press was the first edition of the *Apokopos* of Bergadis in 1509 (figs. 145-46). It was printed by Kallierges's son Nikolaos, and was the very first modern Greek text ever printed.⁶³ The type of this second press of Kallierges's was acquired by the Giunti of Florence (fig. 22), who used it for all of the Greek books they printed from 1514/15 through 1542.⁶⁴ We next catch sight of Zacharias Kallierges some years later in Rome, where in 1515 he initiated the printing of complete

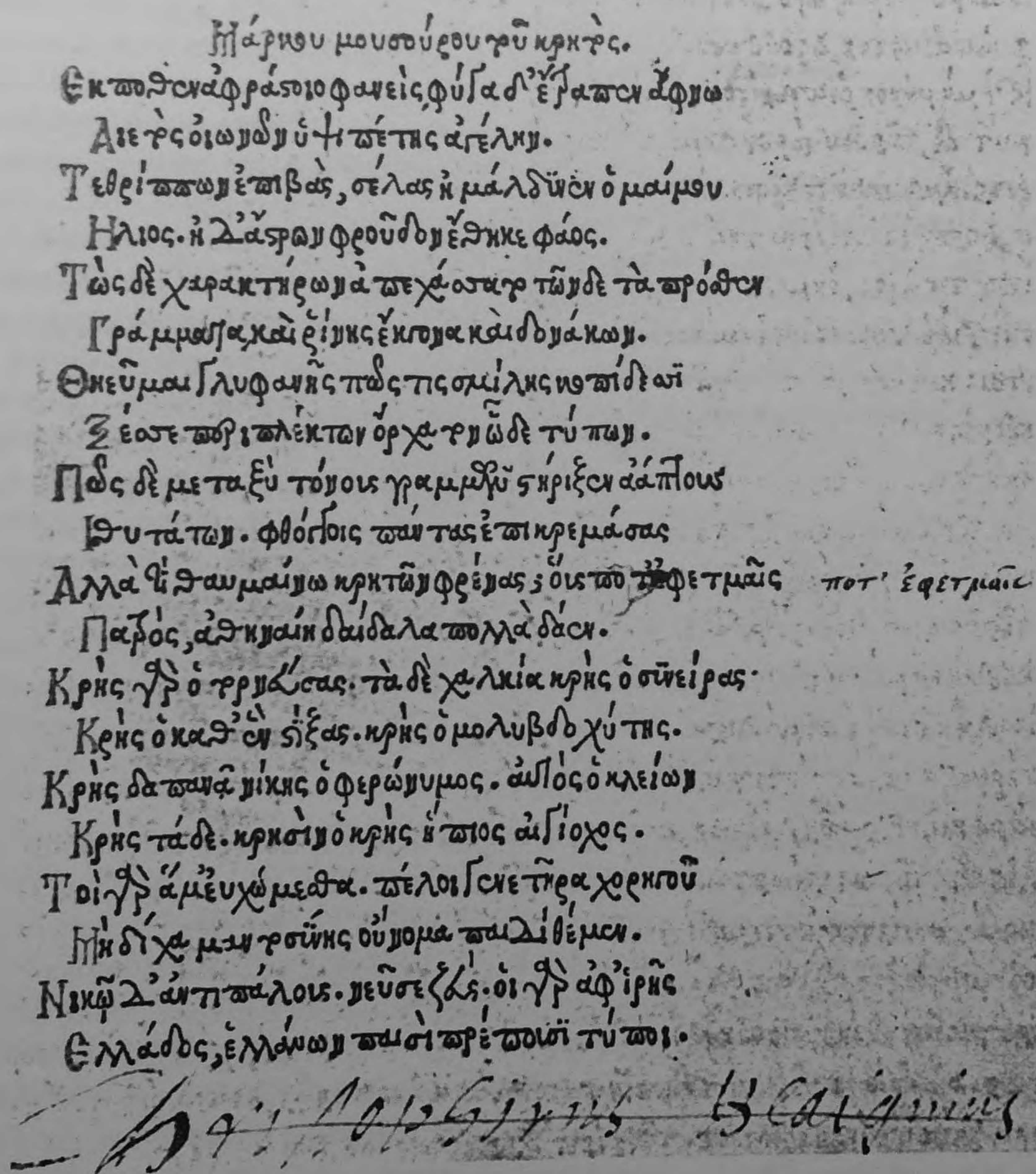


fig. 20

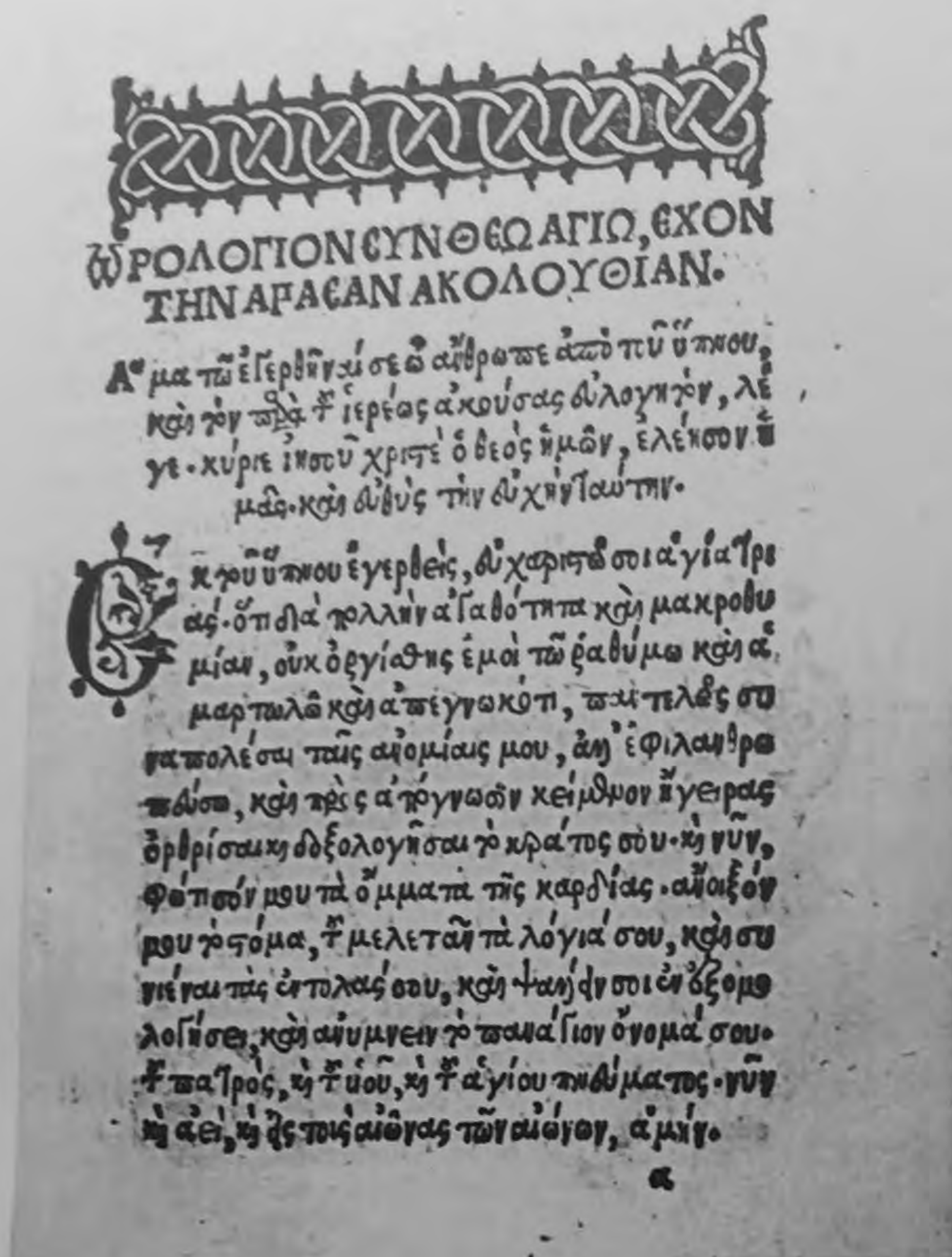


fig. 21

texts in Greek. Proctor thinks that the type Kallierges used for this third attempt closely resembles his 1509 Venetian type but was a different font. Barker, on the other hand, believes that Kallierges kept the punches or matrices of the 1509 font, from which a new font was cast for his Roman imprints, which began with the publication of the *Pindar* in 1515 (BH I no. 47; fig. 23).⁶⁵ During his Roman years, Kallierges also printed with the types brought to Rome by Ianos Lascaris from Florence. These were the Lascaris-Alopa fonts (capital and cursive types), which were used in Florence between 1494 and 1496 (fig. 15). Kallierges's own name does not appear in these publications, which were produced under the name of the Greek Gymnasium "in gymnasio Mediceo ad Caballinum montem" (BH I no. 59) or "ἐν τῷ παρὰ τὸν κυρίνου λόφον γυμνασίῳ" (BH I no. 60).

The Greek Gymnasium was

established by Pope Leo X, and both Ianos Lascaris and Zacharias Kallierges were connected with the school.⁶⁶ Kallierges's last imprint in Rome was in 1523. Both Greek 90, the type used in the Roman publications of Kallierges, and the cursive of the Lascaris-Alopa press passed into the hands of the Roman printer Marcello Silber.⁶⁷

While virtually everywhere in Italy and the whole of Western Europe the majority of Greek printing was with cursive fonts, there was a notable exception in Spain. This was the famous Complutensian font that was designed in Spain for the printing of the New Testament section of the Polyglot Bible. The Complutensian Polyglot was financed by Cardinal Francisco Jiménez (1436-1517), Archbishop of Toledo. The type in the New Testament has been hailed, especially by British scholars, as the best Greek font ever cut: "To Spain belongs the honour of having produced as her first Greek type what is undoubtedly the finest Greek fount ever cut, and the only one of which it can be affirmed with certainty that it is based on the writing of a particular manuscript. It was designed for use in the New Testament of the Polyglott Bible of Cardinal Ximenez, and appeared in its earliest state in the text of that volume, which is dated 10 January 1514...the type was cut on the model of the writing in the 'archetypa tantae uetustatis, ut fidem eis abrogare nefas uideatur,' sent to Cardinal Ximenez by Leo X from the Vatican Library."⁶⁸ The

statement that the type was modelled after a manuscript sent to Jiménez by Leo X has been disputed by K. M. Woody, who points out that it was undoubtedly the text and not the type of the Complutensian Bible that was based on the manuscript.⁶⁹ R. V. G. Tasker questions the antiquity of the manuscript: "No one has been able to trace any manuscripts of which it could be said for certain that they were used by the Complutensian editors in the compilation of their Greek New Testament. When their text is collated, however, with existing ancient manuscripts, it does not appear that the type of text contained in the manuscripts loaned from the Vatican Library was primitive. It is certainly very unlike the text of the *Codex Vaticanus*, the fourth century treasure."⁷⁰

Since the type is, as Scholderer points out, based on that of the Jensonian tradition, how could it also be based on an early Greek manuscript? Scholderer calls the New Testament font "the most beautiful example of the Jensonian class of type, carrying it to the limit of its possibilities."⁷¹ The passage in the preface to the New Testament that refers to the text's exclusion of accents and breathing marks — the work employs only the acute accent on the tone syllable in words of more than one syllable — speaks of "Τοὺς ἀρχαιοτάτους τῶν Ἑλλήνων χωρὶς τ[οι]ούτων ἐν τοῖς χαρακτῆρσι κορυφῶν γράφειν εἰθισμένους σαφέστερόν ἐστιν ἢ πολλῶν δεῖσθαι μαρτυριῶν, καὶ γὰρ δημοῖ τοῦτο φανερώς παλαιὰ τινα κοῦκ ὀλίγα τῶν ἀντιγράφων, οἷον Καλλιμάχου ποιήματα καὶ τὰ Σιβύλλης ἔπη, καὶ πεπαλαιωμένοι ἐν τῇ Πόλει λίθων γλυφαὶ μόνοις ἀπλῶς γράμμασι ἐγκεχαραγμένοι."⁷² This somewhat ambiguous statement has been understood in different ways by different scholars who have sought to interpret where the editors and the printer got their inspiration for the type.⁷³ It was not pointed out until recently that the allusion to Kallimachos and the Sibylline oracles was not to manuscripts of these works, but to a printed edition composed with a Graeco-Latin font that did not employ accents or breathing marks. This occurs in the first edition of Angelo Poliziano's *Miscellaneorum centuria prima*, printed in Florence by Antonio Miscomini in 1489 (BMC VI, 638; fig. 24). This work contains a poem by Kallimachos, *Εἰς Λουτρὰ τῆς Παλλάδος* (m1^v-m3^v), and some Sibylline oracles that, according to Poliziano, were copied from a manuscript without capitals, accents or breathing marks.⁷⁴ Thus the Miscomini type and not early manuscripts served as the model for the New Testament type of the Complutensian Polyglot.



fig. 22

Η' τοῦ πινδαροῦ ποίησις αὐτῇ, τῶν ὀλυμπιονίκων, πυθιονίκων· νέμεονίκων τε
 καὶ ἱσθμιονίκων, ἐν Ρώμῃ τῇ βασιλίδι τῶν πόλεων, πρὸς τοῖς οἰκίαις τοῦ μεγαλοπρε-
 πούς Αὐγουστίνου τοῦ κισσοῦ ἐκτεταταῖς, πρὸς εἰληφέν ἡ δὲ σῶν θεῶν· ἀναλώμασι
 μὲν ταῖς αὐτοῦ, διὰ παλαιότητος ἡ λογίου ἀνδρός Κορνηλίου βενίπνου ἡ οὐτ' περβε-
 εως· πόνα δὲ ἐξ ὁξυότητι, Ζαχαρίου καμυέρου τοῦ κρητός· Ε' πὶ τῷ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσάρ-
 κος οἰκονομίας ἡ κυρίως ἡ μὲν ἱστοῦ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ, χιλιοσῶ, φτ' ἐμηνός αὐτοῦ γ'·
 ΔΕ' οὐτος δὲ καὶ τοῦ μεγίστου ἀρχιερέως, ὁσίων οἰκονομούντος Ρώμην.

fig. 23

Δια γυναι μετὰ πάντα βαλεὺ παλιν οσσα Διοργαν
 εἶπας· ἐγὼ δούτοι τέκνον εθὼκ ἀλαον
 οὐγαρ ἀθαναῖαι γλυκερὸν πελεῖ ομματα παιδων
 αρπαζειν· κρονιοι δωδε λεγοντι νομοι
 οσκε τιν ἀθανάτων οκα μὴ θεοσ αὐτοσ εληιται
 αθηρῃσι μισθωι τουτον ιδειν μεγαλωι
 Δια γυναι· το μεν οὐπαλιναγρετον ανθι γενοιτο
 εργον επει μοιραν ωδ επενευσε λινα
 ηνικα το πρωτον νιν εγεινασ· νυν δε κομιζου
 ω ευηρειδα τελθοσ οφειλομενον
 οσσα μεν α καδμηισ εσυστερον εμωυρα καυσει
 οσσα δαρισταιος τον μονον ευχομενοι
 παιδα τον αβαταν ακταιωνα τυφλον ιδεσθαι
 και τηνοσ μεγαλασ συνδρομοσ αρτεμιδοσ
 εαυεται· αλλοῦκαυτον οτε δρομοσ αι τεν ορεσι
 ρυσεννται ξυναι ταμοσ εκηβολιαι·
 οπποταν ουκεθελων περ ιδηι χαριεντα λοετρα
 δαιμονοσ· αλλαυται τον πριν ανακτα κυνεσ
 τουτακι δειπνησευντι· ταδνιεοσ οστεα ματηρ
 λεφειται δρυμοσ παντασ επερχομενα
 ολβισταν ερει· σε και ευαιωνα γενεσθαι
 εξορεων αλαον παιδ υποδεξαμεναν

fig. 24

However desirable and clear the Greek font of the Complutensian New Testament was it gained no following elsewhere. The cursive remained the most successful and imitated type of the sixteenth century: "The second generation of humanists had developed out of the papal chancery cursive for their Latin verse transcriptions an elegant 'Italic', and it was consistent for them and their successors to prefer cursive for Greek literary transcription. The later would-be Grecians learnt their letters from a printed instead of a manuscript original to which the previous generation were indebted. But, print or manuscript, the model was cursive."⁷⁵

A brief mention must be made of the other Greek type used in the printing of the Old Testament section of the Complutensian Polyglot. In this case, all agree that this smaller cursive font is based on the Aldine cursive.⁷⁶ It has always been assumed that this smaller cursive font was also cut by Arnao Guillén de Brocar and fashioned after the Aldine cursive of the Dioscorides of 1499 (BMC V, 560; GW no. 8435).⁷⁷ However, upon closer examination, it appears that the type might have been imported from Italy. It bears a very close resemblance to the type used by Joannes Tacuinus de Tridino (Giovanni da Cerreto detto Tacuino), who was active in Venice between 1492 and 1541.⁷⁸ The Complutensian cursive font disappears from Spain after the printing of the Old Testament and the publication of two more works printed in 1519.⁷⁹ All other Greek publications of Brocar used the larger, New Testament type (fig. 25).⁸⁰ A cursive type, (fig. 26), very closely resembling the type used to print the Greek section of the Old Testament (20 lines=90 mm), appeared in Rome in 1526 in the hands of Demetrios Doukas, one of the Complutensian Polyglot editors. Doukas must have purchased the stock or the matrices of the

ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ ΔΟΥΚᾶς ὀκρῆς τοῖς ἐν κομπλού
του ἀκαδημία σπουδαίοις ἔν τωράττειμ.

Εγὼ ἐλθὼν μὲν ἐς ἰσπανίαν προσκαλεσθεὶς πα-
ρὰ τοῦ ἀιδεσιμωτάτου τῆς ἰσπανίας γαρδεμαλί-
ου τῆς ἐλληρίδος φωνῆς δηλοῖν χάριμ, ἐν ᾧ
δὲ μεγάλῃ ἐλληρικῶν βιβλίῳ ἀπορίαν, ἢ μᾶλ-
λον εἰπεῖν ἐρημίαν, ὡς οἶόν τε ἡμῖν ἐμοί, καὶ γραμ-
ματικὰ καὶ ποιητικὰ τινα χαρακτήρισιν οἷς ἐμε-
τύχομεν ἐμτυπώσας ὑμῖν ἐδωρησάμεν. μηδε-
μὸς οὔτε ἐν ταῖς μεγάλαις τῆς ἐμτυπώσεως λα-
πάραις, οὔτε ἐν ταῖς τάλαιπωρίαις τῆς διορθώσε-
ως ἐμοὶ συναγωνιζομένου, ἀλλὰ μόμος ὅς ημεῖραι
καὶ κοιμῶς ἀμαγνώσκων, καὶ ἀντιγράφων, καὶ δι-
ορθῶν, μόγις διήρκουν. ὑμέτερον οὖν ἐστὶ τὰ ὑπὲρ
μοῦ καὶ ἰδρῶτι καὶ ἀγρυπνία καὶ λαπάρῃ πορη-
θέντα, ἐν γυμνόμῳ λέξασθαι, καὶ μοι χάριμ οἰδέ-
μαι, χάριμ δὲ παρ' ὑμῶν ἀπειληφέναι ὁμολογήσω.
εἰ σπουδάζοντες ἐν τῇ ἐλληρικῇ παιδείᾳ λόγοι ἀ-
ποβήσεσθε. ἔρρώσθε.

fig. 25

fig. 26

The printers most closely associated with the publishing firm of Andreas Kounadis and Damiano di Santa Maria were the brothers Nicolini da Sabbio. The Nicolini da Sabbio began their career in Venice by working — perhaps as apprentices — in the shop of Andrea Torresano of Asola, Aldus's father-in-law and partner. Kounadis apparently lured them away by promising Stefano Nicolini da Sabbio, the most enterprising of the brothers, that he would make him a master printer.⁸⁴ The Nicolini da Sabbio printed all the Kounadis editions from the very beginning, i.e. from 1521 to the late 1540s. Since there are indications that Stefano was also an expert engraver and punch-cutter, it is quite possible that he was responsible for cutting the type for Kounadis. In 1524, the Kounadis-Santa Maria firm launched the publication of a series of

vernacular texts that, for the most part, used a new type (fig. 29), a neat cursive with a minimum of ligatures (K no. 2: 20 lines=88-89 mm). The type was retired in 1546. All of the books printed for Andreas Kounadis and Damiano di Santa Maria through 1546 used consistently and exclusively either one or the other of the Kounadis types described here. Neither type was ever used by the Nicolini da Sabbio for books commissioned by others. K no. 2 was used for the printing of Saint Basil in 1535 (LADAS no. 24; FINAZZI no. 66), but this was a work that was partially funded by Damiano di Santa Maria even though it was clearly Stefano Nicolini da Sabbio's project.⁸⁵

The Nicolini da Sabbio had a long and active career as printers in Venice. For the books they printed at their own expense or at the expense of other publishers, they used a cursive font (fig. 30) similar to the Aldine cursives (DS no. 1: 20 lines=84-85 mm).⁸⁶ The first work to appear with DS no. 1 is an *Horologion*, 1523 (BH II no. 235; ESSLING no. 2215; SANDER no. 3468). In 1533, a smaller type (DS no. 2: 20 Lines=72-73 mm) was introduced. It was used mostly for works printed with Greek and Latin in parallel columns. It made its first appearance in the Greek and Latin edition of *Epistolae Divi Pauli Apostoli*, 1533 (EISS II no. 2146; STC, 102).⁸⁷

In 1543, after Stefano's departure to Rome, where he went to work on cardinal Marcello Cervini's project, the Nicolini da Sabbio introduced yet a third cursive font, (DS no. 3: 20 lines=88-89 mm). From then on, with the exception of the works printed for Damiano di Santa Maria, all of the other Venetian imprints of the Nicolini da Sabbio utilized this new type, regardless of whether the books were classical or liturgical in nature. DS no. 3 seems to have been purchased from either Basel or Germany. It was used by Froben and Episcopus (Bischoff) after 1531, and perhaps earlier, and it was also used in England and possibly in France before 1543.⁸⁸ It is not clear if this was the Greek type which was supplied to Froben and Episcopus by Peter II Schöffer. Peter Schöffer was in Venice in 1541-42 and it is quite possible that the Nicolini da Sabbio purchased the type directly from him.⁸⁹ The type made its first appearance in the Nicolini

λάμενος αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ παρὰ κούσαντα σου τὸ ἀλμυρὸν σὺ
τοῦ κηρίσαντος αὐτὸν, καὶ τῇ ἀπάτῃ τὸ φέως ὑπαρχόντα,
νεκρωθέντα τὸ τοῖς οἰκείοις αὐτοῦ παρὰ πώμασιν, ἐξώ-
ριστας αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ διακοκρεσίᾳ σου ὁ δεὸς ἐκ τοῦ παρὰ
οἰοῦ εἰς τὸν κόσμον τοῦτον, καὶ ἀπερρεῖας εἰς τὴν γῆν,
ἐξ ἧς ἐλήφθη, οἰκονομῶν αὐτῷ τὴν ἐκ παλιγῆρεσίᾳς
σωτηρίαν, τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ χῶ σου, οὐ γὰρ ἀπερρεῖας
πλάσμα σου εἰς τέλος, ὃ ἐποίησας ἀγαθὴ, οὐδὲ ἐπελά-
θου ἔργου χειρῶν σου, ἀλλ' ἐπεσκέψω πολυτρόπως εἰς
ἀπαλγῆνα ἐλεους σου. προφῆταις ἐξαπέστειλας, ἐποίησας
ἐν ἀνέμοις εἰς τῶν ἀγγέλων σου τῶν καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν δυνάμεις
σησάντων σοι. ἐλάλησας ἡμῖν εἰς σῶματός τῶν δούλων
σου τῶν προφητῶν. προκαταγγέλλων ἡμῖν τὴν μέλλουσαν
ἐσεῖσαι σωτηρίαν. νόμον ἐδωκας εἰς βούθειαν, ἀγγέλους
ἐπέστειλας φύλακας. ὅτε ἡμεῖς ἡλθεῖς πλῆρωμα τῶν υἱῶν,
ἐλάλησας ἡμῖν ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἡμῶν σου, δι' οὗ καὶ τοὺς αἰῶ-
νες ἐποίησας, ὅς ὢν ἀπαύλασμα τῆς δόξης σου, καὶ χαράκηρ
τῆς ὑποστάσεώς σου, φέρων τὰ πάντα τῶν ἡμετέρων τῆς δυν-
νάμεως αὐτῆς, οὐχ ἀρπαγμὸν ἡγήσατο εἶναι ἰσά σοι τῷ
σὺ καὶ πατρί, ἀλλὰ ὅς ὢν προαιώνιος, τῆς γῆς ὡφείη, καὶ
τοῖς ἀνθρώποις συνανερρῶν, καὶ ἐκ παρθέτου ἀγάπης σα-
κωθεῖς, ἐκένωσεν ἑαυτὸν μορφῇ δούλου λαλῶν, σύμμορ-
φος ἡνόμενος τῷ σώματι τῆς ταπεινώσεως ἡμῶν, ἵνα
ἡμεῖς συμμόρφους ποιήσῃ τῆς εἰκόνος τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ,
ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἡ ἀμαρτία εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον,
καὶ εἰς τῆς ἀμαρτίας ὁ θάνατος, δι' ὃν ἔκκεν ὁμοιογενὲς
σου υἱός, ὃς ὢν ἐν τοῖς κόλποις σου τοῦ σὺ καὶ πατρός,
ἡνόμενος ἐκ γυναικὸς τῆς ἀγάπης θεοτόκου καὶ ἀειπαρθέτου
Μαρίας, ἡνόμενος ὑπὸ νόμον, κατεκρίθη τῷ ἀμαρτίαν
ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ αὐτοῦ, ἵνα οἱ ἐν τῷ Ἀδάμ ἀποθνήσκοντες,
ζωοποιήσῃ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ χῶ σου, καὶ ἐμπολιτευσάμενος
τῷ κόσμῳ τούτῳ, δυνὲς προσάγματα σέβας, ἀποστήσας

fig. 27

Ἡ προσευχὴ μετὰ φαιστικῶς ἀδελ-
φοί· ὁ γὰρ ὁ ψῶν ἐαυτῶν, ταπεινωθήσε-
ται· ταπεινωθῶμεν ἐν αἰτίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ·
πλωρικῶς, διὰ ἡμετέρας κινήσεως· ἰλά-
σθητε ἡμῶν ὁ θεός, τοῖς ἁμαρτωλοῖς·
ὁ αὐτός.

αριστὸς, κεκοδοξία μὲν μένος· καὶ π-
λώρης, τῇ μετὰ τοῦ κληρονομίου· προ-
σῆλθον σοι τῷ μόνῳ δεσπότη· ἀλλ' ὁ
μὲν, καὶ χριστὸς μένος, ἐπερίθη τῶν ἀγα-
θῶν· ὁ δὲ, μὴ φθειζόμενος, ἡζικῶν τῶν
δορεῶν· ἐν τῇ τοῖς σπῆλαις μοῖς, τῇ-
εἰζὸν με χεῖρ ὁ θς, ὡς φιλαθήροπος·
Δὲ προῦ τοῦ τῶ α· δόξα· ἡ χ· πῆ.

Ἡ αὐτοκράτωρ κ· οἶδα πῶς δύναται τὰ
δάκρυα· ἐξέκαστο γὰρ, ἐκ τῶν πυλῶν τῆ
δαμάτου ἀψήγαχον· τὰ ἁμαρτωλόν, ἐκ
τῶν χορίων πῶς μάταιον ἐρρύσαντο·
τὴν δὲ πλώριον, ἐπὶ τὴν φαιστικὴν
ἐδικαίωσαν· καὶ δέομαι· σὺ αὐτοῖς ἀει-
θνήσας, ἐλέησον με·

τῶν ἀπομῶν μὲν· οὐ δύναμαι ἀπὸ
σοι, καὶ ἰδεῖν τὸν αἰθέρα τῆ οὐρανῶν·
λά δέξαι με, ὡς τὸν τελοῦν· μετὰ
προῦ τα σῆρ, καὶ ἐλέησον με·

Καὶ προῦ, τῆς οὐρανῶν· ὁ θς· ὁ αὐτός
Ναός καὶ πύλην ἐπὶ τῆς· παλάτιον καὶ
θρόνος τῆ βασιλείας, παρθέμε πάσης
μπε· δι' ἧς ὁ λυτρωτὴς μὲν χεῖρ ὁ θς· τῇ
ἐν σκότει καθ' ὁδὸν, ἐπέφαιεν ἡλίου
ἐπὶ τῶν δικαιοσύνης· φωτίσαι θέλω
ἐν τῇ· ἔωλασι, κατ' εἰκόνα ἰδέσθαι, χεῖρ
ἐαυτοῦ· διό, τὸν μὲν· ὡς μετὰ
παρρησίαν, πρὸς αὐτὸν κεικτιμένη· ἀπὸ
λείπῃος πρὸς βάνε, σπαθίῳ τῆς ψ-
χαῖς ἡμῶν·

Ἡ αὐτοκράτωρ, διὰ τὴν παρθέμεν ἀπὸ
τῆ, καὶ γίνεσθαι ἡ δὲ λόγους τῆ δὲ τῶν
δὲ ἡ δὲ δόξης, δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς μὲν·
τῆ δὲ, ὅτι τὰ ἀκολουθίαν τῆ ὑπὸ λαχόν-
τος ὁ θς ἐν τῇ κυριακῇ, ψάλλομεν τῇ
παρασκήνῃ εἰς τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς πρὸς, ἐκ τῆς

fig. 28

da Sabbio imprints with the publication of Manouel Chrysoloras, *Graecae interrogationes*, 1543 (BH III no. 442), and N. Clenardus, *Institutiones absolutissimae in linguam graecam*, 1543 (BAKELANTS-HOVEN no. 74).⁹⁰ Starting in 1548, DS no. 3 appears in some of the vernacular texts they printed for Damiano di Santa Maria as well. These include the *Βελισάριος*, 1548 (BH I no. 122; fig. 31), and the *Ἱστορία τῶν γυναικῶν*, 1549 (BH I no. 123bis). Other printers in Venice also used DS no. 3. Cristoforo Zanetti used it to print a few books between 1553 and 1580. Another printer, Francesco Rampazetto, who only printed a handful of Greek books between 1553 and 1569, used DS no. 3 exclusively.⁹¹

Stefano Nicolini da Sabbio and at least one of his brothers also spent some years at Verona (1527-1532) in the employ of the Bishop, Gian Matteo Giberti (1495-1543), who wished to publish some of the works of the Greek Church Fathers from manuscripts in his collection.⁹² At Verona, Stefano and one or two of his brothers worked with two different Greek fonts. One, a boldface cursive (20 lines=126-28 mm), can be seen in the 1529 edition of Joannes Chrysostomus, *Εἰς πάσας τὰς τοῦ Παύλου τοῦ Ἀποστόλου ἐπιστολάς* (STC, 102), and in Joannes Damascenus, *Ἐκδοσις τῆς*



Ἔκτορ, ἀκρίβει μὲν αὐδρα,
 εἰς τὸν οἶκον νῦν τῆς αἰδοῦ,
 καὶ ἀφῆκες ἐμένα χεῖρα,
 καὶ ὁ υἱὸς ὑπαύχην ἡπίος,
 οἱ κακὸ μοιροῖ οἱ δύομας,
 πλέον ὄφελος ὑπαύχης,
 καὶ αὐτὸν πόλεμον ἐκφύγη,
 τοῦτον δὲ λῆν ἦτε πάντα,
 ἄλλοι γὰρ τῆς δέλου παρῆν,
 καὶ ὅλα τὰ καλὰ ὅπου εἶχε,
 ὀρφανὸς καὶ χωρὶς φίλων,
 καί ποτε αὐτὸς ὁ υἱὸς σου,
 εἰς τὸ φίλους τῆς πατρὸς σου,
 καὶ ἄλλον ἀπὸ τῶν ἐδῆται,
 τὸν πατέρα σου ζητῶντας,
 ἀποδιώκει αὐτὸν τὸν παῖδα,
 ὃ κακὸ τυχεῖ ἐγὼ καὶ ἄθλια.
 ἔρχεσθαι εἰς τὴν γῆν καὶ πο.
 ὃ ἄχω ὀδυρμοὶς καὶ λύπαις.
 τὸν ὁποῖον εἶχα μὲν ποίσει.
 οὔτε σὺ εἰς τῆς τὸν ἔκτορ.
 ἀφ' οὗ ἀποδίδες καὶ ἐχάθης.
 τὸν πολὺ δακρὶν ὀργίων.
 πόνος καὶ μεγάλοι λύπαις.
 τὰ χωράδια τῆς πατρὸς σου.
 καὶ ἐγὼ ὁ υἱὸς σου.
 ἔκτορ αὐδρα δὲ τὴν ἐχάθης.
 δὲ λῆν ὑπάγει μετὰ δάκρυα.
 ἐκ εἰ ποῦναι τὸ τραπέζει.
 καὶ ἄλλον ἐκ χειρὸς λαμβάνει.
 καί τις ἀπ' αὐτῶν τὸν αὐδρα.
 ὕπαγε εἰς κακὴν ὥραν.

fig. 29

ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως, 1531 (STC, 359; fig. 32). The other font (20 lines=128-29mm), was used to print Oecumenius, Ἐξηγήσεις παλαιαί, 1532 (STC, 473; fig. 33). All evidence leads us to believe that the Verona Greek fonts were cut by Stefano Nicolini da Sabbio.⁹³ The first Verona imprints did not appear until 1529. The name of Stefano Nicolini da Sabbio disappears from Venetian imprints as early as 1527, while in Venice, Giovanni Antonio & fratelli da Sabbio continue to print throughout 1527 and during the years Stefano and some of his brothers were in Verona. Stefano's name reappears in Venice in 1532.

In 1539, when Cardinal Marcello Cervini decided to publish some of the manuscripts in the Vatican collection, he chose the celebrated printer Antonio Blado to print the Greek works. Blado was sent to Venice to consult with Paolo Manuzio and to obtain the Greek type and other



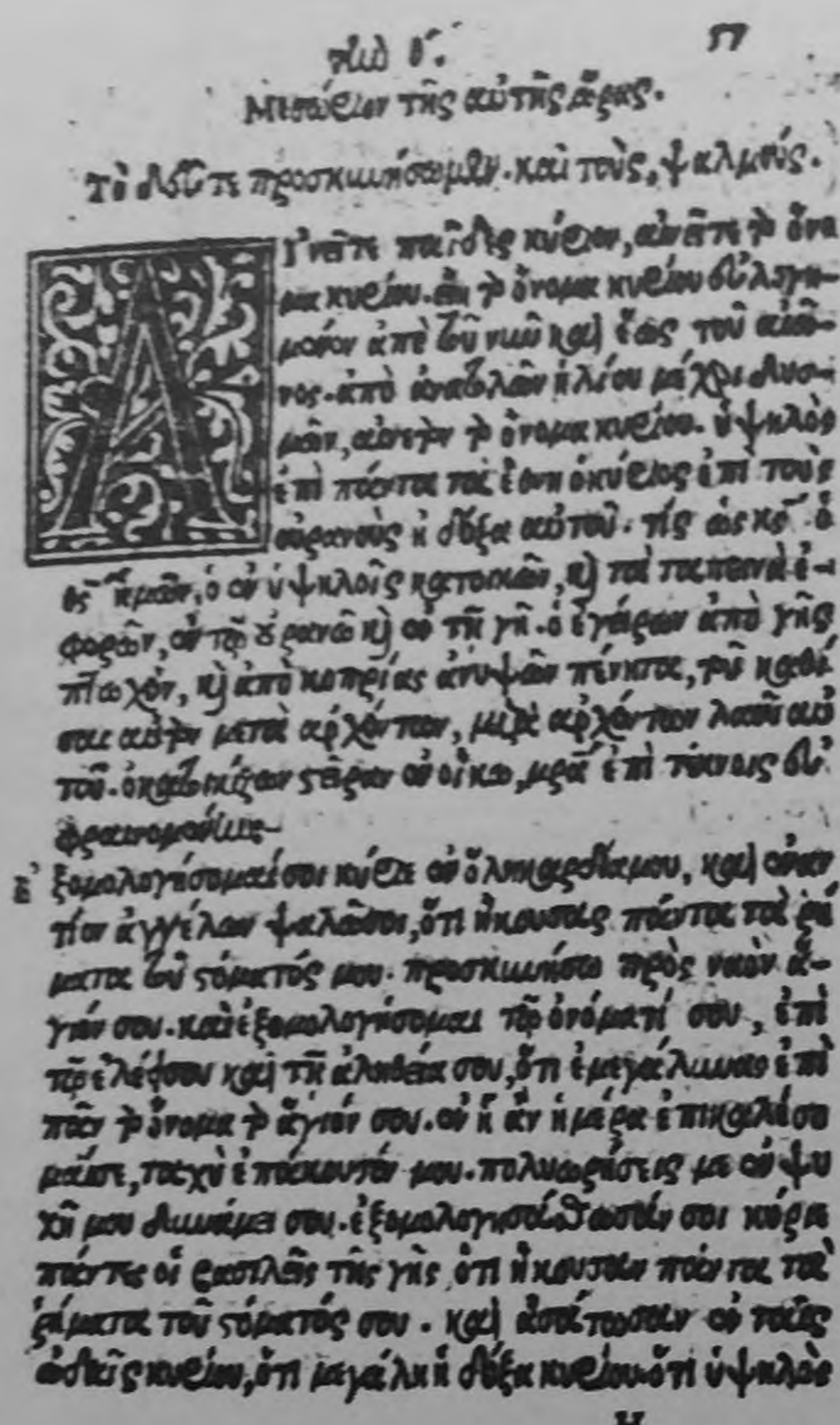


fig. 30

Nikolaos Sophianos owned the punches and the type for Cervini no. 1.⁹⁶ It was used to print the work of Theophylaktos, Archbishop of Achrida, *Ἑρμηνεία εἰς τὰ τέσσερα εὐαγγέλια*, 1542 (BLADO no. 67; STC, 668; fig. 34), and the first volume of Eustathios, Archbishop of Thessalonica, *Παρεκβολαὶ εἰς τὴν Ὀμήρου Ἰλιάδα καὶ Ὀδύσσειαν*, 1542 (BH I no. 101; BLADO no. 107).⁹⁷

The remaining three volumes of the Eustathios were printed with Cervini no. 2 (20 lines=92-93 mm) and 2a (20 lines=78-79 mm), which was used for the commentary (fig. 35). Both were designed by the calligrapher Giovanni Onorio, who was the "Restaurator de la Libreria Palatina."⁹⁸ After the termination of the cardinal's project, Cervini no. 2 and 2a remained in the hands of Antonio Blado, who used it to publish at least three Greek works under his own name.⁹⁹ Cervini no. 2 was also used by Stefano Nicolini da Sabbio to print at least three works with it in Rome.¹⁰⁰ Stefano remained and worked in Rome, where he eventually had the title of "Chalcographus Apostolicus," while his brothers Giovanni Antonio, Giovanni Maria, and Pietro continued to work in Venice and continued to print Greek until 1552 after which time their name ceases to appear in Greek books.¹⁰¹

Two new fonts, both upright minuscules with a minimum of ligatures, were specifically designed and cut in Venice for the printing of Greek liturgical books. Both appeared at about the same time. One font was cut in 1548 by the French typefounder Guillaume I Le Bé during his

necessary equipment for the project. Stefano Nicolini da Sabbio took part in the project in Venice, where the first Greek font was designed and cast. He then moved to Rome, where he continued to be active with the Cardinal's project.⁹⁴ He must have also cut the project's second Greek type in Rome. Stefano's name disappears from the imprints in Venice after 1541. On 28 November 1543, Stefano made a petition through a magistrate to recover money owed him by Antonio Blado and Benedetto Giunta, the contractors and publishers of Cardinal Cervini's works, "da prima martii 1542 perfino alli 12 di maggio 1542 scuti 53, a ragione de scuti 21 il mese, per promessa fatta da loro in la stamparia delli greci, in presentia de tutti li stampatori...per haver promesso di lavoro una forma greca et haver cura delle altre tre che son quattro."⁹⁵

Another man who took part in Cardinal Cervini's project was the Greek humanist and calligrapher Nikolaos Sophianos, who was undoubtedly the person who designed the project's first Greek type (Cervini no. 1: 20 lines=97-98 mm). From a series of documents published by various scholars in recent years, we have learned that

stay in Venice. Le Bé himself informs us of this in his specimen book: "Espreuve d'un grec ecclesiastique, taillé à Venise, en l' an 1548, pour Christoffe Zaneti."¹⁰² The font's typefaces (20 lines=112-113 mm) and the smaller size (20 lines=94-95 mm) were used regularly by the printer Cristoforo Zanetti from 1550 or earlier until 1582 to print the many liturgical editions which came from his press (fig. 36). The font was also used by his son Pietro and his heirs. At the turn of the century, it became one of the fonts acquired by Antonio Pinelli.¹⁰³

The other upright minuscule font, designed and cut for the purpose of printing liturgical editions, was cut by Andrea Spinelli, the publisher of the books. Andrea Spinelli was a well-known medallist and an engraver of the Venetian mint.¹⁰⁴ The large-size typeface (20 lines=114-115 mm) and its smaller equivalent (20 lines=92 mm) bear a close resemblance to the Zanetti font cut by Guillaume I Le Bé (fig. 37). However, it is quite possible that the Spinelli type appeared in print first.¹⁰⁵ In the preface to the first Spinelli



Διήγησις εἰς τὰς πράξεις, τοῦ ποδ. βούτου,

στρατιγού τῶν ῥωμαίων, μεγάλου Βελισσρίου.



Θαυμασὸν παρὰ δόξαν, ὡς συμφορὰ μεγάλη,
καὶ σφραγισμοὶ καὶ ὁδύρνοι, τῇ πόλει τῇ μεγάλῃ,
λύπη ἀπαραμήντητος, ὁδύνη καὶ πικρία,
ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ γραικῶν, καὶ τῇ θυμείᾳ

Τὴ σκίπτει γὰρ κατέχοντες, μεγάλου βασιλείου,
λαμπροῦ Ἰσπανίου, τοῦ νέου μαυρίως.

Τὸ τε πολλὴς ἐσέβηκεν, φθόνος εἰς αὐτὸν ῥωμαίους,
ὡς πάλαι εἶχε τὸν χῆ, νῦν εἰς αὐτὸν Ἰσλαίους.

Καὶ ποδ. πάντων δὲ ἀρχῆς, ὁ φθόνος ἐκείλινον,
ὡς ἔφησεν ὁ ποιητής, ὁ δὲ ὅλος παραλίπιν.

Εἰς βασιλεῖς καὶ εἰς ἄρχοντας, γίνεται καὶ εἰς πλοσίους,
αὐτὴ καὶ ὁ μαρτυρεῖται, εἰς χρόνος διακρίσεις.

Χώρει καὶ κάστροι καὶ λαὸν, ἐχέλασεν ὁ φθόνος,
καὶ ἐκ τοῦ φθόνου τῆ πολλοῦ, γίνεται καὶ ὁ φῶνος.

Λοιπὸν τίς εἶπεν θαυμασὸς, αὐτὸς ἐκ τῆ μάστιγι,
τοῦ νομα Βελισσρίου, ἡ δόξα τῇ ῥωμαίων.

Καὶ θαυμασὸς καὶ φρόνιμος, ὁ δὲ τελειομύτης,
καὶ ἀρετῇ πολεμικῶν, καὶ τάξιν κοσμηγῶν.

Ὡς εἶπε αὐτὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς, μετὰ μεγάλου πόθου.
ὡς Βελισσρίου πίσι, πᾶσιν διελίαν πόθου.

Ὡς πρότερον ἐκείλινος, ἐκτὴς ὑποταγῆς,
ὥτως καὶ νῦν ἐπάκουσον, σήμερον τῆς φωνῆς.

Τὸν ὁρισμὸν μὲς δέξασθαι, σήμερον νὰ πληρώσεις,
αὐτὸ λόγους ὅς πορροῦ εἰπῶ, γοργὸν νὰ τελειώσεις.

Τὴν κωνσταντίνου κτίσιν μὲν, νὰ θυγάλης ἄλλαν πόσω,
μακρὴς πλατῖα καὶ τρίγωνι, καὶ ἐγὼ νὰ σὲ ὑψώσω.

Βελισσ.

κ 2

fig. 31

publication, the Greek humanist, Antonios Eparchos spoke of the type and referred to it as new, smoothly elegant, and expertly cut as only Spinelli could fashion it, for he had no equal as an engraver.¹⁰⁶ Andrea Spinelli cut one more Greek font, this time a very distinctive cursive type (20 lines=80 mm), which made its first appearance in the Aelianus, *Περὶ στρατηγικῶν τάξεων ἐλληνικῶν*, 1552 (FINAZZI 85; STC, 7). It was mostly used for the few non-liturgical editions which he published (fig. 38).¹⁰⁷ The Spinelli large type passed to the hands of Zuan Battista Tauroceni, also known as Richeni or Rikenius, who printed a number of Greek liturgical editions between 1580 and 1584. After Tauroceni's death in 1584 the type was taken over by his partner, the bookseller Giovanni Aliprandi, who used it between 1584 and 1592. It made its last appearance in some of the imprints of Domenico de Poloni, 1599-1603.¹⁰⁸

There were several cursive fonts in use in Venice during the first half of the sixteenth century in addition to the ones already discussed. Melchiorre (Marchio) Sessa and Pietro Ravani, who were in partnership between 1516 and 1525, published a small number of Greek books with a cursive font which is identical to type DS no. 1 of the Nicolini da Sabbio and must have been acquired from them.¹⁰⁹ When the Sessa-Ravani partnership dissolved, the Greek letter remained in the hands of Ravani and his heirs who continued to use it until 1555 (fig. 39). After that, it passed, along with all of Ravani's typographical equipment, to Giovanni Varisco, who printed a handful of books with it.¹¹⁰ Sessa, after the dissolution of the partnership, published a certain number of classical works, as well as some liturgical editions that, with the exception of two, were printed by the Nicolini da Sabbio, who used their own types, DS no. 2 and 3. The other two works, both published in 1538, were printed by Bartolomeo Zanetti and with the Zanetti type.¹¹¹ Bartolomeo Zanetti used a cursive font (20 lines=87-88 mm) from 1535 until 1540 (fig. 40), at which time the type passed to the hands of Giovanni Farri, who brought out a handful of Greek classical editions between 1542 and 1544. The font was later used by Giovanni Griffi, or Griffio,

κρητισμόν ἐκ τῆς τῆς πέλας δ' ἐργετῆν ψυχῶν, ὅτι μέλιστα
κομίζεται. τί δὲ καὶ διυσαχθεὶς τὸ πρᾶγμα νενόμισται; μή τι
τὸ Φαλκονίλλαν ἢ πρῶτόμαχτος οὐκ ἔσωσε μὲν Νάϊατος;
ἀλλ' ἴσως ἐρεῖς ὅτι αὐτὴ κατ' ἀξίαν ἔπει πρῶτόμαχτος, καὶ
ζωῆς δέον εἰσακουσθῆναι τὴν δέησιν. ἔγω δὲ πρὸς τὴν φι-
μί. καλῶς ἢ πρῶτόμαχτος. σκόπει δὲ πάλιν, ἕπερ τίς ἢ
αὐτῆς, ὅτι περ ὑπὲρ ἑλληνίδος εἰδολολάτρευδος τε καὶ πάμ-
παν ἀμέρου καὶ ἀλλοτρίου καὶ ἐργάπιδος. ἐν ζωῇ δὲ, πρὸς
ὑπὲρ πρῶτον πρὸς τὴν αὐτῇ δὲ αὐτῇ. θές τοίνυν ἐκ Νά-
τέρου εἰς Νάτερον, ὡς αὖν τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐξισωθῆσέ. διέλ-
θέμοι καὶ αὐτῆς ἐκ τούτων, καὶ εἰς ἕτερα ταυτοδύαμα καὶ
ὁμότροπα. λέγω δὲ τὴν Γαλαδίαν πρὸς Λαῶσιν ἱστορικὴν
βίβλον, ἐν ἣ τα' κατὰ τὴν μέγαν καὶ Νανματουρὸν Μα-
κρίον, παναληθῶς ἀναγέγραπται Νάμακα. πρὸς τὸ ξη-
ρὸν γὰρ κρητίον πυθόμενος πρὸς τῶν κεκοιμημένων, μεμάρθη
κεν ἅπαντα. εἶτα πρὸς πύτῳ. οὐδέ ποτε τοίνυν πινὰ παρὰ
μυθίαν δὲρίσκειται; γὰρ ὁ ἄγος συνήθως ποιῶν ὑπὲρ τῶν
κεκοιμημῶν δὲ χάς, καὶ γῶναι ἐφίετο εἰ ἄρα πρὸς ὄνησιν γί-
νονται. τοῦτο δὲ βουληθεὶς ὁ φιλόψυχος ἐπιδείξαυς ἦς,
καὶ τὸν ἐαυτῷ πληροφορεῖσθαι θεράποντα, τῷ ξηραυθῆναι

fig. 32

ΠΡΟΣ ΚΟΡΙΝΘΙΟΥΣ. Β'.

22 **ΠΑΥΛΟΣ** Ἀπόστολος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ δὴ καὶ θελήματος θεοῦ, καὶ Τιμόθεος Κεφ. α'.
 22 ὁ ἀδελφός, τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ τῇ οὖσῃ ἐν Κορίνθῳ, ἡμεῖς ἁγίοις πᾶσι
 22 τοῖς οὖσιν ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ Ἀχαΐᾳ, χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ ἐλεῶν ἀπὸ θεοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν,
 22 καὶ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. Κεφ. α'.
 22 Ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἐπιστολῇ, πέμψας ἐκεῖ τὸν Τι
 22 μόν, καὶ νῦν ἀπὸ λαβῶν αὐτὸν, ἐαυτῷ συνάψαι. ὅρα δέ. πρὸς τὸ τέκνον αὐτὸν
 22 καλεῖ. ὡς πατὴρ γάρ, φησι, τέκνον ἐδούλευσέ μοι. πρὸς δὲ ἡμεῖς. τὸ ἔργον. τὸ ἔργον
 22 κυρίου ἐργάζεται ὡς καὶ γώ. νῦν δὲ ἀδελφόν, δὴ πάντων ἀξιόπιστον αὐτὸν ποιών.
 22 σημεῖωσαι δὲ τῇ, δὴ, ἐ, τῇ πρῶτῃ. ἡμεῖς ἁγίοις πᾶσι. ἁγίοις αὐτῇ καλεῖ, ἐμφαί
 22 νων ὅτι εἰ τις κενώδης, ἐκ τῆς ἐστὶ ταύτης τῆς προσηγορίας. δοκοῦσι δὲ οὐτὶ κοινῇ σαλένε
 22 σθαι, δὴ τὸ ἐκ κοινῇ ποιεῖται τῇ ἰασιν. τὸ ἐκ πρὸς Γαλάτας ἐβραίοις γράφων,
 22 τριῖ. χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ ἐλεῶν. τὴν σωτήριαν προσηγορίαν, καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῆς ἐκ
 22 Εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεός, καὶ τῇ τῇ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὁ τῇ τῇ οἰκτιρῶν, καὶ ὁ
 22 πάσης παρακλήσεως, ὁ παρακαλῶν ἡμᾶς, ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇ θλίψει ἡμῶν, ἡς τὸ διώσθαι
 22 ἡμᾶς παρακαλεῖν τοῖς ὑμῶν πάσῃ θλίψει, δὴ τῆς παρακλήσεως ἡς παρακαλούμεθα
 22 αὐτοὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ. Κεφ. α'.
 22 Εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεός. ὡς ταῦθα ἐκτελέον. καὶ πατὴρ τῇ κυρίου
 22 ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. ἡμῶν μὲν ἡμεῖς θεός, τῇ δὲ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ πατὴρ. πάντως
 22 τὴν διαίρεσιν, καὶ ὁ δεσπότης ἡμᾶς ἐδίδασκεν. ὡς ἡμεῖς τοῖς ἐκ τοῖς ἐναγγελίοις ἐφη.

fig. 33

who printed two or more Greek works between 1546 and 1548.¹¹² Bartolomeo Zanetti's son, Cristoforo, launched his printing career with the issuance of two liturgical works, an *Horologion*, 1546 (BH III no. 468) and a *Psalterion*, 1547 (BH I no. 120), which were printed with an upright cursive (20 lines=91-92 mm) that had been used previously by the Brucioli when they published two Greek books in 1543 and 1546 (fig. 41).¹¹³ Cristoforo Zanetti did not use this type again, perhaps because it did not belong to him. The type reappears again, in some of the editions published by Giacomo Leoncini in 1560 and later (fig. 42).¹¹⁴

In 1551, plans were made to establish a press and procure Greek type in order to print the Greek manuscripts from the ducal library of Cosimo de' Medici in Florence. The project must have been inspired by the one instigated by Cardinal Marcello Cervini in Rome in 1539, or, more likely, by the plans that were under way in France by François I and that had produced the celebrated *grecs du roi*.¹¹⁵ It seems that the idea for this Florentine project came originally from Lelio Torelli (1489-1576), the ducal secretary, who persuaded Cosimo to launch the endeavor. The press was to have been directed by Ioannis Vergikios or Vergezio, who was the son of Petros Vergikios and a kinsman of the famous calligrapher, Angelos Vergikios, after whose hand the Royal Greeks were fashioned in Paris. The press was to specialize only in Greek printing, while Lorenzo Torrentino, the ducal

132 ΘΕΟΦΥ. ΕΡΜΗΝΕΙΑ, ΕΙΣ ΤΟ ΚΑΤΑ ΜΑΤΘΑΙΟΝ ΚΕΦ. ΚΗ.

λαία τῷ χριστιανισμοῦ πορεύεται, θεολογίαν καὶ πρακτικὴν ἀρετὴν· εἰπὼν μοι γὰρ
ὅτι δεῖ βαπτίζεσθαι εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τῆς πατρὸς, τοῦ θεολογίαν ἡμῖν παρέδωκεν· εἰπὼν
δὲ διδάσκειν καὶ τὸ τοῦ ἐντολαὶ τηρεῖν, τὸν πρακτικὴν ἀρετὴν ἡμῖν ἐσηγήσατο· πρῶτα
θαυμάσιον δὲ αὐτοῦ, ἐπειδὴ ἀπέστειλεν εἰς ἔθνη καὶ εἰς σφαγὰς καὶ κινδύνους, φησὶν
ὅτι, μὴ φοβέσθε. ἐγὼ γὰρ ἔσομαι μετ' ὑμῶν ἄχρι τῆς συντελείας τῆς αἰῶνος· ὅρα δὲ
καὶ ἴδω, πῶς ἐμνήσθη τῆς συντελείας ἵνα διαναστήσῃ αὐτοῦ μᾶλλον κατὰ φρονεῖν
τῶν δεινῶν· μὴ δυσχεραίνειτε γὰρ φησὶ, συντέλῃαν ἔξοισι πάντα, εἴτε ἀλγεῖν ἔσται καὶ
μικρά, εἴτε ἀγαθὰ· ὥστε μήτε τοῖς ἀλγεῖν τοῖς ὑπομένετε· πρὲρ χροῖται γὰρ· μήτε τοῖς
ἀγαθοῖς ἀπατηθῆτε· συντελοῦνται γὰρ· οὐ μόνον δὲ τοῖς ἀχσολοῖς ἴδω ὑπέχετο, τὸ
ζῆναι αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσιν ἀπολύτως τοῖς αὐτοῦ μαθηταῖς· οὐ γὰρ δέπου οἱ ἀπο-
στολοι ἄχρι τῆς συντελείας ἐμελλον ζῆν· καὶ ἡμῖν ὅν καὶ τοῖς μετ' ἡμᾶς ὑποχρεῖται
ἴδω· οὐκ ἄχρι δὲ τῆς συντελείας παρὼν, μετὰ τὴν συντέλῃαν ἀπέσται· ἀπα-
γε· ἔκτοτε γὰρ μᾶλλον συνῆσαι καθαρώτερον καὶ τρανότερον· τὸ γὰρ
ἔως, οὐ τὸ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀναρρεῖ, εἴθε δὲ δύρεθῃ κείμενον ἐν τῇ γρα-
φῇ· Εὐχαριστήσαντες ὅν τῷ κυρίῳ τῷ ἐνταῦθα σωόντι
ἡμῖν, καὶ πᾶν ἀγαθὸν χρηροῦντι, καὶ πάλιν ζῆτε
μὴ τὴν τελειότητα μετὰ τὴν συντέλῃαν, συντε-
λέσωμεν ἐνταῦθα τὴν ἐξήγησιν· αὐτῷ
γὰρ πρέπει πᾶσα εὐχαριστία καὶ
δόξα καὶ τιμὴ εἰς ὅσον αἰῶ-
νας τῶν αἰώνων·
Αμήν·

fig. 34

printer, was to publish the Latin translations of the Greek works.¹¹⁶ On 10 March 1551, a document was drawn up by Pietro di Soldo of Florence which gave the particulars of the agreement. Apparently, Ioannis Vergikios had brought to Florence specimens of the Greek letters to be engraved. The task of designing the typefaces and cutting the punches was given to the calligrapher Giovanni Onorio of Otranto and to the engraver Natale Veneziano, who were both residing in Rome at the time.¹¹⁷ It appears that this project remained in the planning stages, because it was interrupted by the imminent war with Siena.¹¹⁸ Ioannis Vergikios left Florence shortly thereafter. We next find him in Brussels, where he opened a bookshop. His name appeared in a document of January 1558 that states that he owed Lorenzo Torrentino forty-seven florins for books that the latter had sent to him in Brussels through the agent Nicola de Ugolinis of Florence.¹¹⁹

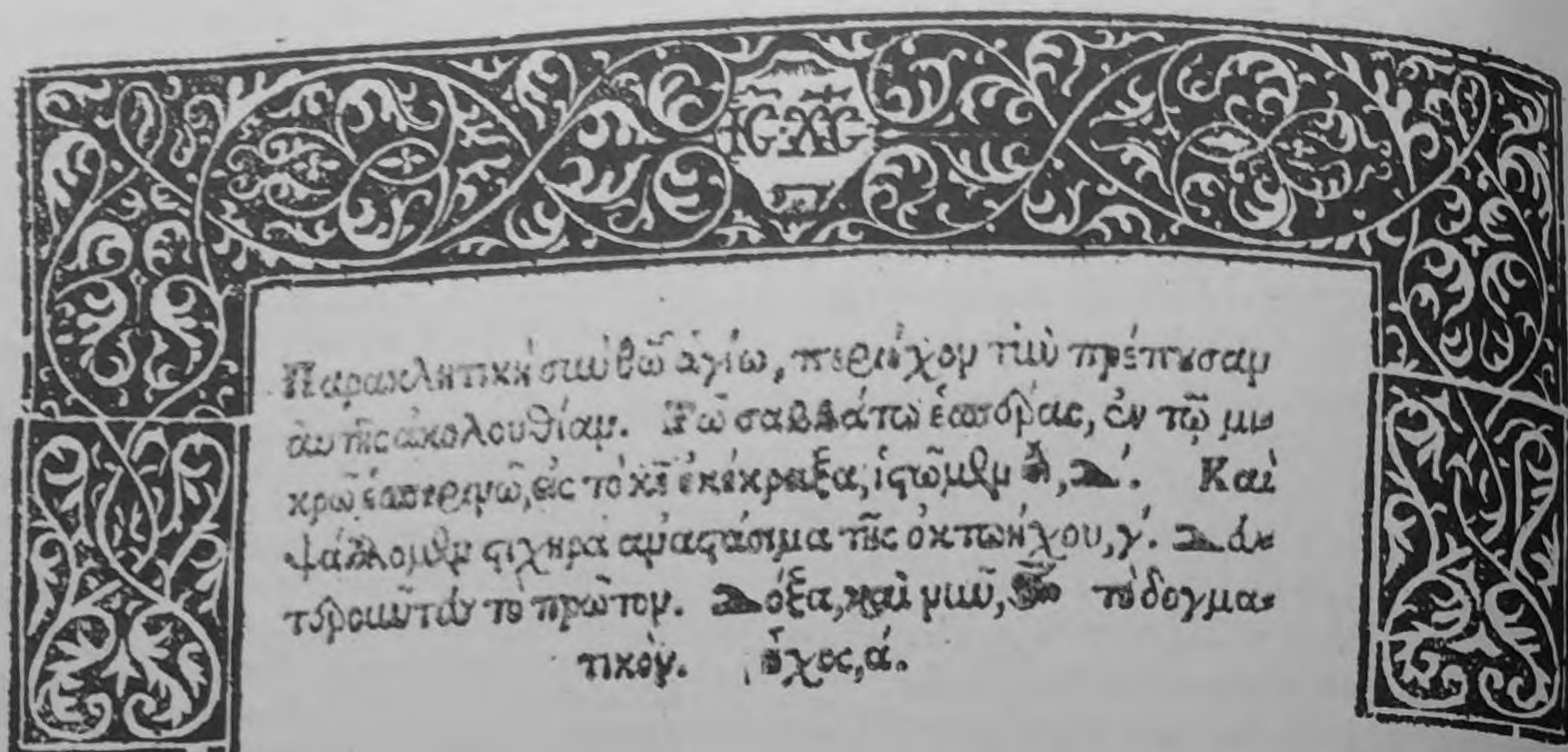
It becomes clear that, by the first quarter of the sixteenth century, the impetus in experimenting with Greek printing types had passed from Italy to France, where there was considerable activity. As in Italy and Germany in 1465, in France in 1479 Greek first appeared in Latin books in phrases and quotations before complete texts were printed.¹²⁰ The first printer of Greek books in France was Gilles de Gourmont, who began printing Greek in 1507 (fig. 43). His type was independent of outside influences. It was not until August 1520 that a cursive font was introduced in France by the printer Josse Bade, who brought Greek type from Froben in Basel.¹²¹ Other printers in Paris, such as Pierre Vidou, began printing Greek in 1521 with type similar to

Ἀντίλοχ', οὐ τις σείονεώτορος ἄλλος ἀχαιῶν,
 οὐτε πόσιν θάσσων οὐτ' ἄλκιμος ὥς σὺ μάχεσθαι.
 Εἴ τινα' που φάων ἰζάλμενος αἶσρα βάλησθαι.
 ὣς εἰπὼν, ὁ μὲν αὖ τις ἀπέσσυτο. τὸν δ' ὀρόθιωνεν.
 Ἐκ δ' ἔσθρε προμάχων καὶ ἀκόντισε δουρὶ φαεινῷ,
 Ἀμφὶ ἐπαπτήναισ'. ἔπειθ' ὁ δὲ φάεισ κεκράδοντο
 Ἀντίλοχος ἀκονίζωντος. ὃ δ' οὐχ' ἄλιον βέλεσθ' ἤκεν.
 Ἀλλ' ἴκε τάονος υἱὸν ἑταρῶν Μελάνιππον
 Νισσομένην πόλεμόνδε βάλε σῆθος πῆλ' ἀμαξέν.
 Δούπησεν δὲ πεσὼν, ἀράβησε δὲ τύχε' ἐπ' αὐτῷ.
 Ἀντίλοχος δ' ἐπύρουσε κύων ὥς, ὅς τ' ἑὶ νεβρῶ
 Βλημνίω αἶψα, τὸν τ' ἰζὺ δύνῃσι θορόντα
 Θηρητῆρ' ἐτυχε βαλὼν, ὑπέλυσε δὲ γῆα,
 ὣς ἑὶ σὺν Μελάνιππε θορ' Ἀντίλοχος μινεχάρμης
 Τάχα συλήσων. ἀλλ' οὐ λάθει ἔκτορα δῖον.
 Ὅς ῥά οἱ ἀντίος ἦλθε δέων ἀνὰ δῆϊο τῆτα.
 Ἀντίλοχος δ' οὐ μέννε θοός ποδ' ἐὼν πολεμιστής.
 Ἀλλ' ὅ γ' ἄρ' ἔφρεσε θηρὶ κακὸν ῥέξαν πειοικῶς.
 Ὅς τε κύνεα κτείνασ' ἢ βουκόλον ἀμφὶ βόεσσιν,
 Φύγει πρὶν ποδ' ὀμλὼν ἀολλισθῆναι αἰσχροῦ,
 ὣς ῥέσε Νεσπρίδης. ἑὶ δὲ φάεισ τε καὶ ἔκτωρ
 ἦ χ' ἡ δαυτεσίη βέλεα σπύοντα χέοντο.
 Στῆ δὲ μῦξας φθίεις, ἐπεὶ ἴκετο ἔθνος ἐτάρων.
 Τρωῶν δὲ λείοισιν εὐκότες ὠμοφάγοισιν,
 Νηυσὶν ἐπιδεύοντο. δῖος δ' ἐτέλειον ἐφετμάς.
 Ὅσφι σιν αἰεὶ ἔχειρε μέγας μέγας, δέλεγε δὲ θυμὸν
 Ἀργείων, καὶ κῦδος ἀπαίνυτο. τοὺς δ' ὀρόθιωνεν.
 ἔκτορα γάρ οἱ θυμὸς ἐβούλετο κῦδος ὀρέξαι
 Πειραμίδην, ἵνα νηυσὶ κορωνίσιν δαυτεσάες πῦρ
 Εὐβάλησιν ἀμάραν. δέπδος δ' ἰζάεσιον ἀρῖον
 Πάσαν ἐπικρήνιε. τὸ γ' ἔμνιε μηπίετα Ζόυς,
 Νηὸς κακομνήης σέλασ' ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἰδέσθαι.
 Ἐκ γ' ὅτ' ἡτῶ, ἔμελλε παλῖώξιν παρὰ νηῶν
 Θησέμεναι δέων, δαυταῖσι δὲ κῦδος ὀρέξαι.

ὍΤΙ Μενέλαος ὄρεθ' ἰζῶν μὲν τὸν Ἀντίλοχον
 εἰς μάχην, πρῶτα μὲν εἰπαιεῖ, φάμενος. Ἀντίλοχ',
 οὐ τις σείονεώτορος ἄλλος ἀχαιῶν, οὐτε πόσιν θάσσων
 οὐτ' ἄλκιμος ὥς σὺ μάχεσθαι. πρὸς ἡλικιώτας δὲ
 πάντως ἢ τῷ Ἀντίλοχου αὐτῇ σύγκεισιν. εἰς δὲ κὺ
 ρα ὡς οἱ εἰπαιεῖται χηρῶσι εἰσιν ἐν καίρῳ. εἴτα ἐπιφεί- 30
 ρων ἀξίωσιν, φησὶν. εἴ τινα' που φάων ἰζάλμενος αἶ-
 σρα βάλησθαι. καὶ σκμείωσαι καμνωτάτην ταύτης
 εἰμειψίαν. λέγει γὰρ ὅτι εἰς τὸ δέλησον ἢ τι τοιοῦ-
 τον. ἵνα λέγῃ ὅτι αὐτοῦτον εἴπως ἱνάτου τῆς φάων
 βάλης. Ὅτι ἀνδρείου στρατιώτου δῆλωσις τὸ, ἐκ δ' ἔ-
 σθρε προμάχων, καὶ ἀκόντισε δουρὶ φαεινῷ ἀμφὶ ἐπα-
 πτήναισ'. ἢ ῥα αὐτὸ καὶ ἐκεῖ τὰ κατ' αὐτῶν περιβλε-
 ψάμενος προμηθεύον δι' ἀσπράλειαν. οἱ δὲ δέινα ὡς
 καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις κεῖται, κεκράδοντο ἀνδρὸς ἀκοντίζον- 40
 τος. ὃ δ' οὐχ' ἄλιον βέλεσθ' ἤκε. ποδὶ Ἀντίλοχου δὲ ὁ
 λόπος ἐν ταύτῃ τῷ ποιητῇ. Ὅτι Ὀμήρου πρῶτα βολι-
 κῶς εἰρήνησ' ὡς ἰζὺ δύνῃσι θορόντα νεβρὸν θηρητῆρ' ἔβα-
 λε, ποδὶ οὐ πρὸ βραχέων ἐρέει, λαβὼν ὅστις οἱ
 ἰδῶται, καὶ ταῦτα καλοῦσι τῶν ὀρεινῶν δύνῃσι τῶν θη-
 ρῶν. καὶ μάλιστα ὅτι καὶ θηρὶς ὑληκοῖται πρῶτα ἢ σὺ
 δὴ λέγεται. Σημείωται δὲ καὶ ὅτι ἐν τῇ αἰσχροῦ ἐκ-
 τεθείη κατὰ τὸν νεβρὸν πρῶτα βολῇ ἐν ἡ κύων ἐπὶ νε- 50
 βρῶ αἶψα ὅν θηρητῆρ' ἔβαλε, πρὶν αὐτοῦ μὲν τὸν
 Ἀντίλοχον ὁ ποιητὴς δηλοῖ. ἄλλως γὰρ ἀνομοία πρὸς
 τὸ πρῶτα γμα ἢ πρῶτα βολῇ. ὁ μὲν γὰρ κύων, ὁρμῇ εἰς νε-
 βρὸν ὄν ἄλλος ἔβαλεν. ὁ δὲ Ἀντίλοχος, εἰς νεκρὸν ὄν
 αὐτὸς ἐρέει. ἐν τούτοις δὲ ὅρα καὶ ὅτι πεσόντος με-
 λανίππου, δαυτάμενος Ὀμηρος πῆλ' ἔσθαι τῶν εἰπῶν
 μέλας θάνατος ἔλεον, ἢ τοιοῦτον, οὐκ ἔθελον οὐ-
 τω ποιῆσαι, ἵνα μὴ παύσῃ ἐν οὐ παυκῶσι. Ὅτι στραπῶ
 πικρὸν προθυμίαν δηλοῖ τὸ, ὅς ῥά οἱ ἀντίος ἦλθε δέων
 ἀνὰ δῆϊο τῆτα. Ὅτι ἔκτορος ἐπελθόντος, Ἀντίλο-
 χος οὐ μέννε θοός ποδ' ἐὼν πολεμιστής. ἀλλ' ὅ γ' ἄρ' ἔφρε- 60
 σε θηρὶ κακὸν ῥέξαν πειοικῶς, ὅς τ' ἑὶ νεβρῶ
 χυλῷ. ἰδιότης δὲ φασὶ λέοντος καὶ τῆς ὁμοίων ζώων ὅτιν,
 ὅτε ἢ ποίμνη ἐπιβουλεύσωσιν, ἢ βουκόλον κτείνωσιν,
 ἢ κύνεα, ἢ ὅλως τοιοῦτον ἢ κακοεργήσωσι, συσέλλε-
 δαι δὲ ἐν ποινῇ. καὶ φύγειν πρὶν ἢ π' ἀνδρῶν κα-
 τὰ λυφθῶσι, ὅτι τὸ δῖον εἶναι ὡς κακὸν ἐπὶ ἐρέει. ὅ-
 λλ

fig. 35

Froben's. It was not long, however, before such well known printers and engravers as Simon de Colines cut their own Greek cursive fonts free of the Froben influence.¹²² In 1533, a printer who was also a punch-cutter, Antoine Augereau, printed Hesiod's *Ἔργα καὶ ἡμέραι* with a font very similar to that of Simon de Colines.¹²³ Another printer who had a Greek font similar to that of de Colines was Conrad Neobar. On 17 January 1535, François I appointed Conrad Neobar to be the royal printer for Greek. However, Neobar died in 1540, and the King then appointed Robert Estienne (1503-1559), who was already the royal printer for Hebrew and Latin, to assume the title and duties of royal printer for Greek as well.¹²⁴ It was during this time that a contract was also signed with the engraver and punch-cutter Claude Garamont (1480-1561) to cut the new Greek type to be used by the royal printer.¹²⁵ The Greek letters to be engraved by Garamont were



Παρακλητικὴ παμνήγεις σήμερον ἀδελφοί, σκιρτάτω ἡ κτίσις. χοράετω ἡ αἰὼς τῆς. σὺν ἐκάλεισε γὰρ ἡμᾶς, ἡ ἀγία θκός. τὸ ἀμόλιον καὶ μῆλιον τῆς παρθενίας ὁ λογικὸς τῆς δαυτοῦς ἀδάμ παράδεισος τὸ ὄργανον τῆς ἐνώσεως, τῶν δύο φύσεως. ἡ παμνήγεις τῆς σελίου σὺν ἀλλὰ γαματος. ἡ πασὰς ἐν ἡ ὁ λόγος ἐνυμφάσατο τὴν σάρκα. ἡ ὄντως κούφη μεφελή, ἡ τὸν ἑαὶ τῶν χορουβίμ, μετὰ σώματος βασάσασα. ταῖς αὐτῆς ἰκεσίαις χεὶ ὁ θεὸς σῶσον τὰς ψυχὰς ἡμῶν.

Ἡ τα φῶς ἱλαρόν προκείμενον, ὁ καὶ ἐβασ

Ἡ. Ἡ ὁ πρόσωπόν σου.

Ἀ. μεκαινίῳ ὁ κόσμος ἐν τῇ κυήσει σε, θεοκυνῆτορ κόρυ τῶν τριγῶν σωτηρία, καὶ ἀγρυπνός προσάτις τῶν ἀσεβοῦς αἰτῶν, μὴ μὴ παμνήμνητε. μὴ διαλίπης πρὸς βίουσα ἐκτενῶς, ἔσθ' παμνῶν τῶν ὑμνοῦντων σε.

Ἀόξα, καὶ μὴ. Δογματικόν, ὁ αὐτός.

Ἡ. ἐφέλιω σε φωτὸς, αἰδὶς παρθενέ, ὁ προφήτης ὠνόμασεν. ἐκ σοῦ γὰρ ὡς ὑετὸς ἐπὶ πόκον καταβάς ὁ λόγος τῆς παρὸς καὶ ἐκ σὲ ἀνατείλας, τὸν κόσμον ἐφώτισε. τὴν πλάμιν κατήργησε, καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἡ

fig. 36

fashioned from the handwriting of the calligrapher in the service of the king, the Cretan Angelos Vergikios, or Vergetios (d. 1569), who was the *escripvain en lectre grecque pour le Roy*.¹²⁶

The Royal Greek types consisted of fonts of three different sizes. The first to be ready was the middle-sized type, the *gros-romain*, or great primer, which first appeared in the 1543 *Alphabetum graecum* (LAYTON no. 16; fig. 44). It was followed by the smallest font of the three, the *cicéro*, or pica, introduced in Estienne's 1546 edition of the New Testament. The largest, the *gros-parangon*, or double pica, was first used in the 1550 edition of the New Testament in which all three types were used together.¹²⁷ Between 1543 and 1581, the Royal Greek types were used by all of the printers appointed by the king beginning with Robert Estienne, Adrien Turnèbe, Guillaume Morel, Robert II Estienne, Frédéric Morel, and Frédéric II Morel.¹²⁸ Although the Royal Greeks were supposed to be used exclusively by the printers appointed by the King, there were instances



Ψ ὥσα ββάτω ἐσθράς, ἐν τῷ μικρῷ ἐσπε-
εινῶ, ριχνῶ ἀμαρτίαμα, γ'. Δά τε
ερυν τὰς πόεις. Δόξα, ἐμῷ, ἦ το, Δογ-
ματικόν, ἦχος γ'.

Μ ἐμὸν θαῦμα, παρθέμος τεκοῦσα· καὶ τὸ
τεχθεῖν, θεὸς παρθενῶν· παρθενῶν
ὁ τόκος, καὶ τὸ τελέμενον ὑποδύσει· ὡ
μυθεῖν φρικώδεις· ὁ καὶ μοῦνον,
ἀφρατον μένει· καὶ θεωροῦμενον, οὐ κα-
ταλαμβάνεται· μακαρία σὺ εἰ ἀχραν-
τε κόρη· ἀδὰμ τῷ γενεοῦς θυγάτηρ· καὶ
θὺ τῷ ὑψίστου, φαμεῖσα μήρ· αὐτὶς ἐτά-
σθῃται τὰς ψυχὰς ἡμῶν· ~

Εἰς τὸν αἶ, ὅτε παρθεῖν τῷ αἶ, εἴτα τὰ τεῖα
τῆς θυγατρὸς προσόμοια, ἦχος, γ'.

Ψ ὅμ ἐρῶσιν προσκυνοῦμεν· αἶ.

Μηκοῦμαι τῷ ὀνόματι σου·

Κ ιβωτόν σε μοντῶ, ἀγνή γινώσκουμεν· φέ-
ρουσαν τὰς πλάκας, τὰς θεογράφους
ἡμῶν· ὅτε μοι δέ τι καὶ κτίσιν· ὡπρὲς
σβάνε σωθῆναι τὰς ψυχὰς ἡμῶν· ~

αἶ. Ἡ κοῦσον θυγάτηρ·

Επῆρσε οὐρανόν, ἀγνή ἀμέδυσεν· ὅτε μὴ
ῥα τῆς ἡ κατασκηνώσας· θεὸς λόγος, σὰφ-
κα προσλαβὼν, ὁ φύσει ἀνέωρητος· καὶ
ἐπομβερίζεις τοῖς πᾶσι· ἀθάνατον δρό-
σον ἀπειράγαμε· αἶ. Ψ ὅ πρόσωπό μου·

Εωπείαμ ταῖς πρεσβείαις σου κεκτῆμε·
θα· οἶδ' αὐτῶν παρθέμε ἐκ τῶν κινδύνων
ἀεὶ ἐπὶ πειρασμῶν, τινὲς ἀλλῶν ὑπεκ-
φάγωμεν· ἐδὲ τῷ αἰτῷ μὲν· μὴ παύσῃ

παρθέμε· χαῖρε ἰσιανάψασα τὰ χάτω,
τοῖς ἐπ' οὐραμίσι· χαῖρε ἰέλπις, τῶν δόμων
τῶν πόρτων τῆς γῆς, καὶ προστασία καὶ
ἀμπλῆψις· χαῖρε ἰθὺς ἀμαρτίασι τῶν ὑψίστων,
φαιδρίνασα τὰ σύμπτωτα· ἐπαρέχου-
σα τῷ κόσμῳ, τὸ μέγα ἔλεος· ~



Ψ ὥσα ββάτω ἐσθράς, ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ ἐσπε-
εινῶ, ριχνῶ ἀμαρτίαμα, ἦχος, γ'.

Π ὥσ' ἐρῶν ἡ σωτὴρ, θαλάτου κράτος λέ-
λυται· ἐδὲ βόλῃς ἡ πλάμη, κατήρηται·
γένος δὲ ἀμῶν πίσει σωζόμενον· ὕμνοισι
κατεκράνη προσφῶν· ~

Π εφώπται τὰ σύμπτωτα, τῇ ἀμαρτίας σου
κῆ· ἐπὶ παράδοξος πάλιν ἡμέωκται· πᾶ-
σα δὲ ἡκτίσις ἀνὰ φημοῦσας ὕμνοισι,
κατεκράνη προσφῶν· ~

Δ οξάζω τῷ παρὸς Στῆν, τινὲς δὲ ἀμῶν·
Στῆν ἀγῆ, ὕμνῳ τινὲς δὲ οὐσίαν· ἀδιαίρε-
τον ἀκρίτον θεότητα· τελέδα ὁμοούσιον,
τινὲς βασιλεύσαν, εἰς αἰῶνα αἰῶνος· ~

Ετὸρα αἶα πολίχαι, ἦχος, γ'.

Π ὁρταυρόν σου ὁρτήμον, προσκυνοῦμεν
χῆ· καὶ τινὲς ἀμαρτίας σου, ὕμνοισι καὶ
δοξάζομεν· τῷ γὰρ μῶλωπί σου, ἡμεῖς οἱ
πάντες ἰάθημεν· ~

Γράφοις Λεοντίου μοναχού.



Ω μὲν ἱερὰ μὲν θεῶν
 ἀπαρὰ ἡ χορεία
 τῆς ἀσπεράτων ἱ
 δοῦσεσθ' ἡμῶν
 δὸν πλὴν ἀνδρῶν
 σὸν ξυνορθώσαντες
 πλὴν κυρίαν ζωὴν
 ἡ γυνὴ τὸν Χρῶ
 (κτ) τὸ, ἐγὼ εἶπα
 με ἡ ζωὴ καὶ ἡ δόξα
 δός. καὶ ζωὴ ἐν
 ὑπόστασι Χρῶ.
 λίαν ἐπλάγην
 τῶ φόβῳ, καὶ τῶ
 τ' χαρὰς ἡ σὲ τῶ
 σὼ τὸ καὶ ἡ γυνὴ
 τῶ σὼ ἡ γυνὴ, ὅ
 μὴ καὶ ἡ εἰς τὸν
 ὡς ἐν τῶ σὼ ἡ γυνὴ
 ὡς ἐν τῶ σὼ ἡ γυνὴ

σοις θεῶν. σὲ φημι πλὴν μαρτυρῶ πλὴν ῥυθμῶν πλὴν
 τὰ ἐν τῇ ἀρχαίᾳ ἀρχαίᾳ, τὰ ὑπάρχοντα
 πρὸ τῶν δεδουλωμένων καὶ πλὴν ψυχῶν τῶν
 διωαίμεως τῶ ἑαίν καὶ δολίου δολιχόντος. ὅ
 λοιπὸν ὡς ἔχοντες κυρία παρδένε ἡ γυνὴ κυ
 ρίως, σὺ εἰς τὴν ἀρχαίαν καὶ τὴν πλὴν τῶν
 στανῶν, ἡ δὲ σὼ ἡ γυνὴ τὸν δε, δηλονότι
 τὸν σιχουρῶν τῶν ἰαμβους. καὶ ἡ
 θιωσάντ' ἡ σὼ ἡ γυνὴ τὸν Ζαχαρίαν
 τὸν ἰδρῶα, εἰς ὡς δὲ ἡ γυνὴ ὡς δὲ ἡ γυνὴ

δ 11

fig. 38

when they were used by other French printers as well. When Robert Estienne moved to Geneva in 1551, he took sets of matrices of the types with him, and all of his imprints in Geneva use the Royal Greek types. Andreas Wechel also took a set of all three types with him when he moved from Paris to Frankfurt-am-Main in 1572.¹²⁹ After many vicissitudes, the punches of the *greco du roi* were deposited in the Imprimerie Nationale, where they still remain.¹³⁰

The Royal Greek types, although they perpetuated a cursive hand with its many ligatures and contractions, were better-designed and cast than any of the cursives cast previously in Italy, Germany, or France. They exerted a tremendous influence on the Greek types of all Europe for more than two hundred years. Robert Proctor says that, "for evenness of colour, for precision of casting, and for the exactness of alignment and justification, these founts are unsurpassable."¹³¹

Moreover, there was a better proportion between the capitals and the lower case letters than in previous cursives. Most of the Greek fonts of Italy, with the exception of those of Zacharias Kallierges, used Latin capital letters that frequently did not match the Greek lower case. Even the type designed by Ianos Lascaris had Latin capitals.¹³² It is now believed that the headpieces and decorative initials often used by Estienne in the books printed with the Royal Greek types and originally attributed to Geoffroy Tory (1480-1533), were actually derived from the initials and decorations found in the manuscripts of Angelos Vergikios.¹³³

The calligraphic style of the Royal Greek types influenced the design of Greek type from the time they appeared. Pierre Haultin (fl. 1523-1580) was the first engraver and punch-cutter to produce type modelled after the Royal Greeks.¹³⁴ His pica, or *mediane grecque*, appeared in 1549. It can be seen in two works printed in Paris¹³⁵ and can also be found among the types used in the works printed as early as 1564 by Christopher Plantin.¹³⁶ The typefaces of Haultin, especially his *augustine grecque*, were used by several printers in Italy. Paolo Manuzio used both the *mediane* and *augustine grecque* of Pierre Haultin in the late 1550s and early 1560s.¹³⁷ Other Italian printers who used the Haultin typefaces were Cristoforo Zanetti (fig. 45)¹³⁸ and Francesco Zanetti, who used them both in Venice in 1563 and later in Rome.¹³⁹ The typefaces also can be found in the imprints of Giordano Ziletti.¹⁴⁰ The publisher Emmanouel Glyzounis, who owned several typefaces, used both the *mediane* and *augustine grecque* in some of his non-liturgical publications.¹⁴¹ The *mediane grecque* can also be found among the type acquired by the Vatican Press.¹⁴²

As mentioned earlier, the Royal Greek types were very much in demand and

στα. Τους ἐν θαλάσῃ, κυβερνήσαν. Τοῖς ἐν ὁδοῖς
εἰσὶν, σωσόντες. Τῷ βασιλεῖ, συμμάχῃ. Τοῖς
δικαστοῖσι καὶ ἐλεούσιν ἡμᾶς, ἀμαρτιῶν ἄφεσιν δόν-
τες. Τους ἐν τειλαμόνοισι ἡμῖν τοῖς ἀναξίοις δὴ
οὕτως ὑπὸ αὐτῶν, ἐλέησον καὶ τὸ μέγα σου ἔλεος.
μνήσῃ καὶ τῶν προκοιμηθέντων πατέρων καὶ ἀ-
δελφῶν ἡμῶν, καὶ ἀνάπαυσον αὐτοὺς, ὅπου ἐπισκο-
πεῖς τὸ φῶς τοῦ προσώπου σου. μνήσῃ καὶ τῶν ἀ-
δελφῶν ἡμῶν τῶν αἰχμαλώτων, καὶ λύτρωσαι
αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ πάσης δουλοπείρας. μνήσῃ καὶ τῶν
καρποφοροῦντων καὶ καρμιόρκων ὧν ταῖς
ἀγίαις σου ἐκκλησίαις. καὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς τὰ πρὸς σω-
τηρίαν αἰτήματα, καὶ ξαλὴν τὴν αἰώνιον. μνήσῃ
καὶ ἡμῶν τῶν ταπεινῶν, καὶ ἀμαρτωλῶν, καὶ
ἀναξίων δούλων σου. καὶ φάπισον ἡμῶν τὸν νοῦν,
τὸ φῶς τῆς γνώσεώς σου. καὶ ὁδηγήσον ἡμᾶς ἐν
τῇ τρεῖς τῶν ὁδῶν σου. Γεσβέαις τῆς πανα-
χράντου διαπονήης ἡμῶν θεοτόκου καὶ ἀειπαρέ-
νου μαρτύρου, καὶ πάντων σου τῶν ἁγίων, ὅτι δόξα
γὰρ εἰς εἰς εἰς αἰῶνα τῶν αἰώνων, Ἀμήν.

fig. 39



Τοῦ ἐν ἀγίοις ἡμῶν κυρίου ἀρχιεπισκόπου ἀ-
λεξανδρείας ἡγῆτος πᾶσι ἐξοφῶν ψυχῆς καὶ
πᾶσι τῆς δουλείας παρουσίας.

Φ

Οβοῦμαι τὸν θάνατον ὅτι πικρόσμοι εἰσὶ. φοβοῦμαι
τὴν γέννησιν. ὅτι ἀτελεύτητος ὅστις. φοβοῦμαι τὸν
πάρταρον. ὅτι οὐ μετέχει δέσμης. φοβοῦμαι τὸ σκό-
τος. ὅτι οὐ μετέχει φωτός. φοβοῦμαι τὸν σκώληκα
καὶ τὸν ἰοβόλον, ὅτι ἀτελεύτητος ὅστις. φοβοῦμαι
τοὺς ἀγγέλους τοὺς ἐν τῇ κρίσει. ὅτι ἀειλήμην
νέεσσι. φοβοῦμαι ἐν νοῶν τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης τὸ
φοβερόν καὶ ἀδέκαστον διχαστήριο. τὸ βῆμα φε-
κῶδες τὸν διχαστὴν τὸν ἀδέκαστον. φοβοῦμαι τὸν
ποταμὸν τῆς πυρός. τὸν πρὸ τῆς βείματος ἐκείνης συ-
ρόμενοι, καὶ σφοδρὸς τῆς καχλάζοντα τῇ φλογί.
τὰς ἡκρυσμένας ῥομφαίας. φοβοῦμαι τὰς ἀποτό-
μους τιμωρίας. φοβοῦμαι τὴν κόλασιν τὴν οὐκ ἔχου-
σαν τέλος. φοβοῦμαι τὸν ζόφον τὸν ἀφεργῆ. φοβοῦ-
μαι τὸ σκότος τὸ ὀξύτερον. φοβοῦμαι τὰ δεσμά τὰ
ἀλυτα. τὸν βρυγμὸν τῶν ὀδόντων, τὸν κλαυθμὸν,
τὸν ἀπαρμύνητον φοβοῦμαι τοὺς ἀφύκτους ἐλέγ-
χους. οὐδὲν γὰρ κατηγόρων δέεται ὁ δικαστὴς ἐκεί-
νος.

fig. 40

widely imitated. In 1561, Paolo Manuzio tried to obtain matrices for one of the royal fonts through Adrien Turnèbe, but was unsuccessful in his attempt.¹⁴³ Christopher Plantin also wanted to obtain matrices of the Royal Greeks but was unable to do so.¹⁴⁴ On 3 February 1565, Plantin commissioned Robert Granjon (1513-1590) to supply him with punches and a strike of a *parangon grec* that was based on the larger-sized font of the *grecs du roi*.¹⁴⁵ The *parangon grec* of Robert Granjon appears in the imprints of printers and publishers who produced books for Greek consumption. It was obtained by Antonios Verghis, who financed the printing of three liturgical books in 1578 (fig. 46). The Verghis set later passed into the hands of Domenico de Poloni, who used the type until 1603.¹⁴⁶ Emmanouel Glyzounis also owned typefaces of the *parangon grec* and used them between 1588 and 1596, especially in his liturgical folio publications.¹⁴⁷



ψαλμὸς τῷ δαβὶδ, ἀντίγραφος παρὲς βραβύοις. α.

ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ ἄνθρωπος, ὃς οὐκ ἐπορεύθη ἐν βουλήν ἁσέβων· καὶ ἐν ὁ-
δῷ ἁμαρτωλῶν, οὐκ ἔστη· καὶ ἐν καθεδρᾷ λοιμῶν, οὐκ ἐκά-
θισεν· ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ νόμῳ κυ, τὸ θέλημα αὐτοῦ· καὶ ἐν τῷ
νόμῳ αὐτοῦ, μελετήσεται ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός· καὶ ἔσται ὡς τὸ
ξύλον τὸ πεφυτευμένον, πρὸς τὰς διεξόδους τῶν ὑδάτων,
ὃ τὸν καρπὸν αὐτοῦ, δώσει ἐν καιρῷ αὐτοῦ· καὶ τὸ φύλλον αὐ-
τοῦ, οὐκ ἀρρηθήσεται· καὶ πάντα ὅσα αὐτὸ ποιῇ, κατενοθε-
θήσεται· οὐχ οὕτως οἱ ἁσέβεῖς οὐχ οὕτως· ἀλλ' ὡσεὶ χνοῦς,
ὃν ἐκεῖ πῦρ ὁ ἀνέμος ἀπὸ προσώπου τῆς κυ· διασπᾶται, οὐκ ἀνα-
στήσονται ἁσέβεῖς ἐν κείνῃ· οὐδὲ ἁμαρτωλοὶ, ἐν βουλήν δι-
καίων· ὅτι γνώσκει κατ' ὁδὸν δικαίων, καὶ ὁδὸς ἁσέβων ἀχρεῖ-
ται·
ψαλμὸς τῷ δαβὶδ. β.

ΚΑΤΙ ἐφύαξαν ἔθνη, καὶ λαοὶ ἐμελέτησαν κενά· παρέστησαν
οἱ βασιλεῖς τῆς κυ, καὶ οἱ ἀρχόντες σωήθησαν ἐν τοῦτο.
κατὰ τὸ κυ, καὶ κατὰ τὸ κυ αὐτοῦ· διαρρήξωμεν ἐν δεσμούς
αὐτῶν, καὶ ἀρρήξωμεν ἀφ' ἡμῶν τὸν ζυγὸν αὐτῶν· ὁ κα-
τοικῶν ἐν οὐνοῖς, ἐκκέλευσε αὐτοῖς, καὶ ὁ κατ' ἐκμνηστειῇ
αὐτούς· τότε λαλήσει πρὸς αὐτοῖς, ἐν ὁρῇ αὐτοῦ· καὶ ἐν τῷ
θυμῷ αὐτοῦ, παράξει αὐτούς· ἐγὼ δὲ, κατεστάθην βασιλεὺς
ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ· ἐν σπῶν ὅρος τὸ ἄγιον αὐτοῦ, διαγέλωρ τὸ πρό-
σχημα κυ· κατ' εἶπε πρὸς με, ἡσέ μου εἶσὺ· ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέ-
νηκά σε· αἰτήσαι παρ' ἐμοῦ, καὶ δώσω σοι ἔθνη τὴν κληρονο-
μίαν σου· καὶ τὴν κατάχυσίν σου, ταῖς πόρταίς τῆς κυ· ποι-
μανεῖς αὐτοῖς, ἐν ῥάβδῳ σιδηρᾷ· ὡς σκῆνι κεραμέως, σωτὴρ·

fig. 41

ὥς πάντα τί ἀνίστανται, ὥς ἦσαν μετὰ πόλιν.
 Ἐν μᾶ γὰρ τῶν ἡμετέρων, ὥρα μεσονυκτία,
 θυγάστειν μετὰ σπονδῆς, μαντάτα εἰς ἀντία.
 Πλείστα ὀδύνης χαλασμός, τῆς ῥομανίας πάσης,
 φονεῖτον μέγα καὶ πόλιν, ξυρᾶς τε καὶ θαλάσσης.
 Ἡρπασαν αἰχμάλωτον δούσαν τῆ βασιλείᾳ χάρας,
 κατέκοψαν ἠφάνισαν, δένδρεα μετὰς ὁ πόρας.
 Ὡς τόκουσεν ὁ βασιλεὺς, δειμῖα ποτὶ τῆ φάνη,
 καὶ εἰς κάμῳ τὸ ἐχέουσεν, ναρῦξεν τὸ στεφανί.
 Ἐκ τῆς πικρίας τῆς πόλιν, καὶ τῆ δεινοῦ μαντάτου,
 ἡμῶν δὲ βίης ἐποίησεν, μὴ πᾶ τινὰς σιμότου.
 Ἄρτον μίτε γούσάμενος, μηδὲ ποτὲ καθόλου,
 τῷ νικῶν μελετόμενος, σὸν νότον ἐν δόλῳ.
 Εἰς ὀλίγον διάημα, μεσοῦ χρόνον ἡμῶν,
 ἀρμάτα ἐκονόμισεν, ἐπὶ λῶσεν μαχαίρας,
 Κάτρηα δύσδρομῆς κεντὰ, σέλην δὲ τῷ νικῶν,
 καὶ ἄλλα δὲ τειάκοντα, ἀπὸ τῷ σαλονίκῳ.
 Τρύποισιν καλὸν καράβια, ἀμέτεις γαλιῶτες,
 ἀνδρῶν καλὸν καὶ θαυμασὸν, τῆς μάχης σφατιῶτες.
 Ἐσεβίσαν εἰς τὰ κάτρηα, ὅλοι ἀρματομένοι,
 μετ' ἀρμάτα με παρ' ἡσῖα, νέοι ἀνδρειομένοι.
 Ἀρμάδα εἶπον φοβόρῃ, ἔβησαν εἰς τὸν μόλον,
 να εἶδες ἄμεζον χαρὰν, παρ' ἡσῖα σμένον σόλον.
 Μεπαλικαρία ἔμορφα μνηστοχαριτωμένα,
 εἰς τῷ ἀρμάτῃ ἐρεχαν, ὅλα λονεκαμένια.
 Ἀνεπνῶ καὶ γράφωμε, οὐ φθόγωμε τῆ λέγην,
 ἡρξάμην ἀπὸ τῆς χαρᾶς νακλίνω περὶ τὸ κλέγην.
 Ορῶντας νέους τειφρόνους, περὶ πόλεμον ναβέχου,
 τὰ δέκρυά μου ἐκατέβην, τὰρούχα μου ναβρέχου.
 Πετείτου δὲ καὶ φάλκωνες, οἱ ναῦτες πάντες ἦσαν,
 μετὰ τῶν κατέρων αἰ λαοὶ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ὅσοι σάν.
 Πλὴν τῆς αρμάτας οὐδὲ εἰς, ἐγίνως κετὸν πρῶτον,
 ἀλλήλως δὲ ἐμάχονταν, ποῖον ναπίσον πρῶτον.
 Ωεῖξεν γοῶν ὁ βασιλεὺς νασιναχθού δὴ θέως,
 οἱ ἀρχόντου να ἔλθουσιν ἐμπροσθεν βασιλείως.
 Εἰς τὸ παλάτιν με σπονδῆς, νακατξουσιν με τάξιν,
 καὶ τῷ βουλῶν, ὁ καθεὶς ναδῶσιν με τῷ τάξιν.
 Πλήθος ἀρχόντων ἔδραμαν, τῆς παλατίου ἔσω,
 ὁ βασιλεὺς δὲ αἰσώτυχεν, καὶ λέγει εἰς τὸ μέσω.

Τρίτη κλίσις τοῦ ὀνόματος ἐστὶν ἐν τοῖς ἀρσενικοῖς,
 καὶ θηλυκοῖς καὶ οὐδετέροις, καὶ αὐτὴ ἰσοσύλλαβος,
 δηλονότι τινῶν τῶν εἰς ὡς διὰ τοῦ ὠ μεγάλου ληγόν·
 τῶν ἀρσενικῶν καὶ θηλυκῶν καὶ τῶν εἰσῶν ληγόντων
 διὰ τοῦ ὠ μεγάλου οὐδετέρων, ὧν ἡ γενικὴ καὶ δοτικὴ
 εἰσῶ μεγά, καὶ ἡ αἰτιατικὴ εἰσῶν μεγά, δηλονότι εἰς
 ν, μετὰ τοῦ φωνηέντος τῆς εὐθείας ληγεί·
 Ὁ μένελεω, τοῦ μενελεω, τῷ μενελεω, τ μενελεων
 ῶ μενελεω, τῷ μενελεω, τοῖν μενελεων, ῶ μενελεω,
 οἱ μενελεω, τῶν μενελεων τοῖς μενελεω, τοὺς μενε
 λεω, ῶ μενελεω.

C. I.

fig. 43

Τα δὲ ὄνομα αὐτὸ ὅτι μετρίω.
 Μνήσθητι τὴν ἡμέραν τῇ σαββάτῳ, ἀγί-
 αζῆν αὐτῇ.
 Ἐξ ἡμέρας ἐργά, καὶ ποιήσεις πᾶν ταῦτα ἔργα σου, τῇ
 ᾗ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἐβδόμῃ, ἄββατα Κυρίου ὁ Θεός σου.
 ὃ ποιήσεις ἐν αὐτῇ πᾶν ἔργον σου, καὶ ὁ υἱός σου, καὶ
 ἡ θυγάτηρ σου, ὁ παῖς σου, ἡ παιδίσκη σου, καὶ ὁ
 βοῦς σου, καὶ τὸ ὑποζύγιόν σου, καὶ πᾶν κτήνός σου,
 καὶ ὁ πρῶτόχουτος ὁ προικὸς ἐν σοί.
 ἐν γὰρ ἔξ ἡμέρας ἐποίησε Κύριος τὸν οὐρανὸν,
 καὶ τὴν γῆν, ἡ θάλασσαν, καὶ πᾶν ταῦτα ἐν αὐτοῖς,
 καὶ κατέπαυσεν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἐβδόμῃ. διὰ τὸ
 ἡυλόγησε κύριος τὴν ἡμέραν τὴν ἐβδόμην,
 καὶ ἐτίμησεν αὐτήν.
 Τίμα δὲν πατέρα σου, καὶ τὴν μητέρα σου, ἵνα
 εὖ σοι γένη, καὶ ἵνα μακροχρόνιος γένη ὅτι τῇ γῆς
 τῇ ἀγαθῇ, ἡς Κύριος ὁ Θεός σου δίδωσί σοι.

fig. 44



κεφάλαιον, α.
Ποὺς καβαλέρους, τ' ἄρματα, ταῖς ἄξαις ἐπαρχίαις,
 φόροις, καὶ κτύποις ξαζουδῶ, ξαύματα καὶ ζημίας.
 Ο' ποῦ φανῆκαν σινδρεσ, παιδὴ, μὴ βαθείας,
 ὀργῆς καὶ δόλου κινιθεῖς, Τυρκῶν ὁ βασιλείας.
 Μιγάλοι σόλον ὀρθώστε, εἰς μάλα γαστρά σείλη,
 γαυρὸν νὰ καταποντιθῇ, τ' ἀγὴρ γιαννί, οἱ φίλοι.
 Κ' οἱ ἄρχοντες τοῦ θύλοντες, μὲ τὴν καλὴν καρδίαν,
 νὰ χάμουςιν, τ' ὀρέγεται, κ' ἔχῃ ὀπιθυμία.
 Στὸν τόπον καῖνον διαβησαν, καλῶς ὀρδινιασμύροι,
 ἀλλὰ σὺν τερέπασιν, νὰ μ' ἦσαν παρομύροι.
 Πῆν θύλων φερίματα καλά, εἰσὶ πμὴν καὶ δόξαν,
 μαλτάρων τῆς χειρῶν, ἀπὸ τὸν Τυρκοῦ διόξαν.
 Ἀντὶ κ' ἐκ τὴν βοήθειαν σου, σφραγὶς καμπόσιν πιάσω,
 γὰρ ἀτόκου μοναχὸς, δυνάμιν δὲν ποτάσω.
 Ἐσὺ ποῦ πύρις τὴν πμὴν, ὅρου τῆς ἑλκῶνος,
 τὴν πόρῶν καὶ τὴν φρονησιν, μουσῶν τὴν ἔχῃς μόνος.
 Καὶ τὴν πηρὴν ἀφείπεψις τῆς καὶ ἐνὶ ποιόντος,
 φραντ ζίσκι μοναχὴ σολή, αἰῶνος τῆς παρὲντος.
 Οἷμιν ὠρεα καλῶσιντο ἀπὸ τὰ ὑψηλά σου,
 νὰ δώσης εἰς τὴν σείχου μου, τοὺς ταπεινὸς τ' ἀφίπασου.
 Νὰ χαμηλώσης μὲ τὸν νῦν, σ' ἐκείνοις καὶ ἰαργάζεις.
 ἀπὸ σφαλῶν καὶ ἀχνημον αἰεσίπας νὰ τὸ στείλεις.

fig. 45

εαὶ μήθου μνησθῶ. εαὶ μή περ θαναταῖξω
 ματι μίλῃμ, ὡς ἐνδύχῃ τῆς οὐφροσύ-
 νης μου. μνήσθῃ κέ τῶν ἐδῶμ, τὴν ἡμέ-
 ραν ἰλῃμ. τῶν λεγόντων, ἐκκένυτε ἐκκε-
 νῆτε, ἕως τῶν ἐμελιῶν αὐτῆς. θυγάτηρ
 βαβυλῶν ἢ ταλαίπωρος. μακάριος,
 ὃς αὐταποδώσει τοῖς πάντα πόδ' οὐμάου, ὃ
 αὐτὰ πέδωκας ἡμῖν. μακάριος, ὃς κρα-
 τήσει, καὶ ἐδαφίῃ τοῖς νήπιά σου πρὸς τὴν
 πέτραν. Δόξα. Ψαλμός τῷ δαδ,
 ἀγαίῃ καὶ ζαχαρίῃ. ς λ ζ.
 Ἐξομολογήσῃμαί σοι κέ, ἐν ὅλῃ καρδίᾳ
 μου. καὶ ἐναντίον ἀγγέλων ψαλῶσαι.
 ὅτι ἤκουσας πάντα τὰ ῥήματα τοῦ στόμα-
 τός μου. περσκιωήσω πρὸς ἡγὸν ἁγίον
 σου. καὶ ἔξομολογήσῃμαι τῷ ὀνόματί σου.
 ὅτι τῷ ἐλέει σου καὶ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ σου. ὅτι
 ἐμεγάλυνας ἐπὶ πᾶν τὸ ὄνομα τ' ἁγίον
 σου. ἐν ἧ αὖ ἡμέρᾳ ἔπικαλίσσωμαί σε,
 σ ιι ταχύ

fig. 46

αὐτὰ διελίσσιν, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἔμνον οἱ πλεῖστοι αὐτὰς
 ἐνδεῖς πιούρι πηλῆτους βίβλων σὺν ὁποριῶνται, ἀλλὰ
 καὶ συχνῶς ὁποριῶνται, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἄλλο τε μὲν σὺν ὁρ-
 θῶς τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἀποτίλιν, ἄλλο τε δὲ καὶ παντελῶς
 τὴν ὑμνωδίαν τε, καὶ ἀκροθίσαν ἀπασαν καταλιπεῖν ἀναγκ-
 αζόνται, χωρὶς μίας τῆς τοῦ ὠρολογίου, ὁ παρ' ἡμῶν ὡς
 κατὰ μερὸν ἐγχειρίδιον ἐστὶ ἐν ἑξερῶς περὶ φέρεται ὡς
 πρὸ πέντε καὶ δέκα ἐτῶν μὴ γνῶμη καὶ βαλῆματι τῶν
 λαμπροτάτων καὶ ἀδελφωμάτων κυρίως τῆς ἀγίας
 Ρωμαιοῦ ἐκκλησίας Καρδινάλεων ὅτι τῇ τῶν γραμμάτων
 ἐπιπορρωσὶ κατὰ τὰ μένων τὴν αὐτὴν συγκρινωνῶν, ὁ λαμ-
 προτάτος καὶ ἀδελφωμάτων ΙΟΥΛΙΟΣ ΑΝΤΩΝΙΟΣ
 ΣΑΝΤΟΡΙΟΣ, ὅτι μὲν πρεσβύτης Καρδινάλιος τῆ
 τοῦ ἀγίου Βαρθολομαίου ἐν νήσῳ Ὁριγασφῆς, νῦν δὲ Πρα-
 νεσίνης Ὁπίσκοπος τῆς ἀγίας Σεβερινῆς λεγόμενος, ἐν
 ἀγιοσύνης μέγιστος ἐξομολογητὴς, ὁ δὲ τῶν γραμμάτων ἡγε-
 τῆς τοῦ ἀγίου μεγάλου Βασιλεῖς μοναχῶν ὑπερασπίτης
 προσέταξε καὶ ἰδίως μεδιεκέλευσε δι' ὁδοιπόρους τε καὶ κε-
 κωλυμένους εἴτε μοναχοὺς, εἴτε ἄλλους κερμαίους κλη-
 ρίκοις τοὺς ὑπὸ τῇ τάξιν τῶν γραμμάτων ὄντας, τὰς νυχθη-

fig. 47

H. Carter¹⁴⁸ speaks of an *augustine grecque* of Robert Granjon that replaced that of Pierre Haultin in the Plantin imprints between 1575 and 1588. However, it seems that this was not the case, since it cannot be found among Plantin's collection of typefaces or in his imprints.¹⁴⁹ Although Plantin did not own an *augustine grecque* of Granjon, it seems that Robert Granjon did indeed cut such a type. It can be found among the type specimens of the *Typographia Apostolica Vaticana* that was established in Rome in 1587. Perhaps Robert Granjon, who was in Rome between 1578 until his death in 1590 working for the Vatican, cut the type expressly for the Vatican press. It too is fashioned after the Royal Greeks and is similar to the *augustine grecque* of Pierre Haultin. The earliest work which uses the Granjon type is the *Νέον Ἀνθολόγιον* (Ἐν Ρώμῃ ἐκ τῆς Βατικανῆς τυπογραφίας, 1598), edited by Antonios Arkoudios (BH II no. 225; fig. 47).¹⁵⁰ In 1671, John Fell acquired in Holland matrices of the *mediane* and *augustine grecque* of Pierre Haultin and the *parangon grec* of Robert Granjon for the use of Oxford University Press.¹⁵¹

NOTES

- ¹ For what is a very conservative estimate of the number of books printed before the Reformation see J. M. LENHARD, *Pre-Reformation Printed Books; a Study in Statistical and Applied Bibliography*. New York, 1935, 36-40; L. V. GERULAITIS, *Printing and Publishing*, 60-66; BMC VII, ix-xxxvii.
- ² *The Printing of Greek in the 15th Century*. Oxford, 1900, 49-51.
- ³ R. RIDOLFI, *La stampa in Firenze nel secolo XV*. Firenze, 1958, 25-27. See also E. LAYTON, *The First Printed Greek Book*, *Journal of the Hellenic Diaspora*, 5(1979)73, 78.
- ⁴ N. BARKER, *Aldus Manutius and the Development of Greek Script & Type in the Fifteenth Century*. Sandy Hook, CT, 1985, 37 and note 20. See also U. BARONCELLI, *Gli incunabuli della Biblioteca Queriniana di Brescia*. Catalogo. Brescia, 1970, no. 304. M. MANOUSSAKAS & C. STAIKOS, *L'attività editoriale dei Greci durante il Rinascimento italiano (1469-1523)*. Atene, 1986, 8-9. For a different interpretation of the place and date of the Chrysoloras see K. Σ. ΣΤΑΙΚΟΣ, *Χάρτα της 'Ελληνικής τυπογραφίας*. 'Αθήνα, 1989, I, 118, 151-52, 154, 160.
- ⁵ Servius Maurus, Honoratus. *Commentarii in Vergilii Opera*. Florentiae, Bernardus and Domenicus Cenninus, 7 Nov. 1571, 9 Jan. 1571/72; 7 Oct. 1572 (BMC VI, 615). The book is divided into three parts each with its own colophon. See A. POLLARD, *An Essay on Colophons*. Chicago, 1905, 63-64, where both the Latin colophon and an English translation are given. See also R. P. BREADEN, A Colophon of Interest in the Early Printing of Greek, *Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, 50(1946)471-75, especially 472 where the colophon is given both in the original and with a translation. For printing in Florence see R. RIDOLPHI, *La stampa in Firenze*, 13-14 and A. SERVOLINI, *La stampa in Firenze nel secolo XV*, *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* 1956, 84-90.
- ⁶ C. F. BÜHLER, Notes on Two Incunabula Printed by Aldus Manutius, *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 36(1942)18-26. See also A. RULAND, Über einen unbekannten Aldinischen Druck, *Serapeum*, 18(1857)8-11. The *Breuissima introductio* was known to A. A. RENOUEAU, *Annales de l'imprimerie des Alde*. 3. ed. Paris, 1834, 15 no. 13 from a letter of Abbé Morelli, who had seen a copy bound with the 1497 edition of the Aldine *Horae*.
- ⁷ GOFF A-1175: Athenaeus. *Opera* [Greek]. [Venice: Aldus Manutius, Romanus, 1497] f^o. One trial page only of *Δειπνοσοφιστῶν προλεγόμενα*. See C. F. BÜHLER, Aldus Manutius and the Printing of Athenaeus, *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* 1955, 104-06. Another book, Isocrates, *Λόγοι τρεῖς* (BH I no. 57), was briefly assigned to the press of Lorenzo di Alopa c. 1495 see D. E. RHODES, Early Printed Books in Greece, *The Library*, 5th ser., 30(1975)191 and his The Printing of a Group of Greek Books in Rome, *The Library*, 5th ser., 31(1976)242-44 and his *Incunabula in Greece*. Munich, 1980 I-3. See also LAYTON no. 42. However, this ascription has been challenged by G. Kokkonas, who proved conclusively that the Isocrates belongs to the press of the Greek College in Rome (Gymnasio mediceo ad caballinum montem) c. 1517 as it was originally assigned by Legrand see Γ. ΚΟΚΚΩΝΑΣ, Ἰσοκράτους Λόγοι τρεῖς. Φλωρεντία c. 1495 ἢ Ρώμη c.1517; γύρω ἀπὸ μιὰ διόρθωση στὸν Legrand, *Μνήμων*, 8(1980)314-17. See also comment by D. E. Rhodes in *The Library*, 6(1984)420 and his *Gli annali tipografici fiorentini del XV secolo*. Firenze, 1988, 132 no. 28.
- ⁸ R. PROCTOR, *The Printing*, 24-26, 137-40. See also B. LOEWE, Die Ausbreitung der griechischen Typographie in Deutschland bis zum Ende des dreissigjährigen Krieges, *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* 1940, 302.
- ⁹ R. PROCTOR, *The Printing*, 26-27.
- ¹⁰ Printing complete texts in Greek did not occur in Rome until Zacharias Kallierges's introduction of it in 1515. Until that time, the closest example to a complete Greek text was Paolo Eneas's booklet *Operetta bellissima da imparare la lingua greca*. Roma, 1510 see also under Zacharias Kallierges in Part II.
- ¹¹ R. PROCTOR, *The Printing*, 27-30. V. SCHOLDERER, *Greek Printing Types, 1465-1927*. London, 1927, 2 and fig. 3.
- ¹² R. PROCTOR, *The Printing*, 34-35.
- ¹³ R. PROCTOR, *The Printing*, 30-48.
- ¹⁴ R. PROCTOR, *The Printing*, 13-15.
- ¹⁵ For a discussion of early Greek grammars see A. PERTUSI, ΕΡΩΤΗΜΑΤΑ. Per la storia e le fonti delle prime grammatiche greche a stampa, *Italia medioevale e umanistica*, 5(1962)321-51. See also R. HIRSCH, Early Printed Greek Grammars, 1471-1550, *The Printed Word*. London, 1978, VII, 1-9.
- ¹⁶ For a discussion of the Jenson Greek type see R. PROCTOR, *The Printing*, 31-33 and fig. 8. V. SCHOLDERER, *Greek Printing*, 2-3 and fig. 7. See also S. MORISON, *John Fell, the University Press and the 'Fell' Types*. Oxford, 1967, 86.
- ¹⁷ N. BARKER, *Aldus Manutius*, 24 and note 4. Barker goes as far as to suggest that the de Spira-Jenson Greek was based on the hand of a scribe who was close to the circle of Cardinal Bessarion and who wrote the headings in some of the manuscripts copied by Bessarion himself. See also M. LOWRY, *Nicholas Jenson*, 81-82 and 237, who believes that Jenson's Greek as well as the Greek of Windelin of Speyer were fashioned after the hand of Francesco Filelfo.

- 18 R. PROCTOR, *The Printing*, 83-84, pl. vii. For a bibliographical description of the Brescia *Batrachomyomachia*, the only copy of which is in the John Rylands University Library of Manchester, see its *Catalogue of an Exhibition*. Manchester, 1926, 34 no. 9. For Thomas Ferrandus see D. E. RHODES, *The Career of Thomas Ferrandus of Brescia*, *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*, 67(1984)544-59.
- 19 R. PROCTOR, *The Printing*, 84-87. But see N. BARKER, *Aldus Manutius*, 5, who believes the attribution of the Vicenza Chrysoloras by Proctor to the press of Giovanni da Reno is correct.
- 20 N. BARKER, *Aldus Manutius*, 25-27.
- 21 Translated by J. J. Fraenkel and C. M. Breuning-Williamson see Constantinus Lascaris, *Greek Grammar*. Amsterdam, 1966, 3-4. For the preface in the original Greek see BH I no. 1, 4-5. See also R. PROCTOR, *The Printing*, 52-53. N. BARKER, *Aldus Manutius*, 30-31.
- 22 Homerus, *Ποίησις ἅπασα*, 1488/89 (BMC VI, 678; BH I no. 5). R. PROCTOR, *The Printing*, 66-69. Proctor assigned the Homer to the Florentine printer Bartolomeo de' Libri. BMC VI, 678-79 assigned it to the press of Bernardus Nerlius. The Nerlius ascription has also been adopted by other catalogues of incunabula but has in turn been contested by R. Ridolfi, who pointed out that the Nerli were members of a noble Florentine family, and were the patrons who provided the funds for its printing, and not the printers of the work. See R. RIDOLFI, *Nuovi contributi alla storia della stampa nel secolo XV. II. Lo 'stampatore del Vergilius*, C. 6061' e l' edizione principe di Omero, *La bibliofilia*, 56(1954)85-101, reprinted in his *La stampa*, 95-111; N. BARKER, *Aldus Manutius*, 37.
- 23 *Aldus Manutius*, 30-31, pls. nos. 5-6.
- 24 P. CANART, Démétrius Damilas, *alias* le 'librarius Florentinus' *Rivista di studi bizantini e neoellenici*, n.s., 14-16(1977-79)281-347, 4 pls. See also GAMILLSCHEG-HARLFINGER, I no. 93 and II no. 127.
- 25 Zenobius, *Ἐπιτομή τῶν Ταρραίου καὶ Διδύμου παροιμιῶν*. Florence, Benedictus Ricardinus, for Philippus Giunta, 1497 (BMC VI, 690; ANNALI I no. 1). Orpheus, *Ἀργοναυτικά. Ὕμνοι*. Florence [Benedictus Ricardinus] for Philippus Giunta, 1500 (BMC VI, 690; ANNALI I no. 2). See also P. KRISTELLER, *Early Florentine Woodcuts*. London, no. 307; SANDER no. 5229.
- 26 See ANNALI I, 245-46.
- 27 G. BALLISTRERI, Bonaccorso, *DBI*, 11(1969)464-65.
- 28 R. PROCTOR, *The Printing*, 59-64. See also N. BARKER, *Aldus Manutius*, 31-35 and figs. nos. 7-8, who points out that the type has a number of different individual letters which resemble "the type of hand written by the Gregoropoulos family" and is also reminiscent of the writing of Thomas Bitzimanos. The books printed at Milan by Bon Accorsi are: Joannes Crastonus, *Dictionarium graecum cum interpretatione latina*, c. 1478 (BMC VI, 754, GW no. 7812); Aesopus, *Βίος καὶ μῦθοι*, c. 1480 (BMC VI, 754; GW no. 313); Joannes Crastonus, *Vocabulista latino-graecus*, c. 1480 (BMC VI, 756; GW no. 7816); Saxolus Pratensis, *De accentibus ac diphthongis et formatione praeteritorum graecorum*, c. 1480 (BMC VI, 756); Theocritus, *Εἰδύλλια*, c. 1480 (BMC VI, 757); C. Lascaris, *Ἐρωτήματα*, 1480 (BMC VI, 756); *Psalterium*, 1481 (BMC VI, 756).
- 29 Isocrates, *Λόγοι*, 1493 (BMC VI, 767); D. Chalcondyles, *Ἐρωτήματα*, c. 1493 (BMC VI, 767; GW no. 8250).
- 30 One book belonging to the Graeco-Latin class was printed at Parma c. 1481. It is yet another edition of Chrysoloras. Its printer has yet to be identified (GW no. 6697) see R. PROCTOR, *The Printing*, 87-88, pl. ix.
- 31 A. CIONI, Bertocchi, *DBI*, 9(1967)557-59. See also V. FERRARI, *Gli annali della tipografia reggiana*. Reggio Emilia, 1918, xiii-xv.
- 32 R. PROCTOR, *The Printing*, 88-90, pls. x-xi. See also A. CIONI, Bertocchi, *DBI*, 9(1967)557-59.
- 33 Laonikos has been identified with Nikolaos Kavados, of Kydonia in Crete, a uniate cleric who was a pupil of Michael Apostolis and was the protopapas of Chania. See BH I, 6-7. D. J. GEANAKOPOLOS, *Greek Scholars in Venice*, 58-59. J. NOIRET, *Lettres inédites de Michel Apostolis*, 31-32. Z. N. ΤΣΙΡΠΙΑΝΛΗΣ, *Τὸ κληροδότημα τοῦ Καρδινάλιου Βησσαρίωνος γιὰ τοὺς φιλενωτικούς τῆς Βενετοκρατουμένης Κρήτης*, 84-85 and note 1. See also N. B. ΤΩΜΑΔΑΚΗΣ, *Πρωτοπαπάδες Κρήτης (1210-1669)*, *Κρητολογία*, 4(1977)46-47. For more information about Alexandros Alexandrou and Laonikos of Crete see under Laonikos of Crete and Alexandros Alexandrou in Part II.
- 34 N. BARKER, *Aldus Manutius*, 37, fig. no. 10. R. PROCTOR, *The Printing*, 73-77, pl. v.
- 35 A. MONDOLFO, Acate (Achates), Leonardo, *DBI*, 1(1960)65-66.
- 36 See note 18 above.
- 37 BH I, 31-38 where the epistle is reproduced. See also R. PROCTOR, *The Printing*, 78-79. N. BARKER, *Aldus Manutius*, 15-16, 39-42 and pls. nos. 12-13. For Ianos Lascaris see B. KNÖS, *Un ambassadeur de l'hellénisme, Janus Lascaris, et la tradition gréco-byzantine dans l'humanisme français*. Uppsala, 1945, 56-80. See also F. WALTON, Janus Lascaris, *Τὸ βιβλίο στὶς προβιομηχανικὲς κοινωνίες*. Ἀθήνα, 1982, 45-54. E. CASAMASSIMA, *Lettere antiche: note per la storia della riforma grafica umanistica, Gutenberg Jahrbuch* 1964, 13-26 and his *Per una storia delle dottrine paleografiche dall' Umanesimo a Jean Mobillon I*, *Studi*

- medievali, s. 3, 5(1964)527-32. S. RIZZO, Gli umanisti, i testi classici e le scritture maiuscole, *Atti del Convegno internazionale Il libro e il testo*, Urbino, 20-23 settembre 1982. Urbino, 1984, 223-41; A. PONTANI, Le maiuscole greche antichiarie di Giano Lascaris, 77-227.
- 38 A. MONDOLFO, Alopa, Lorenzo, *DBI*, 2(1960)523.
- 39 *The Printing*, 81-82.
- 40 Callimachus, Ὑμνοί, c. 1496 (BMC VI, 668; GW no. 5917; BH I no. 14). Apollonius Rhodius, Ἀργοναυτικά, 1496 (BMC VI, 667; GW no. 2271; BH I no. 18). Lucianus Samosatensis, Διάλογοι, 1496 (BMC VI, 667-68; BH I no. 19). Cebes, Πίναξ, c. 1496 (BMC VI, 668; GW no. 6442; BH I no. 58=[1517]). M. Chrysoloras, Ἐρωτήματα, c. 1496 (BMC VI, 668, GW no. 6694; BH I no. 20).
- 41 *Aldus Manutius*, 42 and pls. 12-13.
- 42 *Aldus Manutius*, 75. It is interesting to note that the *Oktoechos* of 1520 printed by Zacharias Kallierges in Rome uses the Florentine lowercase cursive instead of Kallierges's own type. See fig. 186.
- 43 D. B. UPDIKE, *Printing Types, their History, Forms, and Use*. 2. ed. Cambridge, MA, 1937, I, 6.
- 44 *The World of Aldus Manutius*. Oxford, 1979, 134-35 and note 81. See also S. MORISON, *John Fell*, 89-91.
- 45 A. BASCHET, *Aldo Manuzio: Lettres et documents*. Venise, 1867, 1 no. 1. R. FULIN, Documenti per servire alla storia della tipografia veneziana, *Archivio veneto*, 23(1882)120 no. 41. See also N. BARKER, *Aldus Manutius*, 92, 105 no. 1.
- 46 R. PROCTOR, *The Printing*, 20.
- 47 *The Printing*, 98-106. C. BÜHLER, Aldus Manutius: The First Five Hundred Years, *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 44(1950)207. V. SCHOLDERER, *Greek Printing Types*, 6-8. S. MORISON, *John Fell*, 89-91.
- 48 G. MARDERSTEIG, Aldo Manuzio e i caratteri di Francesco Griffo da Bologna, *Studi di bibliografia e di storia in onore di Tammaro de Marinis*. Verona, 1964, III, 105-47. E. QUARANTA, Osservazioni intorno ai caratteri greci di Aldo Manuzio, *La bibliofilia*, 55(1953)123-30.
- 49 *Aldus Manutius*, 43-63, and pls. nos. 14-27, where both the handwriting of the scribes and the Aldine Greeks are displayed. See also under Aldus Manutius in Part II.
- 50 See note 31 above.
- 51 *The Printing*, 108-10 and pl. xviii.
- 52 *Aldus Manutius*, 65 and pl. 28.
- 53 A. CIONI, Bissoli, Giovanni, *DBI*, 10(1968)701-03.
- 54 ASCARELLI-MENATO, 63, 78, 85.
- 55 R. PROCTOR, *The Printing*, 110-11. R. FULIN, Documenti, 131 no. 76 and 133 no. 80. N. BARKER, *Aldus Manutius*, 65 note 2, 105-06 nos. 2 and 3. Gabriele of Brisighella had been one of the editorial consultants in the Aldine edition of the Aristotle, 1497: see *Aldo Manuzio editore*, 16 and 324 no. 17.
- 56 *The Printing*, 112. N. BARKER, *Aldus Manutius*, 65, considers the type "a more elaborate, more faithful, copy of the hand of Immanuel Rhusotas." Recently M. MANOUSSACAS, Una prefazione greca inedita di Giovanni Grigoropoulos per una edizione veneziana del 1498, *Bisanzio e l'Italia. Raccolta di studi in memoria di Agostino Pertusi*. Milano, 1982, 218-28, published the text of a preface by Ioannis Gregoropoulos which was written for the edition of the Phalaris but, for unknown reasons, was not included in the printed edition, which contains only a Latin preface by Bartholomaeus Pelusius.
- 57 L. BALSAMO and A. TINTO, *Origini del corsivo nella tipografia italiana del Cinquecento*. Milano, 1967, 66-70 note 13.
- 58 *The Printing*, 119; V. SCHOLDERER, *Greek Printing*, 8, fig. 22.
- 59 The poem of Mousouros is reproduced in R. PROCTOR, *The Printing*, 121-22 with an English translation, and in N. BARKER, *Aldus Manutius*, 72-73, 106-07 nos. 5 and 6 with a different English translation. See also A. F. DIDOT, *Alde Manuce et l'hellénisme à Venise*. Paris, 1875, 549-53, where a free French translation is also supplied. See also under Zacharias Kallierges in Part II.
- 60 *Aldus Manutius*, 74. The Greek text is given in BH I no. 34.
- 61 R. FULIN, Documenti, 135 no. 85. N. BARKER, *Aldus Manutius*, 106-07 nos. 5-6.
- 62 For a discussion of the methods used see R. PROCTOR, *The Printing*, 20-21.
- 63 E. LAYTON, Zacharias and Nikolaos Kallierges and the First Edition of the *Apokopos* of Bergadis, *Θησαυρίσματα*, 20(1990)206-17.
- 64 See also under Giunti in Part II.
- 65 R. PROCTOR, *The Printing*, 118; N. BARKER, *Aldus Manutius*, 74. For the Roman imprints of Zacharias Kallierges see under his name in Part II.

- ⁶⁶ For further details see under Zacharias Kallierges in Part II.
- ⁶⁷ A. TINTO, *Gli annali tipografici di Eucario e Marcello Silber (1501-1527)*. Firenze, 1968, 7.
- ⁶⁸ R. PROCTOR, *The Printing*, 144. See also T. H. Darlow and H. F. Moule, *Historical Catalogue of the Printed Editions of the Holy Scriptures in the Library of the British and Foreign Bible Society*. London, 1911, II, pt. 1, no. 1412.
- ⁶⁹ A Note on the Greek Fonts of the Complutensian Polyglot, *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 65(1971)143-49.
- ⁷⁰ The Complutensian Polyglot, *Church Quarterly Review*, 154(1953)206.
- ⁷¹ *Greek Printing*, 10.
- ⁷² The Greek preface is reproduced in BH I no. 40, 115-18, see especially 116.
- ⁷³ For an example of the Greek type used in the New Testament Section of the Complutentian Polyglot see Manouel Chrysoloras, *Ἑρωτήματα*. Complutum, Arnao Guillén de Brocar for Demetrios Doukas, 1514 (fig. 25).
- ⁷⁴ K. M. WOODY, *A Note*, 146. R. PROCTOR, *The Printing*, 134 fig. 31. V. SCHOLDERER, *Greek Printing*, 5, fig. 19.
- ⁷⁵ S. MORISON, *John Fell*, 91-92.
- ⁷⁶ R. PROCTOR, *The Printing*, 144. V. SCHOLDERER, *Greek Printing*, 9. For more information on earlier Greek printing in Spain see D. E. RHODES, *The First Use of Greek Type in Spain*, *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* 1960, 93-95. See also F. J. NORTON, *Printing in Spain 1501-1520*. Cambridge, 1966, 36, 40-41, 107. A. ALATORRE, *Para la historia de la tipografia griega en España*, *Revue de littérature comparée*, 52(1978)233-44.
- ⁷⁷ R. PROCTOR, *The Printing*, 144.
- ⁷⁸ See especially his edition of Urbano Bolzanio, *Grammaticae institutiones*, 1512 (EISS II no. 2918). This edition of Bolzanio has a poem (A2^v) by Niketas Phaustos (Vettore Fausto), who was one of the editors of the Greek text of the Complutensian Polyglot and he might have been charged with the task of acquiring the matrices for the cursive font. See also the Greek quotations in Tacuino's edition of Aulus Gellius, *Noctes atticae*, 1509 (I3^v-I4^r) or (L3^v). Tacuino continued to use his cursive font in Venice mostly for quotations in Latin books as in Macrobius, *Somnium Scipionis a Cicerone confictum*, 1521 (K7^v-K8^r). For Giovanni da Cerreto detto Tacuino, see: ASCARELLI, 171; ASCARELLI-MENATO, 335-36; BORSA I, 309; NORTON, 154; PASTORELLO, no. 102.
- ⁷⁹ These are Demetrios Moschos, *Τὸ καθ' Ἑλένην καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον*. Impressum Compluti per...Arnaldum Guilielmi de Brocario, 1519 (NORTONSP no. 74; see also E. LEGRAND, *Bibliographie hispano-grecque*, 1477-1800. New York, 1915-17 no. 41) and Saint Basil the Great, *Divvs Basilevs, Λόγος παραινετικὸς πρὸς τοὺς νέους*. Complutum...Arnaldum Guiliermum de Brocario, 1519 (NORTONSP no. 71; see also E. LEGRAND, *Bibliographie hispano-grecque*, no. 40). Both works were edited by F. Nuñez de Guzman.
- ⁸⁰ In addition to the New Testament it was used to print two books at the expense of Demetrios Doukas: M. Chrysoloras, *Ἑρωτήματα*, 1514 (BH I no. 41; NORTONSP no. 30) and Musaeus, *Ποιημάτων τὰ κατ' Ἡρὸν καὶ Λέανδρον*, 1514 (BH I no. 42; NORTONSP no. 31).
- ⁸¹ See under Demetrios Doukas in Part II.
- ⁸² E. FOLLIERI, *Su alcuni libri greci stampati a Venezia nella prima metà del Cinquecento, Contributi alla storia del libro italiano. Miscellanea in onore di Lamberto Donati*. Firenze, 1969, 151-54. E. LAYTON, *Notes on some Printers*, 130-31.
- ⁸³ See under Giacomo Leoncini in Part II.
- ⁸⁴ F. MAVROIDI, 'Inquisitio' patriarcale sopra un Orologio greco (1524-1527), *Bolletino della Badia greca di Grottaferrata*, n.s., 27(1973)45, 51: "el me faria maistro".
- ⁸⁵ For the citation of the copyright granted to Stefano for the printing of this work see under Nicolini da Sabbio in Part II.
- ⁸⁶ E. LAYTON, *Notes*, 127. For the Aldine cursives see E. CASAMASSIMA - A. TINTO, *Per un censimento dei tipi delle cinquentine italiane, Studi bibliografici. Atti del Convegno dedicato alla storia del libro italiano nel V centenario dell' introduzione dell' arte tipografica in Italia*, Bolzano, 7-8 ottobre 1968. Firenze, 1967, 133-45.
- ⁸⁷ Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς Βουλῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων, *Ἀρχέτυπα καὶ ἐκδόσεις ιε' καὶ ις' αἰῶνος*. Ἀθῆναι, 1971, I, 254 and 89, pl. 85.
- ⁸⁸ See A. BRUCKNER, *Schweizer Stempelschneider und Schriftgiesser; Geschichte des Stempelschnittes und Schriftgusses in Basel und der übrigen Schweiz von ihren Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*. Basel, 1943, 44 and note 49. H. CARTER, *A View of Early Typography up to About 1600*. Oxford, 1969, 112-13. E. LAYTON, *Notes*, 128-31. For the appearance of these typefaces in England see T. B. REED, *A History of the Old English Letter Foundries*. Rev. and enl. ed. London, 1952, 51-55, 89, and F. ISAAC, *English & Scottish Printing Types*. Oxford, 1932, fig. 76.
- ⁸⁹ A. BRUCKNER, *Schweizer Stempelschneider*, 42. See also H. HEIDENHEIMER, *Peter Schöffer der Jüngere in Basel und Venedig*, *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, 19(1902)456-59.

- ⁹⁰ E. LAYTON, Notes, 128, note 24.
- ⁹¹ See under Cristoforo Zanetti and Francesco Rampazetto in Part II. DS no. 3 also appears in at least four books printed for the publisher Giacomo Leoncini. However, since both Zanetti and Rampazetto printed books at the expense of Leoncini the type probably did not belong to him.
- ⁹² A. PROSPERI, *Tra Evangelismo e Controriforma*, G. M. Giberti (1495-1543), Roma, 1969, 215-34.
- ⁹³ L. BALSAMO - A. TINTO, *Origini del corsivo*, 142-43. A. TINTO, *Il corsivo*, 19. For a list of the books printed by Stefano Nicolini da Sabbio at Verona see G. C. GIULIARI, *Della tipografia veronese*, Verona, 1871, 45-53 and P. SIMONI, Stefano Nicolini e fratelli tipografi a Verona nel Cinquecento, *Civiltà veronese*, n. s. 1 no. 2(1988)23-40.
- ⁹⁴ For Cardinal Cervini's printing venture see L. DOREZ, Le cardinal Marcello Cervini et l'imprimerie à Rome (1539-1550), *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, 12(1892)289-313. S. MORISON, Marcello Cervini, Pope Marcellus II Bibliography's Patron Saint, *Italia medioevale e umanistica*, 5(1962)301-19. P. PASCHINI, Un cardinale editore: Marcello Cervini, *Miscellanea di scritti di bibliografia ed erudizione in memoria di Luigi Ferrari*, Firenze, 1952, 383-413. R. RIDOLFI, Nuovi contributi sulle 'stamperie papali' di Paolo III, *La bibliofilia*, 50(1948)183-197. A. TINTO, Nuovo contributo alla storia della tipografia greca a Roma nel secolo XVI: Nicolo Sofiano, *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* 1965, 171-75.
- ⁹⁵ E. CASANOVA, Le carte di Costantino Corvisieri all'Archivio di Stato di Roma, *Gli archivi italiani*, 7(1920)30.
- ⁹⁶ A. TINTO, Nuovo contributo, 171-75. W. A. PETTAS, Nikolaos Sophianós and Greek Printing in Rome, *The Library*, 5th ser., 29(1974)206-13. A. HOBSON, Jacobus Apocellus, *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 7(1979)279-83. Φ. Δ. Μαυροειδής, Ειδήσεις για ελληνικά τυπογραφεία της 'Ιταλίας τὸν 16^ο αἰώνα, *Δωδώνη*, 4(1975)237-41 and 248-51. See also under Nikolaos Sophianos in Part II.
- ⁹⁷ For a description and the vicissitudes of Cervini no. 1 (Greek 1) see A. TINTO, The History of a Sixteenth-Century Greek Type, *The Library*, 5th ser., 25(1970)285-93. See also under Nikolaos Sophianos in Part II.
- ⁹⁸ For Giovanni Onorio see R. RIDOLFI, Nuovi contributi sulle 'stamperie papali', 183-97. See also B. RAINÒ, *Giovanni Onorio da Maglie*, Bari, 1972, 36-37.
- ⁹⁹ Euripides, *Ἡλέκτρα*, 545 (BLADO no. 79) and again in 1546 (BLADO no. 1220), Theodoret, Bp. of Cyrus, *Περὶ προνοίας λόγοι δέκα*, 1545 (BLADO no. 83), and Apollodorus Atheniensis, *Bibliothecae, siue de deorum origine*, 1555 (BLADO no. 161).
- ¹⁰⁰ *Διάλογοι ἱεροὶ διάφοροι ἀπαθεῖς, ἀσύγχυστοι, δογματικοί, ἄτρεπτοι*, 1547 (LADAS no. 38), taken from A. M. ΣΕΡΑΦΕΤΙΝΙΔΗΣ, *Σπάνιαι ἐκδόσεις βιβλίων καὶ χειρόγραφα τῆς βιβλιοθήκης Λέρον*. Ρόδος, 1954, 11. See also E. FOLLIERI, *Su alcuni*, 128 note 15. Theodoret, Bp. of Cyrus, *Διάλογοι τρεῖς κατὰ τινων αἱρέσεων*, 1547 (STC, 667), and Joannes Damascenus, Saint, *Λόγοι τρεῖς ἀπολογητικοὶ πρὸς τοὺς διαβάλλοντας τὰς ἀγίας εἰκόνας*, 1553 (STC, 359).
- ¹⁰¹ See under Nicolini da Sabbio in Part II.
- ¹⁰² H. OMONT, *Spécimens de caractères hébreux, grecs, latins et de musique gravés à Venise et à Paris par Guillaume Le Bé (1545-1592)*, *Mémoires de la Société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Île-de-France*, 15(1888)282 and plate III where Greek 1 and Greek 2 are displayed. For Guillaume I Le Bé as typefounder and punch-cutter especially of Hebrew letters see also S. MORISON, *L' inventaire de la Fonderie Le Bé, selon la transcription de Jean Pierre Fournier*, Paris, 1957 and H. CARTER, *Sixteenth-Century French Typefounders: The Le Bé Memorandum*, Paris, 1967 and E. HOWE, *The Le Bé Family: Typefounders, Printers, Paper Merchants, Engravers and Writing Masters, 1525-1730*, *Signature*, 8(1938)1-27.
- ¹⁰³ See also under Cristoforo and Pietro Zanetti in Part II.
- ¹⁰⁴ For Andrea Spinelli as a medallist see N. PAPADOPOLI, *Altre tariffe con disegni di monete stampate a Venezia nel secolo XVI*, *Nuovo archivio veneto*, 20(1900)237-44. See also A. TINTO, *Il corsivo*, 19. The Spinelli colophons always state that he was "Senatus monetarius" or "νομισματοτυπωτής τῆς ἐνδοξοτάτης τῶν ἐνετῶν γερουσίας" or "κομματοτυπωτής" or "μονετάριος."
- ¹⁰⁵ The first Spinelli publication came out in March 1548 (BH I no. 121). Cristoforo Zanetti's first dated imprint using the Le Bé type came out in 1550 (BH I no. 126). However, there are also some works printed without date of publication which might have come out earlier. Legrand dated an *Oktoechos* c. 1543 (BH III no. 109A) printed with the Le Bé type, which is clearly impossible. See LAYTON no. 45.
- ¹⁰⁶ See BH I, 277-81 where the Greek preface is reproduced. See also under Andrea Spinelli in Part II.
- ¹⁰⁷ It was also used in an edition of Callimachus, *Ῥυμνοί*, 1555 (STC, 138) and in part of the *Horologion*, 1563 (BH I no. 141) and in Zacharias Skordylis, *Περὶ τῶν τῆς συγγενείας βαθμῶν*, 1564 (PAPADOPOULOS II no. 1005).
- ¹⁰⁸ See also under Giovanni Aliprandi, Domenico de Poloni and Zuan Battista Tauroceni in Part II.
- ¹⁰⁹ See also under Nicolini da Sabbio in Part II.
- ¹¹⁰ S. CURI NICOLARDI, *Una società tipografico-editoriale a Venezia nel secolo XVI: Melchiorre Sessa e Pietro di Ravani (1516-1525)*, Firenze, 1984, 11-12. See also under Pietro Ravani and Melchiorre Sessa in Part II.

- 111 See also under Melchiorre Sessa in Part II.
- 112 E. LAYTON, *Notes*, 142 and note 54. See also under Bartolomeo Zanetti in Part II.
- 113 Demosthenes, *Λόγων τμήμα*, 1543 (STC, 213); Arnoldus Arlenius, *Lexicon graecolatinum*, 1545-46 (STC, 55; FINAZZI no. 79).
- 114 See also under Giacomo Leoncini and Cristoforo Zanetti in Part II. Although C. Zanetti used a variety of type from time to time, the bulk of his output was printed with the large type (Greek 112-113) cut for him by Guillaume I Le Bé in 1548.
- 115 See below.
- 116 D. MORENI, *Annali della tipografia fiorentina di Lorenzo Torrentino impressore ducale*. 2. ed. Firenze, 1819, xxxvi-xxxvii.
- 117 The document now at the Archivio di Stato in Florence was published by Σ. ΛΑΜΠΡΟΣ, Συμβόλαιον περὶ ἰδρύσεως ἑλληνικοῦ τυπογραφείου ἐν Φλωρεντίᾳ τῷ 1551, *Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων*, 2(1905)199-208, excerpts of which are given here in the Lambros transcription: "M. Giovanni di M. Piero Vergetio di Candia portato in Firenze un saggio et mostra di belle lettere greche non più viste per stampare libri et volendo le infrascritte parti per comune utilità et per servitio delle stampe dello...Duca di Fiorenza exercitate al presente per maestro Lorenzo Torrentino fare ridurre le dette lettere in perfettione di polzoni et matre da poterne formare di mano in mano le stampe opportune. Per questo il detto M. Giovanni è convenuto et conviene con Il Magnifico M. Lelio Torelli Auditore et primo secretario del prefato...S^{or} Duca et convenendo li promette di fare et curare con effetto che M. Giovanni Honorio da Otranto scrittore greco et maestro Natale Venetiano intagliatore habitanti in Roma in termine di mesi XV da chalende di Aprile proximo fabbricheranno et haveranno fabricato a tutte loro spese et fatiche Mille polzoni di acciaio et mille matre di rame aiustate di dette lettere secondo il detto saggio et mostra overo campione che ne lascia appresso a detto M. Lelio...et durante detto tempo non lavoreranno di lettere greche per alcuna altra persona nè faranno lavorare finchè non sieno finiti detti mille polzoni et mille matre et secondo che ne verranno facendo le consegneranno in mano a detto M. Giovanni Vergetio a suo piacimento et satisfatione...M. Giovanni promette che detti maestri di Roma si contenteranno et obliheranno mettere o lasciare nella compagnia che si haverà a creare per stampare libri greci con dette lettere in detta città di Firenze, nella qual compagnia habbino a essere ricevuti per partecipare a lira et soldo con haltri compagni di essa compagnia."
- 118 D. MORENI, *Annali*, xxxvi-xxxvii.
- 119 G. J. HOOGEWERFF, Laurentius Torrentinus (Laurens Leenaerts van der Beke) boekdrukker en uitgever van den hertog van Toscane, 1547-1563, *Het boek*, 15(1926)374-75.
- 120 G. PAINTER, The First Greek Printing in Belgium with Notes on the First Greek Printing in Paris, etc., *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* 1960, 144-48; J. IRIGOIN, Les débuts de la typographie grecque, 33-36.
- 121 PH. RENOUEAU, *Imprimeurs et libraires parisiens du XVI^e siècle*. Paris, 1969, II, 18. For printing in France see H. OMONT, Essai sur les débuts de la typographie grecque à Paris (1507-1516), *Mémoires de la Société de l'histoire de Paris et de l' Ile-de-France*, 18(1891)1-72. See also W. P. GRESWELL, *A View of the Early Parisian Greek Press*. Oxford, 1833, 2v.
- 122 R. PROCTOR, The French Royal Greek Types and the Eton Chrysostom, *Bibliographical Essays*. London, 1905, 92-93.
- 123 J. VEYRIN-FORRER, Antoine Augereau, graveur de lettres et imprimeur parisien (vers 1485?-1534), *Mémoires de Paris et Ile-de-France*, 8(1956)140-41. pl. III and 152 no. 17. See also PH. RENOUEAU, *Imprimeurs & libraires parisiens du XVI^e siècle*. Paris, 1964, I no. 560.
- 124 E. ARMSTRONG, Robert Estienne, *Royal Printer*. Rev. ed. Oxford, 1986, 124-38.
- 125 P. GUSMAN, Claude Garamont, 'graveur des lettres grecques du roi', 'tailleur des caractères de l' Université' (1480-1561), *Byblis*, 4(1925)85-96. A. PARENT and J. VEYRIN-FORRER, Claude Garamont: New Documents, *The Library*, ser. 5, 29(1974)80-92. H. D. L. VERVLIET, The Garamond Types of Christopher Plantin, *Journal of the Printing Historical Society*, 1(1965)14-20.
- 126 BH I, clxxxv-clxxxvi; P. HOFER and G. W. COTTRELL Jr., Angelos Vergecios and the Bestiary of Manuel Phile, *Harvard Library Bulletin*, 8(1954)323-39. P. TAMIZY de LARROQUE, Un document inédit relatif au calligraphe Ange Vergèce, *Revue critique d'histoire et de littérature*, 6(1872)159-60; A. LE GLAY, *Analectes historiques*. Paris, 1838, 245-46. Σ. ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΟΣ, Περὶ Ἀγγέλου Βεργυκίου, *Πανδώρα*, 17(1867)356-57.
- 127 For the Royal Greek types see A. BERNARD, *Les Estienne et les types grecs de François I^{er}*. Paris, 1856, 157-68. W. P. GRESWELL, *A View of the Early Parisian Greek Press*, I, 225-55, 308-412. B. KNÖS, *Les grecs du roi*. Un quadricentenaire de la typographie grecque, *Eranos*, 40(1942)1-8=Les grecs du roi, Association Guillaume Budé. *Lettres d'humanité*, 2(1943)181-88. W. MEYER, Henricus Stephanus über die Regii Typi Graeci, *Abhandlungen der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Philol.-hist. Klasse*, n. F., 6 no. 2(1902)1-32. H. OMONT, Inventaire des Grecs du Roi en 1556, *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de Paris et de*

- l'Île-de-France*, 8(1881)112-15. A. PARENT, *Les Grecs du Roi et l'étude du monde antique, L'art du livre à l'Imprimerie nationale*. Paris, 1973, 55-67. Δ. ΦΛΑΜΠΟΥΡΑΣ, Τὰ "Ελληνικὰ τοῦ Βασιλέως," *Βιβλιογραφικὴ Ἐπιθεώρηση*, 4/5(1974)218-28. R. PROCTOR, *The French Royal Greek Types*, 89-119; PH. RENOUEAU, *Les Grecs du roi*, *Bulletin du bibliophile et du bibliothécaire*, no. 4(1901)157-68. R. BLANCHOT, *Les vicissitudes des Grecs du Roy*, *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* 1951, 9-16. See also S. MORISON, *John Fell*, 91-94.
- 128 A. PARENT, *Les grecs du roi*, 65; H. OMONT, *Inventaire*, 112-15.
- 129 R. PROCTOR, *The French Royal*, 104-07. PH. RENOUEAU, *Répertoire des imprimeurs parisiens*. Paris, 1965, 435. Wechel was active in France between 1554 and 1572, when he transferred his operations to Frankfurt, where he died in 1581. P. GUSMAN, *Claude Garamont*, 87. R. BLANCHOT, *Les vicissitudes*, 12-13.
- 130 A. PARENT, *Les grecs du roi*, 65. R. BLANCHOT, *Les vicissitudes*, 9-16.
- 131 R. PROCTOR, *The French Royal*, 99.
- 132 R. PROCTOR, *The French Royal*, 99-102.
- 133 E. ARMSTRONG, *Robert Estienne*, 128 and fig. 11. It is believed that the initials and decorations in the Vergikios manuscripts were illustrated by his own daughter. However, there is no contemporary evidence to document this. See P. HOFER and G. W. COTTRELL, *Angelos Vergecios*, 330-31 and note 23; A. DAIN, *La fille d' Ange Vergèce*, *Humanisme et Renaissance*, 1(1934)133-44.
- 134 L. DESGRAVES, *Les Haultin*, 1571-1623. Genève, 1960, i-xii. PH. RENOUEAU, *Répertoire des imprimeurs parisiens*, 200-01. H. CARTER, *The Types of Christopher Plantin*, *The Library*, 5th ser. 11(1956)175-76.
- 135 *Τῆς Καινῆς Διαθήκης*, "Ἀπαντα. Paris, Benoît Prevost, 1549 and Dioscorides, *Libri octo*. Paris, Arnold Birkmann, 1549.
- 136 M. PARKER, K. MELIS, H. D. L. VERVLIT, *Early Inventories of Punches, Matrices and Moulds in the Plantin-Moretus Archives*, *De Gulden Passer*, 38(1960)13, MA 142, 143. See also C. PLANTIN, *Index sive specimen characterum*, 1. B[1] Menander apud Plut. H. CARTER, *Plantin's Types and their Makers*, *Gedenboek der Plantin-Dagen 1555-1955*. Antwerpen, 1956, 263.
- 137 See C. Lascaris, *Grammaticae compendium*. Venice, 1557 (BH IV no. 586). Dionysius, of Halicarnassus, *De Thucydidis historia iudicium*. Venice, 1560 (STC, 217; N1^v and N2^r). See also Sallustius Crispus, *Coniuratio Catilinae et Bellum Iugurthinum*. Rome, 1564 (STC, 599; V7^v, X6^r, X8^r). C. PLANTIN, *Index sive specimen characterum*, 1. B[1] qualis hominum vita; M. PARKER, K. MELIS, H. D. L. VERVLIT, *Early Inventories*, 10, MA 32, 33. The 1592 and 1622 Conrad Berner Specimen sheets erroneously attribute this type to Robert Granjon. A. TINTO, *I tipi della Stamperia del Popolo Romano*, *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* 1967, 35-36. See also A. F. JOHNSON, *Some Types Used by Paolo Manuzio*, *The Library*, 4th ser., 19(1938)167-75.
- 138 The *augustine grecque* was used by C. Zanetti in the 1562 edition of Damaskenos Stoudites, *Θησαυρός* (LADAS no. 54), in the *Horologion*, 1569, and in A. Achelis, *Βιβλίον...Μάλτας πολιορκία*, 1571 (BH IV no. 683). A work of A. Rartouros, *Διδαχαί*, 1560 (BH I no. 138) also uses the *augustine grecque* of Haultin. The name of the printer is not given in the Rartouros book.
- 139 Nicetas, David, *Ἑρμηνεία εἰς τὰ τετράστιχα...Γρηγορίου τοῦ Ναζιανζηνοῦ*. Venice, 1563 (BH I no. 140). *Ἀγία καὶ Οἰκουμένη ἐν Φλωρεντία γενομένη Σύνοδος*. Rome, 1577 (BH II no. 156) Epiphanius, Saint, bishop of Constantia in Cyprus, *Περὶ τὸν Φυσιολόγον*. Rome, 1587 (STC, 235).
- 140 *Διαταχαὶ τῶν ἀγίων Ἀποστόλων διὰ Κλήμεντος*. Venice, 1563 (PHOSKOLOS A no. 4).
- 141 Joannes Climacus, *Κλίμαξ τοῦ παραδείσου*. Venice, 1590 (BH II no. 185=IV no. 824), and E. Glyzounis, *Βιβλίον...λογαριαστική*. Venice, 1596 (PAPADOPOULOS II no. 305^a). See also under Emmanouel Glyzounis in Part II.
- 142 H. D. L. VERVLIT, *The Type Specimen of the Vatican Press 1628*. Amsterdam, 1967, 37 no. 66 and plate "Carattere detto Greco Filosofia 66".
- 143 A. TINTO, *I tipi della Stamperia*, 36.
- 144 R. PROCTOR, *The French Royal*, 108.
- 145 M. PARKER, K. MELIS, H. D. L. VERVLIT, *Early Inventories*, 28 MA 16, 17. C. PLANTIN, *Index sive specimen characterum*, f.[A4]: Ἀρχὴν πάντων. H. CARTER, *The Types of Christopher Plantin*, 171. For the *parangon grec* see Saint Gregorius, bp. of Nyssa, *Περὶ παρθενίας*, 1574. For Robert Granjon see also PH. RENOUEAU, *Répertoire des imprimeurs parisiens*, 182-83. A. TINTO, *Per una storia della tipografia orientale a Roma nell' età della Controriforma*, *Accademie e biblioteche d'Italia*, 41(1973)280-303. H. D. L. VERVLIT, *Robert Granjon à Rome (1578-1589): Notes préliminaires à une histoire de la typographie romaine à la fin du XVI^e siècle*, *Bulletin de l'Institut historique belge de Rome*, 38(1967)177-231. See also S. MORISON, *John Fell*, 128-31.
- 146 See under Antonios Verghis and Domenico de Poloni in Part II.
- 147 See also under Emmanouel Glyzounis in Part II.

148 Plantin's Types, 259.

149 M. PARKER, K. MELIS, H. D. L. VERVLIET, *Early Inventories*, 10, MA 32, 33 where speaking of the *augustine grecque* of Pierre Haultin they say: "On this body the only Greek we have seen in Plantin's book is that of MA 32, 33, first appearing in 1564. The 1581 Inventory attributes the matrices to Granjon. The 1592 and 1622 Berner Specimens show a *Graec. S. Augustine GranJon.*, a design that never appeared in Plantin's books."

150 H. D. L. VERVLIET, *The Type Specimen*, 37, no. 64-65.

151 S. MORISON, *Jon Fell*, 95-107.

II

Illustration

THE sixteenth century Greek books discussed here were all printed in Italy. With the exception of five — two were printed in Florence and three in Rome — they were all the product of Venice. Perhaps it would be well to summarize here the general attitudes toward book illustration that were prevalent in Italy at the time.

It is well known today that some of the Italian humanists and patrons of art and literature were hostile to the art of printing. Some of them went so far as to exclude the printed book from their collections. The fifteenth century bookseller Vespasiano da Bisticci tells us that the library of the great bibliophile Federigo da Montefeltro, Duke of Urbino, was composed exclusively of manuscripts: "In quella libreria i libri tutti sono belli in superlativo grado, tutti iscritti a penna, e non ve n'è ignuno a stampa, chè se ne sarebe vergognato, tutti miniati elegantissimamente, et non v'è ignuno che non sia iscritto in cavretto."¹ However, this was without doubt an extreme case. We know from many sources that the Italian humanists, on the whole, were well disposed toward the printed book and many were not only collectors of incunabula but were also active as editors, commentators, and translators.²

Upon examining the Greek incunabula, one will immediately notice that, with the exception of two, none have any woodcut illustrations and only a handful have any woodcut initials or borders. This lack of illustration was deliberate and resulted from the Italian humanistic perception of how classical texts should look. The Italian scholar of the fifteenth century rediscovered the Greek and Latin classical texts through manuscripts of great simplicity, in which the chief illuminations were decorative initials and borders. The emphasis was on the written word, and no subject illustrations were allowed to mar the pristine beauty of the text. It is, therefore, not surprising to find that the Greek incunabula were almost all printed without any illustrations. Spaces were left blank for the initials, often guide letters were provided, and each purchaser was at liberty to have his copy illuminated according to his own taste and means.

Max Sander has this to say about the tardy appearance of illustrations in the Italian book of the Renaissance: "Si l'on cherche des raisons à l'apparition tardive du livre illustré en Italie, on peut considérer comme responsable — même si cette affirmation doit paraître bien paradoxale — la grande passion d'art et de luxe qui régna dans les cours princières italiennes à l'époque de l'invention de l'imprimerie pour toutes les manifestations de la vie artistique."³

This aversion for woodcut illustration that affected the early printed editions of the Greek and Latin classics held true only for the editions printed in the original languages. Editions in the vernacular were often profusely illustrated as one can find in the delightfully illustrated

Υαλμοὶ τῷ Δαδ' ἀνεπίγραφος πρὸ βραίου.

ΔΑΔ' ΠΡΟΦΗΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ
ΜΕΛΟΣ.

ΔΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ ἄνθρωπος οὐκ ἐπο-
ρεύθη ἐν βουλή ἀσεβῶν· καὶ ἐν
ὁδῷ, ἀμαρτωλῶν οὐκ ἔστι· καὶ
ἐπὶ καθέδρᾳ λοιμῶν οὐκ ἐκά-
θισεν. Ἀλλ' ἡ σὺ τῷ νόμῳ κυ τοῦ θελήμα αὐ-
τοῦ· καὶ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ αὐτοῦ μελετήσῃ ἡμῶν
κὴν νόσ· Καὶ ἔσται ὡς τὸ ξύλον τὸ πεφυτμένον
παρὰ τὰς διεξόδους τῶν ὑδάτων· ὁ γὰρ
καρπὸς αὐτοῦ δώσει ἐν καιρῷ αὐτοῦ· καὶ τὸ
φύλλον αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἀποξέξηται· καὶ πάντα
ὅσα ἀντήκαται οὐδ' ἀποθήσεται· ὅτι οὐχ ὡς οἱ ἄσ-
βεῖς ὅτι οὐχ ὡς οἱ ἄσβεστοι· ἀλλ' ὡς ὁ χυτὸς ὅτι ἐκείπῃ ὁ
ἄνεμος ἀπὸ προσώπου κυ τοῦ θεοῦ· Διὰ τοῦτο
οὐκ ἀναστῆσονται ἀσεβεῖς ἐν κρίσει· οὐδ' ἀ-
μαρτωλοὶ ἐν βουλῇ δικαίων· ὅτι πρῶσκε-
κς ὁδὸν δικαίων· καὶ ὁδὸς ἀσεβῶν ἀπὸ λείτῃ·

α III

fig. 48

Ἀμπιάτρου.
 Οὐγὸς ὁ λῆανδροιο διὰ πλοοῦς. οὐγὸς ὁ πῆνρον.
 Πορμὸς, ὁ μὴ μούτῳ τῷ Φιλέντι βαρύν.
 Ταυθῆρους τὰ πέροιθι πῶταυλια. τούτῳ γὰρ πύργον
 Λείτανον. ὁ προσδοτῆς ὃ δὲ πέμψῃ λύχρος.
 Κοινὸς δὲ μφοτέρους ὃ δὲ ἔχει τὰ φος, εἰσέτι καὶ νῦν
 Κένω τῶ φθοιερῶ μεμφομένους αὐέμα.

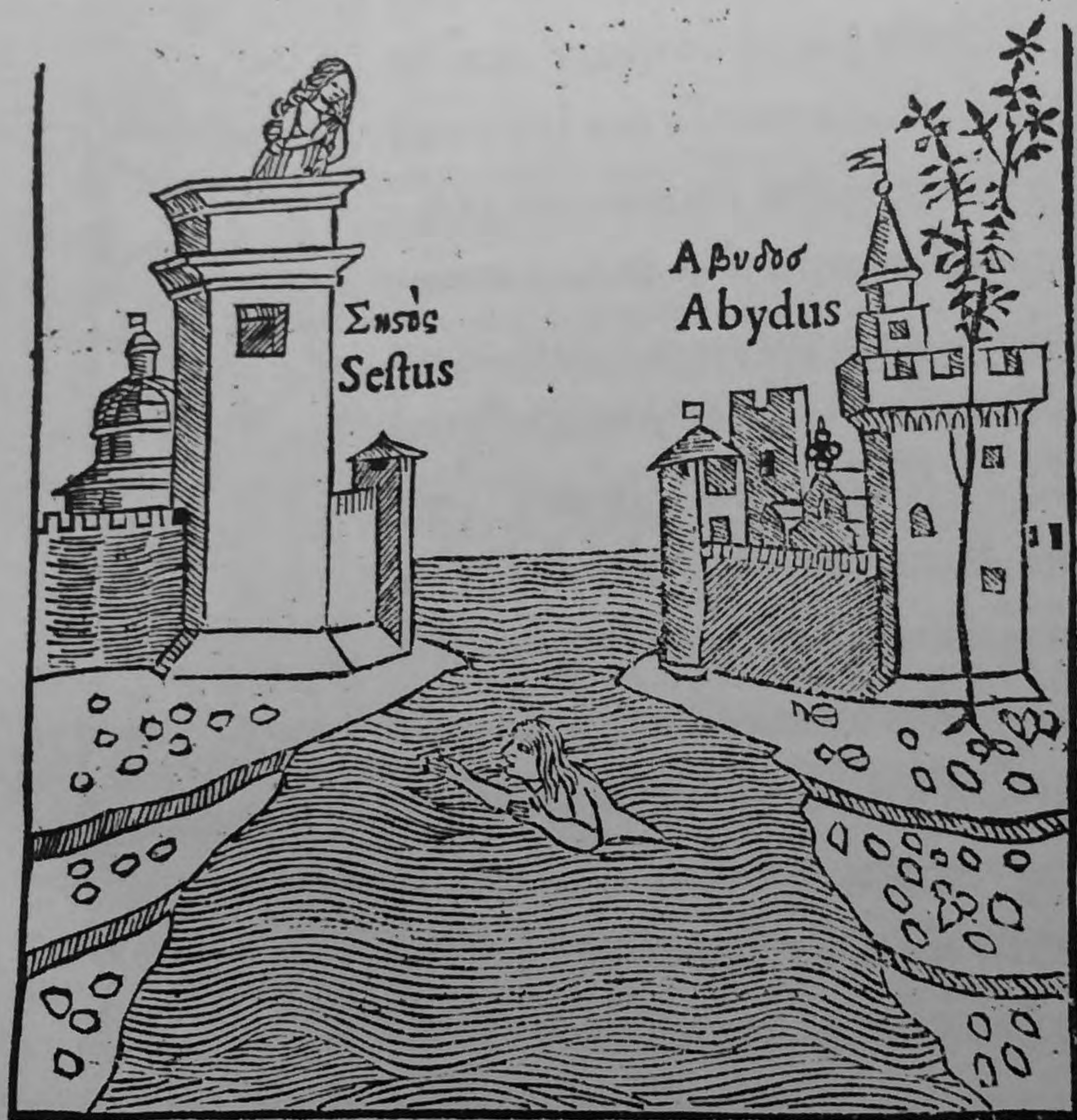


fig. 49

vernacular editions of Aesop's fables.⁴ Thus, most of the illustrated classical texts were translations into the vernacular, books not intended for the scholar and collector but directed instead at a less exalted, special clientele that included schoolboys, noble ladies, and the wives of rich merchants.⁵

One of the earliest Greek incunabula — perhaps the earliest — to have woodcut initials instead of spaces for illuminated ones is the Greek and Latin edition of Constantinos Lascaris's, *Ἐπιτομὴ τῶν ὀκτῶ τοῦ λόγου μερῶν*, Vicenza, 1489 (BH III no. 38; BMC VII, 1032).⁶ However, the first printer of Greek to use woodcut headpieces and initials regularly was Aldus Manutius. With very few exceptions, almost all of his early Greek imprints had them. Aldus's classical editions



fig.50

used decorative initials interlaced with strap-work or branch-work, with borders to match. Only three of his Greek fifteenth century publications had more elaborate illustrations. One of these was his undated *Psalterion*, c. 1496-98 (BMC V, 563; BH I no. 11), which, besides woodcut capitals and headpieces, had a four-piece strap-work border with King David playing the harp in the middle of the right-hand side and a small rabbit on the left (fig. 48).⁷ However, one should bear in mind that this was not a classical but a religious text. Another work, the *Horae* (Ὠραὶ τῆς ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας) of 1497 (BMC V, 558), had a woodcut of the Annunciation on the verso of the title page.⁸ In fact, the woodcut used in the Aldine *Horae* had been used earlier by Johannes Hamman in his 1493 edition of the *Officia beate marie secundum usum Romane ecclesie* (ESSLING no. 456).⁹ Hamman also used the woodcut in his edition of the *Sarum Horae*, 1494 (SANDER no.



fig. 51



fig. 52a



fig. 52b

3454).¹⁰ A woodcut illustration in a devotional book such as the Aldine Book of Hours was quite in keeping with the iconographic tradition of the woodcut illustration in Italy. Subject cuts abounded in the liturgical books of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, such as Missals, Breviaries, Book of Hours, Graduals and Bibles in the vernacular.¹¹

The practice of the same woodcut appearing in more than one book and later passing from printer to printer — either borrowed or bought — was very widespread during this period. At times woodcuts travelled from city to city or even to different countries.¹² Woodcuts were expensive and valuable and often the same cut was used to illustrate not only different books but also different subject matter. It is not uncommon to encounter a woodcut in books a hundred years after its first appearance, and at times even later than that. For example, fifty-eight of Giovanni Maria Verdizotti's woodcuts, first used in 1570 to illustrate his *Cento favole morali* (Venice, Giordano Ziletti)¹³ were used in 1644 to illustrate a modern Greek edition of Aesop (BH XVIIIs., I no. 362).¹⁴ In another instance, a sixteenth century woodcut was still in use some two hundred and fifty years later. This was the historiated title-border illustrated with biblical scenes found in G. M. Velmazio's, *Ueteris & noui testamenti opus singulare*, Venice, 1538 (SANDER no. 7506), which can be found on the title page of Damaskenos Stoudites, *Thesaurus* (Venice, 1779 and 1793).¹⁵

As we have seen thus far, Aldus used woodcut illustration in his editions of the *Psalterion* and in his *Horae*. One other early Greek Aldine has subject illustrations. This is the undated *Tὰ καθ' Ἡρὸν καὶ Λέανδρον*, c. 1497 (BMC V, 552-53; BH I no. 10), by the early Byzantine author, Mousaios.¹⁶ This work has come down to us in two different



fig. 53

issues. According to C. F. Bühler, the Greek text was printed first to be followed by the Latin translation originally attributed to Markos Mousouros.¹⁷ Most libraries possess the Mousaios in copies with the Greek poem and the Latin translation on alternate leaves. On leaves 11^v(B6^v) and 12^r(B7^r), there are two very awkward and rather insignificant woodcuts. The first, (B6^v), represents Leander swimming across the Hellespont, while Hero is watching him from a tower (fig. 49). The second, (B7^r), shows Hero throwing herself from the window of the tower and Leander lying dead on the shore. At the head of both cuts, there are Greek and Latin versions of the verses of Antipater.¹⁸ The two woodcuts are absent in the copies which have the Greek text only, and this might signify that even Aldus adhered to the strict rule that subject illustrations were only admissible in translations of Greek texts.¹⁹

The Mousaios was a popular text and had numerous editions during the sixteenth century. Because of its brevity, and simple language and style, it was probably used as a reader during the Renaissance. In the second (1517) Aldine edition of this work (ESSLING no. 1297; SANDER no. 4913), the two woodcuts are reduced copies of the illustrations of the first Aldine edition and are even cruder in style. Nevertheless, the two original cuts were copied extensively and appear in other sixteenth century editions of this work issued by other printers.²⁰ The poor quality of the Aldine Mousaios woodcuts is surprising, since they were used by a printer whose devotion to Greek editions is so well known and who produced one of the most beautifully illustrated books of the Renaissance: Francesco Colonna's *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, 1499 (BMC V, 561; GW no. 7223).²¹

The Byzantine influence is very much in evidence in the woodcut borders and decorative initials of the works printed by Zacharias Kallierges for Nikolaos Vlastos between 1499 and 1500. The woodcut borders have elaborate arabesque designs, usually white on a red and at times gold ground.²² These designs are very reminiscent of Byzantine manuscript illumination (fig. 50). The Kallierges-Vlastos books do not have any woodcut subject illustrations except for the "portrait" of Galen which occurs in the middle of the headpiece of the *Therapeutika*, 1500 (BMC V, 581; BH I no. 29), on leaf A2^r (fig. 51) and is repeated on M10^r.²³

The headpieces and initials of the Kallierges books had a great influence on the decoration of the Greek liturgical books during the sixteenth century. On the whole, the decorations used by the Kallierges press influenced the decoration of the Greek book more than the Aldine style of decoration. For example, the headpieces and initials of Demetrios Moschos, *Tò καθ' Ἑλένην καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον*, printed in Reggio Emilia by Dionysius Bertochus c. 1500 (BMC VII, 1091; BH I no. 26), were clearly influenced by the Kallierges style (fig. 17). The Kallierges influence can also be detected in the ornamentation used by Johann Froben in his 1516 Greek and Latin edition of the New Testament.²⁴

The decorations of the Kallierges-Vlastos press passed into the hands of Filippo Giunta of Florence sometime after 1509, when Kallierges ceased to print in Venice. They appear in several Giunti publications, the foremost among them an *Horologion*, 1520 (BH I no. 63; RENOUEARD, xlv no. 29; ANNALI I no. 132), which uses several of the decorative initials and one headpiece (A1^r) which, at the beginning of the work, still bears the name of Nikolaos Vlastos. On later pages (F8^r), the Vlastos name is scratched out (fig. 52). The same headpieces and initials are also in evidence in the 1522 Giunta edition of Sophocles and in a good number of other Giunti publications of the Greek classics.²⁵

The influence of the Kallierges style of ornamentation is also clearly discernible in the books produced by the biggest publishers of Greek liturgical books in the sixteenth century, the firm of Andreas Kounadis and Damiano di Santa Maria. Between 1521 and 1553 they published the greatest number of liturgical books for the Orthodox Church. From the outset, the Kallierges influence was very much in evidence in the decoration they used, especially in the headpieces of their folio editions (fig. 53).²⁶

In 1523, the brothers Nicolini da Sabbio, the printers most closely associated with the firm of Andreas Kounadis and Damiano di Santa Maria, brought out an *Horologion* (BH II no. 235; ESSLING no. 2215; SANDER no. 3468) at the expense of Martino Locatelli. The initials and the page borders were very much in the Kallierges style, especially the page border (leaf A1^r in fig. 54). This close similarity to the Kallierges decorations prompted Émile Legrand to observe: "Les



fig. 54

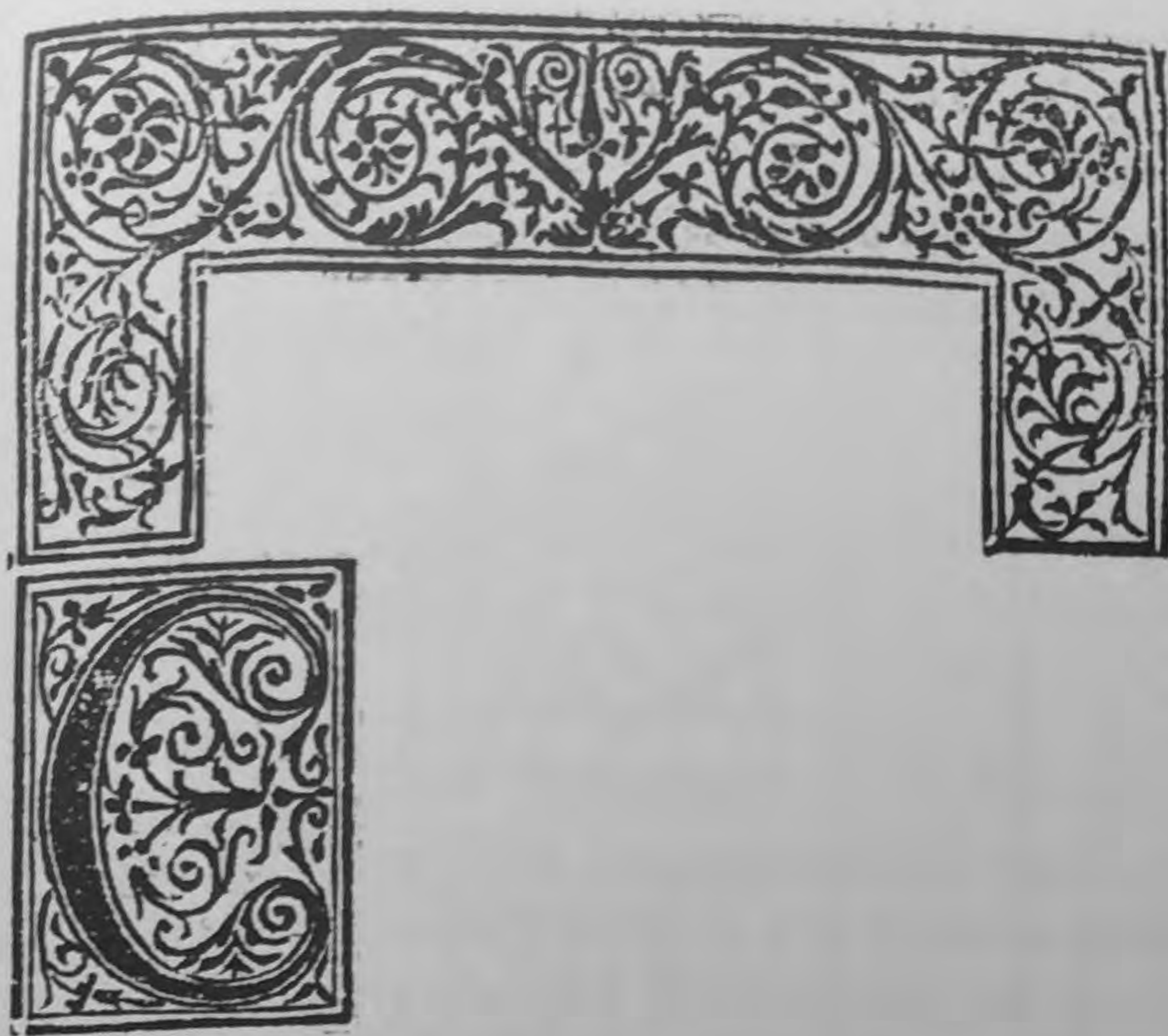


fig. 55



fig. 56

vignettes d'en-tête et les lettres ornées sont les mêmes que celles des impressions de Nicolas Vlastos."²⁷ The arabesque headpieces and initials of the first edition of the Divine Liturgy (*Θείαι Λειτουργεῖαι*) printed in Rome for Demetrios Doukas in 1526 (BH I no. 76) were also clearly patterned after the Kallierges decorations (figs. 55, 170-71).²⁸

The printer Bartolomeo Zanetti had at least two sets of woodcut headpieces and initials that owed much to the Kallierges legacy (fig. 242). This is not surprising, since Bartolomeo Zanetti, before establishing his own printing shop in Venice, had begun his career as a printer in Florence working for Filippo Giunta and had used the Kallierges-Vlastos decorations in the books he printed for the Giunti.²⁹ Bartolomeo Zanetti was also a scribe who often copied Greek manuscripts for wealthy patrons. One can find in some of his decorative initials and headpieces the influence of Greek manuscript illumination (fig. 56). Some of Bartolomeo's stock, such as the headpiece displayed in fig. 57, passed to his son Cristoforo, who was an important printer of Greek liturgical books in Venice from 1546 until 1582.

Despite these glimpses of Byzantine and post-Byzantine influence upon the decoration of the Greek liturgical book — the arabesque initials and borders, the printing in red — the Greek book of the sixteenth century was the product of Italy, of Venice in particular, produced for the most part by Italian printers who knew little about Hellenic traditions or, even if they did, did not have the means to acquire special sets of ornaments and woodcuts for the relatively small number of Greek books they published. The only exception was the firm of Andreas Kounadis and Damiano di Santa Maria, which from the very beginning specialized exclusively in the publication of Greek books for Greek readers. From the very outset, Kounadis consciously tried to incorporate post-Byzantine elements into the illustration of his publications (fig. 53). However, Kounadis was a publisher, and the printing of his books was entrusted to the brothers Nicolini da Sabbio. Furthermore, Kounadis died prematurely, when his publishing venture had barely started. His father-in-law, Damiano di Santa Maria from Spic in Illyria, took over the direction of the firm after Kounadis's death. Although Damiano tried to carry out the original plan of his son-in-law,



fig. 57

the books bearing his name increasingly used more Venetian-style illustrations. The Byzantine influence in the decorations was slowly eclipsed by a great number of Renaissance-style headpieces, initials, vignettes, and other similar ornamentation. Damiano relied heavily on the stock of the Nicolini da Sabbio, although there is evidence that some of the decorative blocks and at least two sets of type definitely belonged to the publishers. At any rate, by the second quarter of the sixteenth century, the heyday of the Italian illustrated book was over, and the quality of book production as a whole had steadily begun to decline.

The first Greek liturgical book that contained any subject illustrations was the *Psalterion*, 1521 (BH III no. 230), printed by the Nicolini da Sabbio for Andreas Kounadis. There is a small cut of the Nativity on the title page.³⁰ This cut is clearly of Western origin and belonged to the Nicolini da Sabbio stock. It was used in several of their early publications (fig. 58).³¹ It was not until 1523 that subject illustrations appeared inside the text itself of the Greek liturgical book and not merely as decoration on the title page.

The *Oktoechos* (ESSLING no. 2217, SANDER no. 5025, PHOSKOLOS B no. 1) printed in 1523 by the Nicolini da Sabbio for Damiano di Santa Maria was the first Greek liturgical book to have subject illustrations within its text.³² Besides a small cut of the Nativity on the title page, it also has three woodcuts: Saint John of Damaskos, the Crucifixion, and the Resurrection. These cuts are definitely "Orthodox" in iconography (fig. 59). Their style was noticed by Max Sander: "Les bois, surtout la Crucifixion, montrent un style byzantin-archaïque."³³ Further information about these woodcuts was supplied by the editor of the work, Demetrios Zenos. In his address to the readers at



fig. 58

the beginning of the *Oktoechos*, he explained that it was thought appropriate to include three illustrations: Saint John of Damaskos at the beginning of the book because he was the author (*ποιητής*) of the greater part of the text, and two more, the Crucifixion and the Resurrection, at the appropriate sections in the text.³⁴ This is the first time we find subject illustrations in a Greek liturgical book that were made specifically for the book in question and were appropriate iconographically to it. The artistic quality and craftsmanship of the cuts leave much to be



fig. 59a



fig. 59b

desired. Nevertheless, these three woodcuts, especially the Crucifixion, were used extensively by other printers of Greek liturgical books and were also copied or imitated throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Copies of copies can even be found as late as the mid-eighteenth century, perhaps later.³⁵

The 1523 *Horologion* (BH II no. 235; ESSLING no. 2215, SANDER no. 3468) printed by the Nicolini da Sabbio for Martino Locatelli that I mentioned earlier also has three woodcut illustrations that are Venetian in design and conception and were very probably borrowed from an earlier publication. Besides a small Nativity cut on the title page, there are two other cuts, one of David (BB8^v) and the other of the Crucifixion (CC8^v). The Crucifixion is signed with the monogram "L" which is one of the monograms assigned to the Florentine artist Luc' Antonio degli Uberti.³⁶ This cut was also used in an earlier work printed by the Nicolini da Sabbio: *Officium hebdomade sancte* (Venetiis per Io. Antonium & Fratres de Sabio, 1522).³⁷ Most of the illustrations in the Italian printed book of the sixteenth century were not signed, and they rarely had any other mark of identification. For the most part, the work was anonymous. Essling, in his monumental work on the Venetian illustrated book, has assembled in one place all of the monograms and signatures of all the Venetian engravers.³⁸

In 1525, the publishing firm of Melchiorre Sessa and Pietro Ravani brought out a Greek Psalter (BH I no. 73; CURI NICOLARDI no. 64) with an historiated title page border reminiscent in style



fig. 59c

features had been introduced, such as those found on the title page of the *Oktoechos*, 1549 (BH I no. 124) published by Andrea Spinelli. The title page consists of four separate parts. At the top of the page, there is a headpiece of cherubs flanked by draped male figures. At the bottom, there is a small cut depicting a school scene (fig. 62). This arrangement, a headpiece flanked by columns with draped figures, became the hallmark of Giacomo Leoncini, who used it in countless imprints (fig. 63).⁴⁵ Andrea Spinelli also introduced the architectural title-border and some other illustrative features described below. Other printers immediately followed his example, and, from then on, a variety of title-borders — architectural, floriated, historiated, etc. — adorned the title pages of the Greek liturgical books printed during the middle and late sixteenth century (figs. 64-68).⁴⁶

Among the liturgical books of the first half of the sixteenth century, only two more have subject illustrations both of western provenance. These include the *Θεία Λειτουργία*, 1528 (BH I no. 80; SANDER no. 3646),⁴⁷ which has a full-page cut of Saint John Chrysostom (A3^r) and an *Horologion*, 1532 (BH I no. 87=BH III no. 319; SANDER no. 3469), which has a small oblong cut of the Adoration on its title page. It was not until 1548 that new elements were introduced into the illustration of the liturgical book. These new features were introduced by the publisher Andrea Spinelli. Spinelli was the engraver for the mint of the Venetian Republic as he proclaimed in all of

of the French Books of Hours (fig. 60). Within the border, there is a cut of David kneeling on the ground praying with his harp beside him.³⁹ The cut of David is a copy of an earlier cut found in the *Fioretto della bibbia hystoriato* (Venetia, Giovanni Tacuino, 1515).⁴⁰ Until the mid-1520s the title pages of the Greek liturgical books were very simple and unadorned. Originally, they consisted of simply the title in red capital letters.⁴¹ At times, a small woodcut of the Nativity or some other religious scene was displayed in the middle of the title page.⁴² The elaborately ornate title page of the Sessa-Ravani 1525 Psalter is thus unusual at this stage of the development of the Greek liturgical title page. The only other feature usually displayed on the title page at this time was a printer's or publisher's device such as can be seen in the *Horologion*, 1524 (BH I no. 71),⁴³ where the mark of Andreas Kounadis made its appearance for the first time (fig. 188). Cuts of David (fig. 61), in various sizes and forms and for the most part borrowed or copied from Catholic service books, are found regularly on the title pages of many Greek Psalters beginning with the Sessa-Ravani Psalter.⁴⁴ By the middle of the sixteenth century, other



fig. 60



fig. 61a



fig. 61b



fig. 61c

the colophons of his publications. In addition to his introduction of the architectural title-border that was so popular in the Renaissance printed book,⁴⁸ Spinelli offered a richer and more varied decorative stock than that of the other printers of Greek books. Most of his decorations such as the headpiece (fig. 69) often found in his books, were pure high Renaissance in style. Spinelli was also a publisher of Catholic liturgical service books, and the illustrative material used in his missals⁴⁹ — such as the small calendar vignettes representing the occupations of the months — found their way into his Greek liturgical editions such as the *Horologion*, 1563 (BH I no. 141; fig. 70), and the *Parakletike*, 1559/1560 (BH I no. 137).⁵⁰ Another illustration from the Spinelli stock was a Crucifixion surrounded by four cuts representing religious scenes used in the *Στιχηρὰ... Ἀυγούστου*, 1549 (BH III no. 495). The cut of the Crucifixion and the block above it were copies from a 1521 *Missale romanum* published in Venice by Lucantonio Giunta (SANDER no. 4820). The woodcuts on either side and at the bottom of the Crucifixion came from the original blocks of the Giunta missal (fig. 71). The cuts are signed LVNF.⁵¹

Another illustration that probably was used in the Catholic imprints of Andrea Spinelli is a cut of the Holy Trinity that depicts the Father, the Holy Spirit, and the Son — the latter represented by a small baby holding the Cross — on the upper half, and, below them, the Pope surrounded by several bishops (fig. 72). Another Spinelli imprint, the *Parakletike*, 1559/60 (BH I no. 137=LADAS no. 51), has a series of small cuts depicting the life of Christ that was clearly borrowed from a Catholic religious work (fig. 37). The same holds true for the two small cuts of the Resurrection and of the Visitation found in the same work. Spinelli also acquired a set of woodcuts of Saint John of Damaskos, of the Crucifixion, and the Resurrection. These cuts are clearly free copies of the woodcuts of the 1523 *Oktoechos* (PHOSKOLOS B no. 1; ESSLING no. 2217; SANDER no. 5025) discussed above. These cuts were used in several of Spinelli's Greek liturgical publications.⁵² The Crucifixion in particular was also used in the *Horologia* of 1549 (BH III no. 496) and of 1563 (BH I no. 141) and is even found in the Spinelli edition of the *Missale Romanum*, 1555/56 (fig. 73).⁵³

On the verso of the title page of the Spinelli edition of the *Parakletike*, 1559/1560 there is a full-page Crucifixion (fig. 74), the same cut that Spinelli used in the 1555/56 edition of the *Missale Romanum*.⁵⁴ This block was later used by other Italian printers of Greek liturgical books. It can be found on the verso of the title page of several *Menaia* and other liturgical books.⁵⁵ There are many examples in Greek liturgical books of full-page woodcuts of the Crucifixion borrowed from Catholic Missals and other service books. For example, the only Greek liturgical work published by the heirs of Aldus Manutius and Andrea Torresano in the sixteenth century is an *Ἀκολουθία τοῦ Ἀναγνώστου*, 1549 (RENOUARD, 144 no. 1; BH I no. 123; LAYTON no. 19). The Crucifixion (verso of the title page) depicts Christ on the Cross with Mary Magdalene kneeling and embracing the Cross; on the left stands the Virgin Mary and on the right Saint John (fig. 75). Renouard describes the illustration "un crucifix gravé en bois, de la grandeur de la page et d'assez mauvaise exécution."⁵⁶ This block came from the stock of Girolamo Soncino, who used it in two works printed by him in 1513 and 1515.⁵⁷ The cut is also found on the verso of the title page of an edition of the *Fior di virtù*, 1534 (ESSLING no. 401; SANDER no. 2757). Another full-page woodcut Crucifixion (fig. 76) was also borrowed from Italian sources. It is found in a series of *Menaia* printed by Cristoforo Zanetti between 1555 and 1558 and in two *Evangelia*, 1560 and 1575 (BH IV nos. 599 and 700), which come from the press of Giacomo Leoncini. The block of the Crucifixion used in the Zanetti and Leoncini works came from the stock of Petrus Liechtenstein, who used it in his *Missale Pragense*, 1507, and in several other of his publications.⁵⁸ Bernardino Stagnino had a close copy of this cut that can be seen in his edition of the *Missale Romanum*, 1511 (n5^v).⁵⁹

In 1550, Andrea Spinelli brought out an *Evangelion* (BH I no. 127) that has at the beginning of each Gospel a full-page cut of an Evangelist sitting at a table writing (fig. 77). The same cut was used to represent the figures of all four of the Evangelists; only the head and shoulder part is different in each one.⁶⁰ This new feature, full-page illustrations of the Evangelists, was later copied by other printers. Many

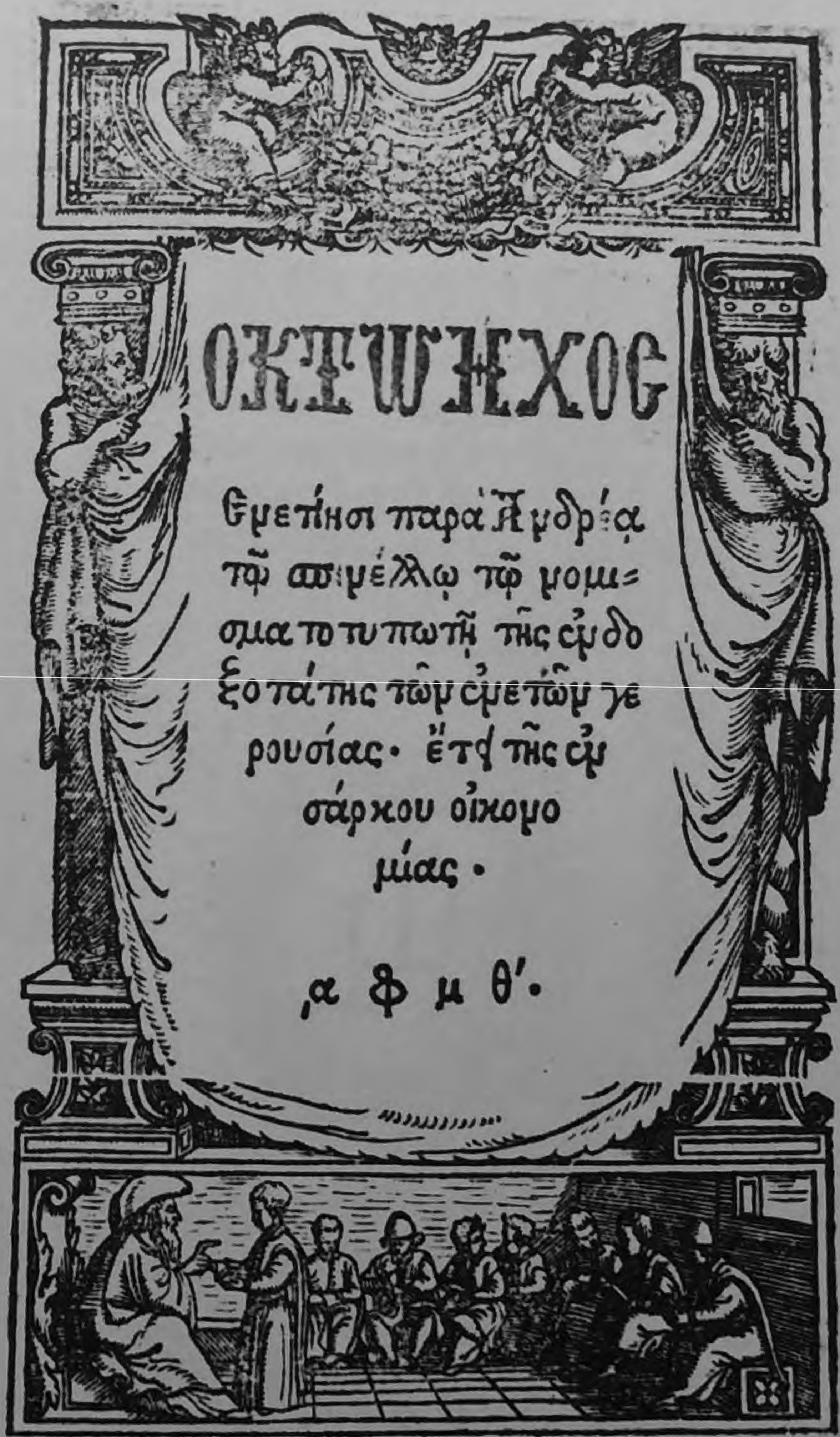


fig. 62

folio editions of the Gospels from then on are illustrated with similar full-length cuts of the Evangelists (fig. 78).⁶¹ However, there are also some *Evangelia* that, instead of full-page illustrations, have small woodcuts of the Evangelists at the beginning of each section of the text under a large headpiece that extends down either side of the illustration to meet the text page, forming the shape of a Greek Π (fig. 79).⁶²

One other feature introduced by Spinelli in the *Oktoechos*, 1549 (BH I no. 124) was to have a great influence upon subsequent printers of the *Oktoechos*, especially in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This was a small cut, usually found at the lower part of the title page, depicting a school scene: a teacher-cleric is sitting on the left, and a pupil stands in front of him

reciting his lesson, while seven more pupils are seated reading (figs. 62, 80, 120). This depiction of a school room in the *Oktoechos* was quite appropriate, as the *Oktoechos*, was also used as a schoolbook. Some of the other liturgical works, such as the *Psalterion*, the *Horologion* and the *Apostolos*, were also used as schoolbooks during the years of the Turkish Occupation. The small "pocket" editions of the *Oktoechos*, such as that of 1549, were undoubtedly used mostly for instructional purposes.⁶³ Other printers and publishers copied the school scene of the 1549 *Oktoechos*. It appears in other imprints of the *Oktoechos* during the second half of the sixteenth century (figs. 80, 120).⁶⁴ Although the dress and hats of the priest and pupils in the 1549 *Oktoechos* are definitely Western in style, the long beard of the priest gives it a more Eastern Mediterranean appearance. Sometime in the late sixteenth century, the woodcut of the school scene was moved from the title page of the *Oktoechos* to the top of folio A1^v, where it remained for the next two hundred years.⁶⁵ The school scene illustration was also imitated



ΕΝ ΒΕΝΕΤΙΑΙΣ.
Αιτήσκει κνείον ιακώβου τῆς λεογνήνου.

Εἴτε τῷ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν σάρκου οἰκονομίας.
α, φ ξ ζ.

Βουε

fig. 63

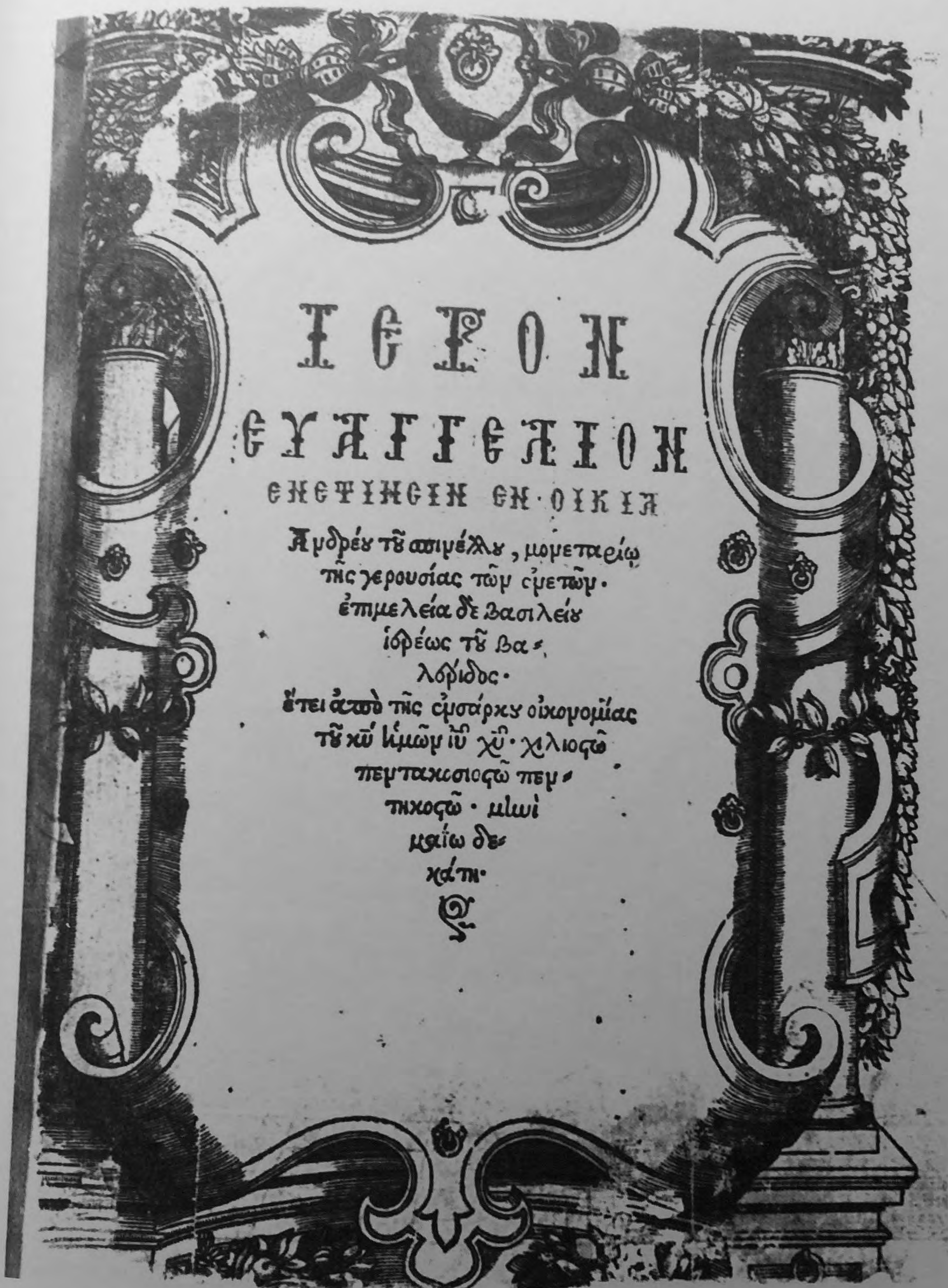


fig. 64



fig. 65

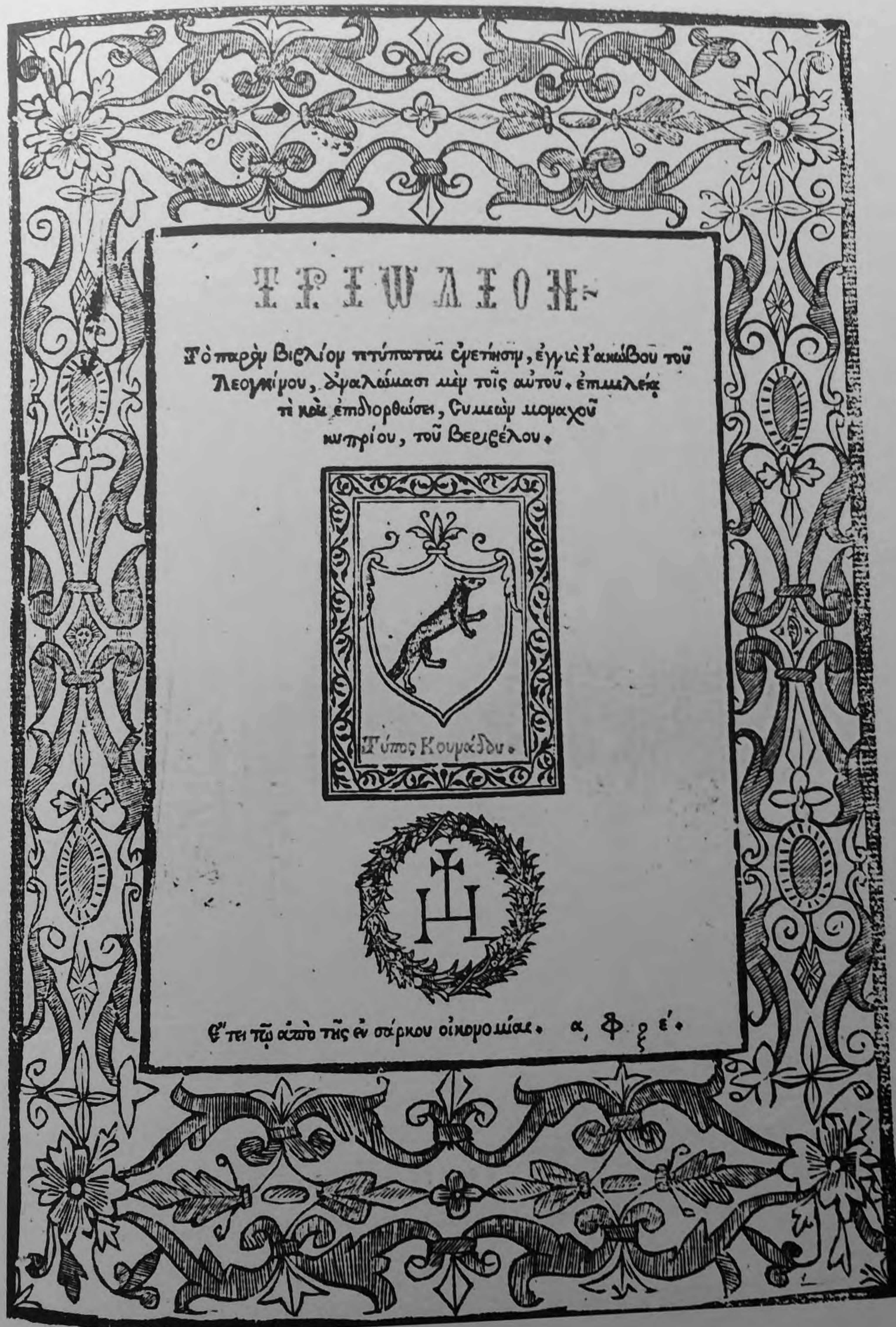


fig. 66

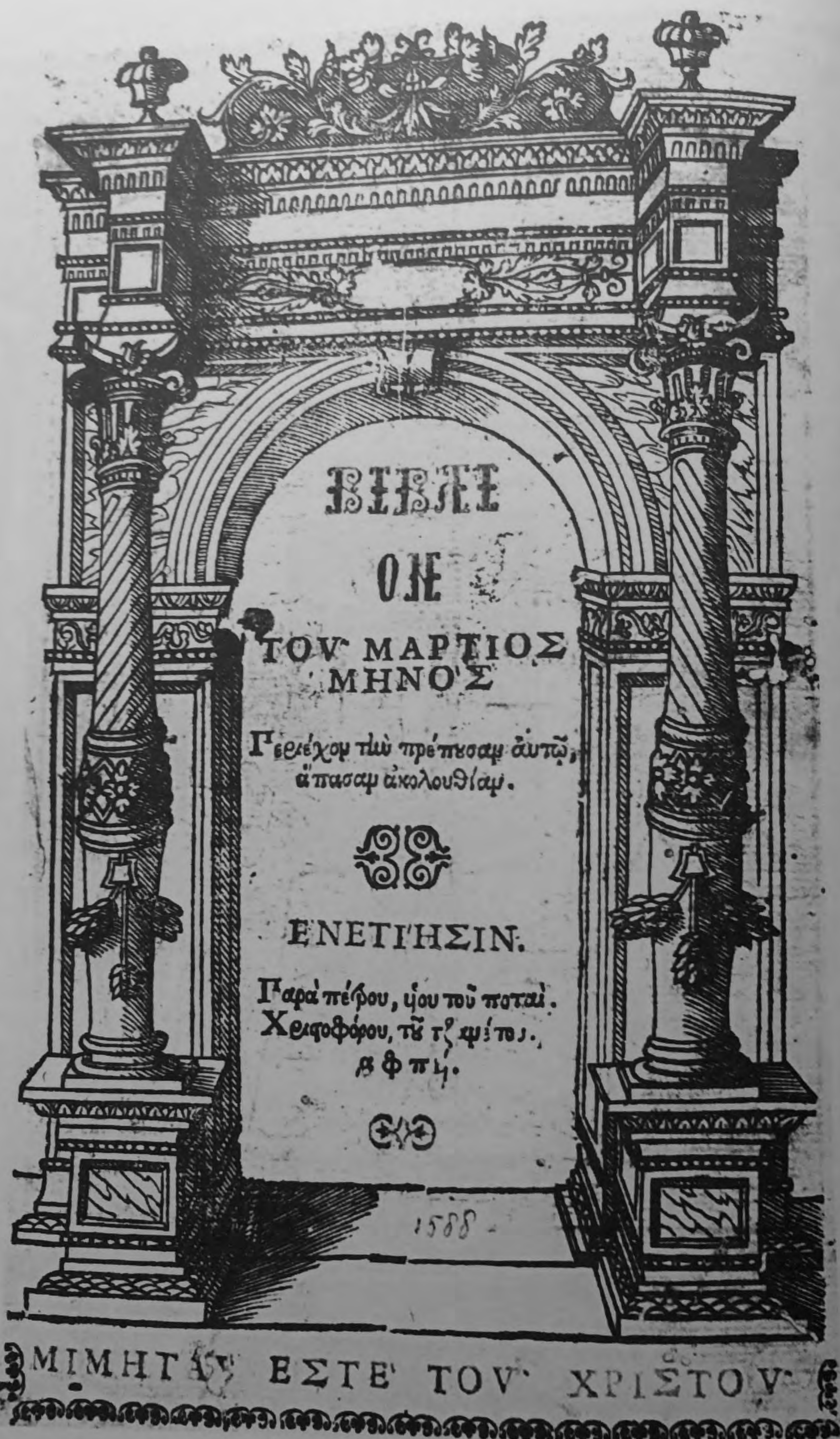


fig. 67



fig. 68



fig. 69



fig. 70a



fig. 70b



fig. 70c



fig. 71



fig. 72

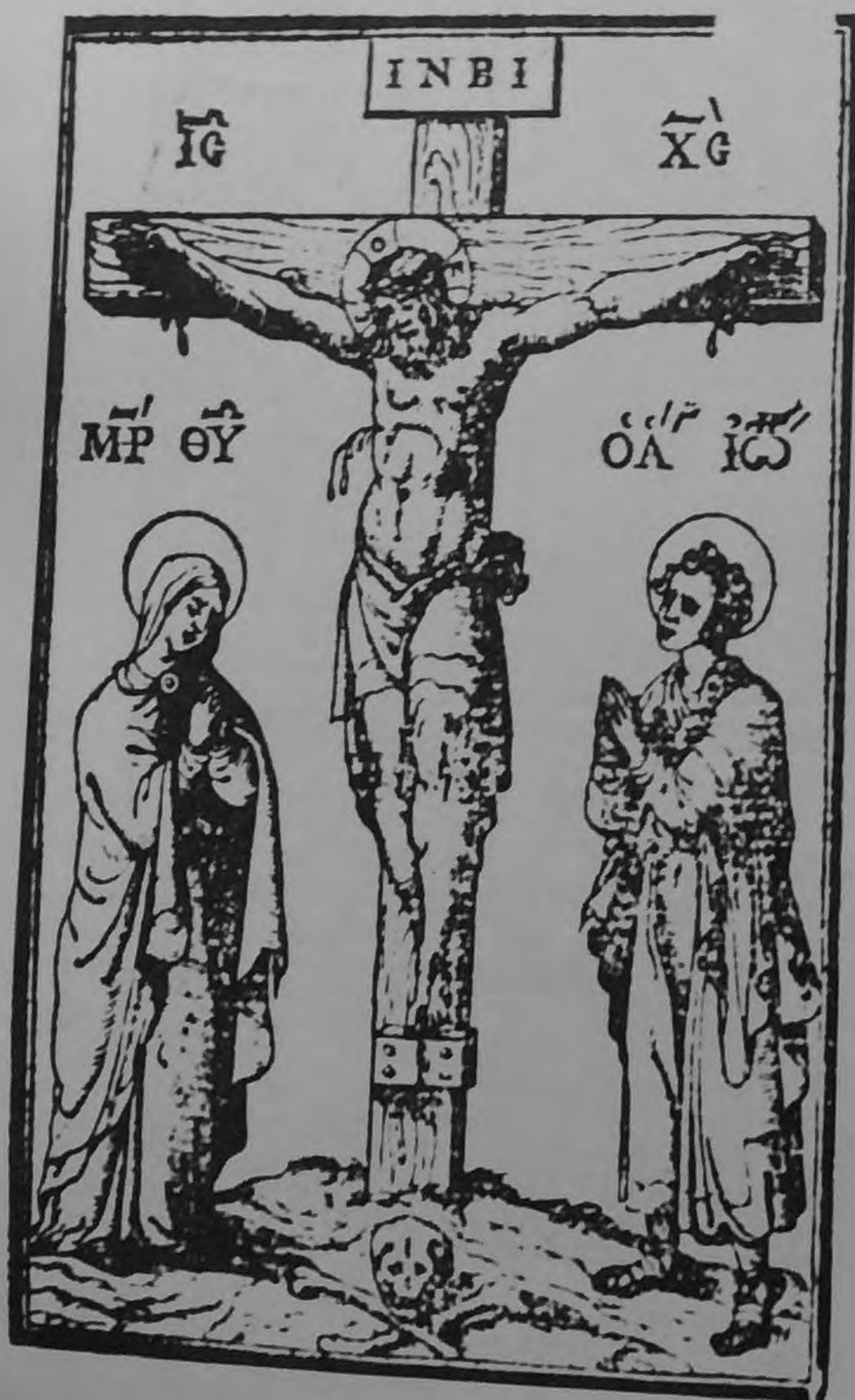


fig. 73a



fig. 73b

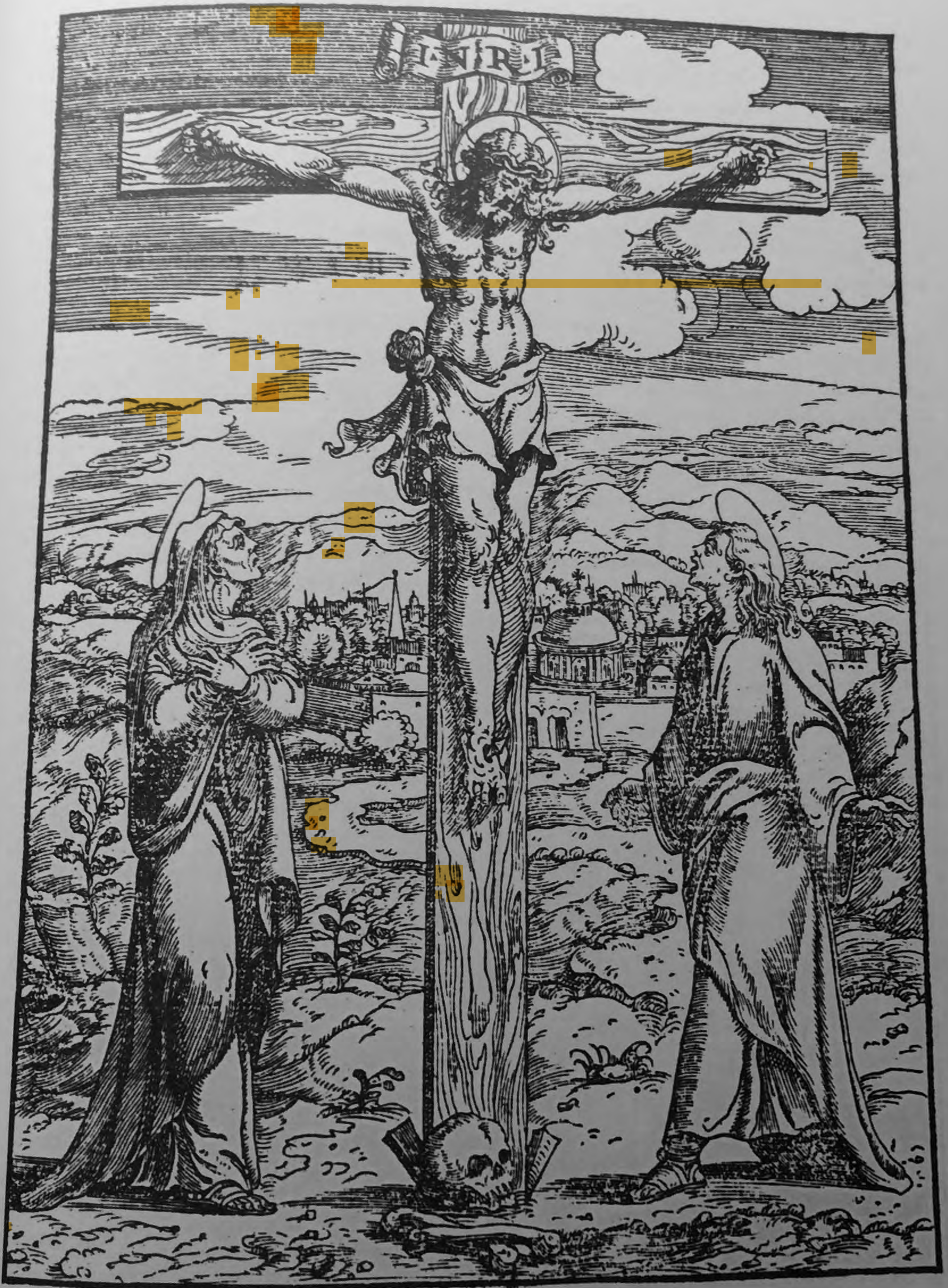
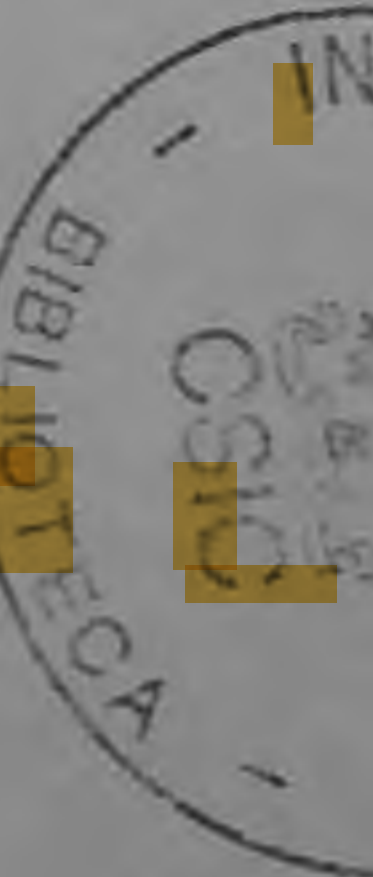


fig. 74



abroad. It was used to illustrate *Oktoechoi* and alphabet books printed outside of Italy in places such as Constantinople, Moschopolis (Voskopje, Albania), and Vienna.⁶⁶

The school scene portrayed in the 1549 Spinelli *Oktoechos* and its imitations are very different from another block depicting a school scene found on the lower part of the title page of the *Λόγοι διδακτικοί*, 1543, of Markos Depharanas (BH I no. 105). In this illustration, there is a teacher sitting on the right, with a group of pupils standing about while one is being chastised with a stick (fig. 81). This cut is a free copy of an earlier cut found in a Donatus grammar of 1526 and signed with an L (Luc' Antonio degli Uberti).⁶⁷ This type of school scene is more easily traceable to the early schoolbooks and Latin grammars printed in Italy at the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century.⁶⁸

In the *Menaion* of September 1555 (BH II no. 248) printed by Cristoforo Zanetti there is a headpiece that extends down on either side of the page to meet the text⁶⁹ that must have been specifically designed for use in Greek liturgical publications. It consists of arabesque motifs interspersed with five medallions. The medallion located in the middle of the headpiece at the top, represents Christ flanked on the left by the Virgin Mary and Saint Nicholas and on the right by Saint John and Saint George. The style of this headpiece and especially the figures of the Saints are closer to the Orthodox iconographic tradition than anything used in the illustration of the Greek book since the early sixteenth century. This headpiece was copied extensively and was

used by other printers of Greek liturgical books both in the sixteenth century and later (figs. 82 and 83).⁷⁰

In 1581-82, a series of *Menaia* were printed by Zuan Battista Tauroceni, known in Greek bibliographic compendia as Giovanni Battista Richeni or Rikenios. Very little is known about this printer except that at one time he had some kind of connection with Giacomo Leoncini, a publisher of Greek liturgical books.⁷¹ The *Menaia* in question have a series of cuts — ranging in size from 7 x 5.4 cm to 8.4 x 7 cm — of saints of the Orthodox Church and of scenes of the life of Christ and of the Virgin Mary.⁷² The woodcuts must have been commissioned specifically for this particular set of *Menaia* because they were executed in the Cretan post-byzantine tradition (fig. 84). The Art historian Andreas Xyngopoulos, who examined these cuts from a set of *Menaia* of the early seventeenth century, correctly dates them as belonging to the sixteenth century.⁷³ As mentioned earlier, the cuts appeared in great abundance in the *Menaia* of 1581-82. However, there are



fig. 75

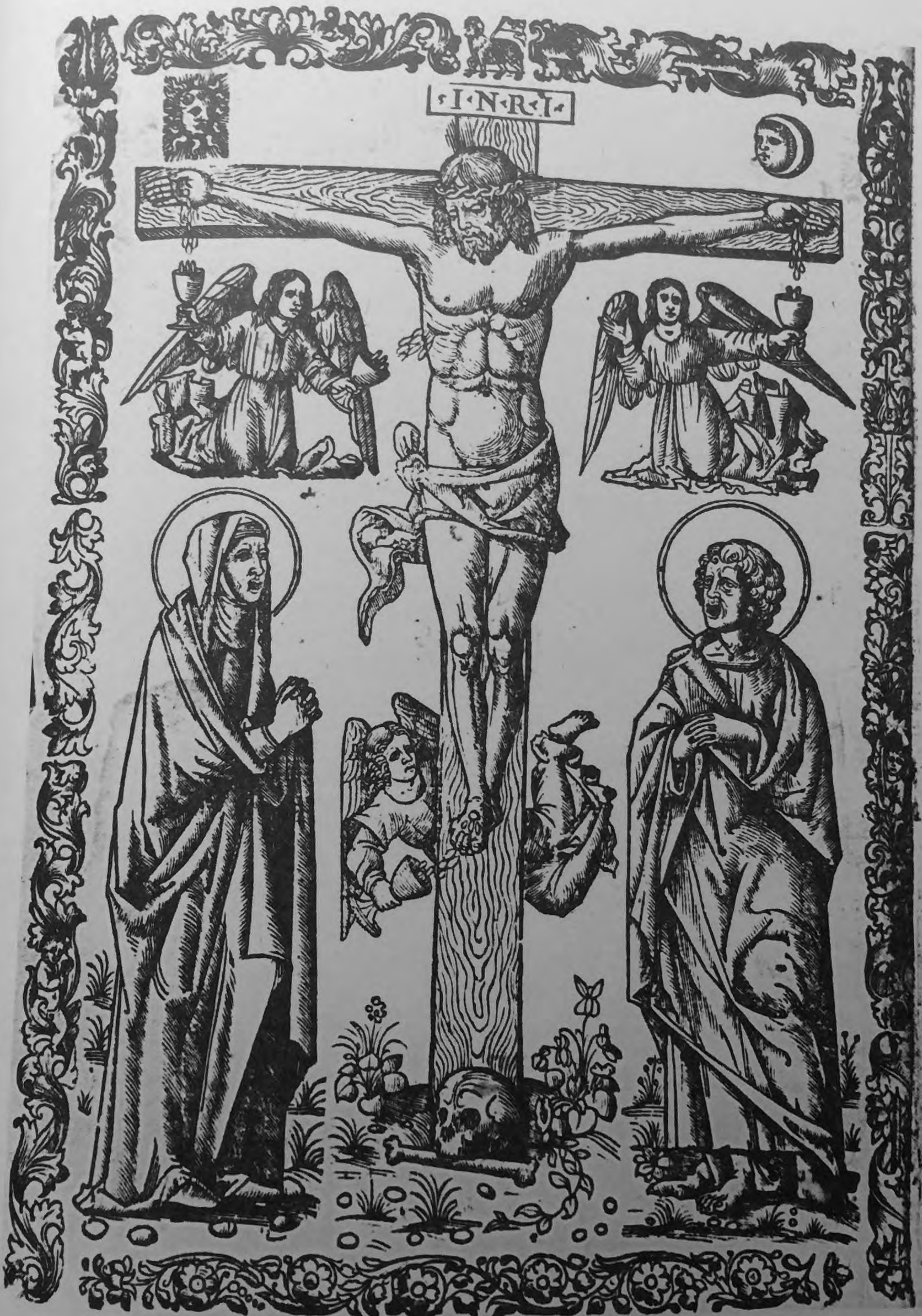


fig. 76



fig. 77

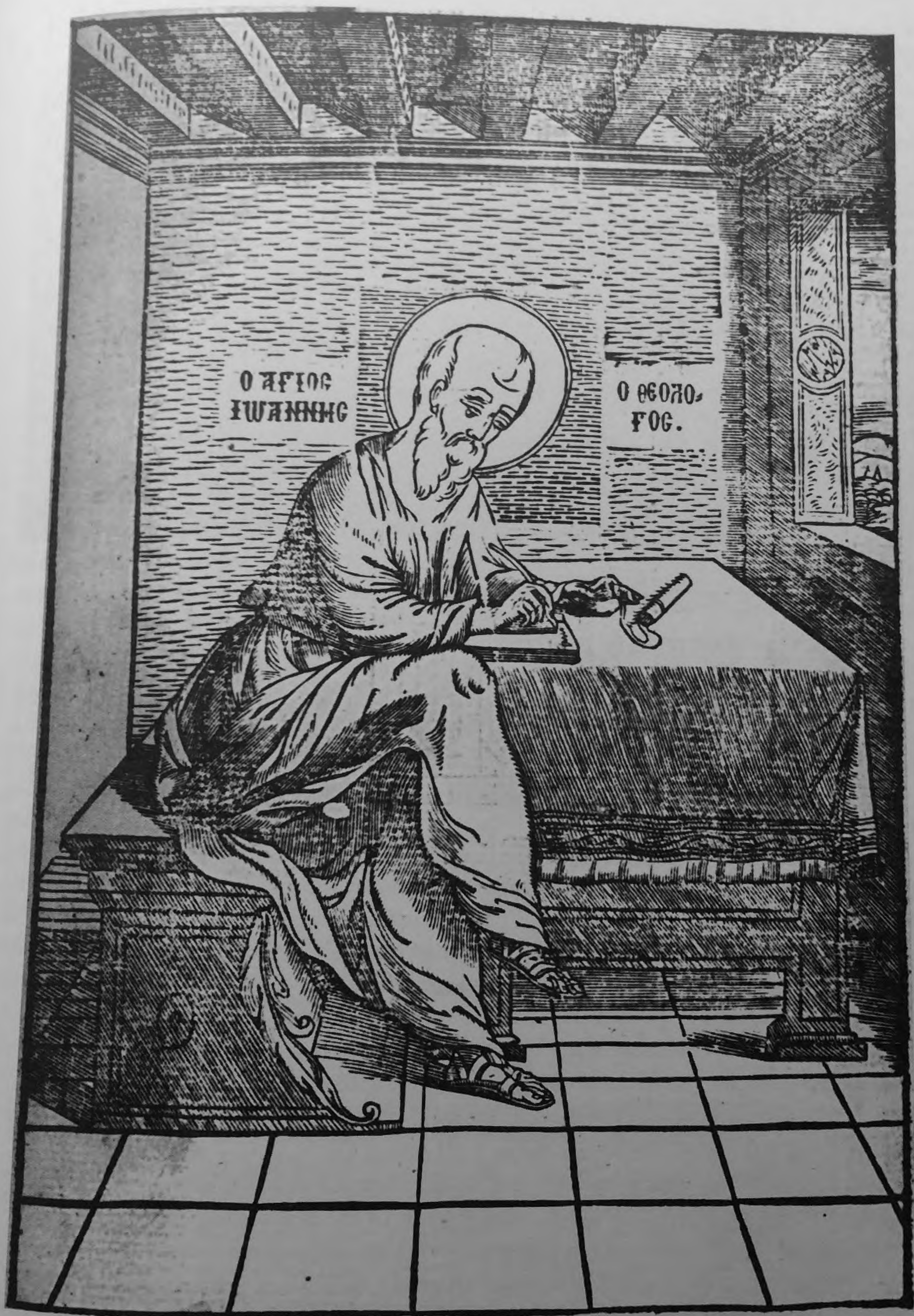


fig. 78



fig. 79

at least two cuts, similar in size and style, that can be seen in the *Menaion* of November 1566-67 (BH IV no. 639) published by Giacomo Leoncini and in his *Theia Leitourgia*, 1574 (BH II no. 268; fig. 85). However, in the Leoncini imprints they are used in isolated cases, and, on the whole, the illustrations in the Leoncini *Menaia* are preponderantly of Western provenance.⁷⁴

The woodcuts in the Tauroceni *Menaia* of 1581-82 are well-designed, and the figures of the Saints and the other scenes depicted are definitely in the tradition of the Orthodox Church. Only the columns and outer decorations and the occasional depiction of small angels in a few of the cuts betray a contemporary Venetian influence. In a document concerning the litigation of the estate of Zuan Battista Tauroceni in 1585, there is mention of a certain sum of money owed by Tauroceni to a "reverend" Greek priest who designed small images for him, and of another sum owed to a block cutter who had executed the designs on the wood.⁷⁵ There is no doubt that this transaction refers to the artist and craftsman who executed the series of the woodcuts in question. These small cuts were also used in the books produced by Tauroceni's partner and successor, Giovanni Aliprandi. They can be seen in the *Evangelion*, 1586 (ILIOU no. 21; fig. 86). Similar cuts can also be seen in the *Menaion* of October 1595 (BH II no. 213) brought out by Francesco Giuliani for E. Glyzounis (fig. 87).

There were a number of Greek painters, most of them from Crete, working in Venice during this time.⁷⁶ It was also during this period that the interior of the newly completed Greek Orthodox Church of San Giorgio dei Greci was being decorated. One document mentions explicitly that the church should be decorated in the Greek style "secqondo lla maniera grecqa con lli abiti grecqi ett devote secqondo il costtume grecqo."⁷⁷ Thus it seems that there was a conscious effort in the latter part of the sixteenth century to try to recapture some of the Orthodox iconographic traditions that were gradually being lost.

There are only a handful of Greek books, seven to be exact, that contain portraits of authors or compilers.⁷⁸ The portrait illustration was a very popular feature of the Renaissance book in Italy. The earliest portrait in a Greek book is found on the title page of Alexios Rartouro's *Διδαχαί*, 1560 (BH I no. 138; fig. 88). According to all sources, this was supposed to be the portrait of the author, a cleric from Corfu, who was in Venice at this time for the express purpose of publishing his work. The portrait of another cleric, scribe, and editor, Zacharias Skordylis, can be seen on the verso of the title page of a book he edited, Saint Gregorius Nazianzenus, *Νικήτα φιλοσόφου... Ἑρμηνεία*, 1563 (BH I no. 140=IV no. 617; FINAZZI no. 92). The original portrait seems to have been executed by the well-known Cretan painter Markos Bathas, or Vathas, whose name appears on the left-hand side, outside of the border: "χεῖρ Μάρκου Βαθᾶ" (fig. 89). However, the inscription bearing Bathas's name is not the artist's signature. The phrase is set in type.⁷⁹ It might well be that this cut was a copy from an original painting executed by Bathas. The first edition of Zacharias Skordylis's compilation, entitled *Περὶ τῶν τῆς συγγενείας βαθμῶν* (BH II no. 142; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 1005), was brought out simultaneously in 1564 by Giacomo Leoncini and by Andrea Spinelli, and both editions use a portrait of Skordylis. While the Spinelli edition used the same cut that appeared in the Saint Gregory Nazianzenus work, the Leoncini edition used a very close copy of it (fig. 90a). Yet another close copy, (fig. 90b) but definitely a different one from the Leoncini copy, was used in an undated edition of the Skordylis *Περὶ τῶν τῆς συγγενείας βαθμῶν*, c. 1581 (BH II no. 199).⁸⁰ The last woodcut portrait is that of Ioannes Nathanael, another cleric and a well-known scribe and editor. It can be found on folio α6^r of the *Θεία Λειτουργία*, 1574 (BH II no. 268) again published by Giacomo Leoncini (fig. 91). This work was edited, and translated into modern Greek by Nathanael himself, who also incurred the expenses of its publication.⁸¹

Thus far, we have seen that the illustration in Greek liturgical works contained a mixture of Eastern or post-byzantine and Western illustrative elements. However, for the most part, the Western influence was predominant. In the case of the non-liturgical publications to be dis-



fig. 80

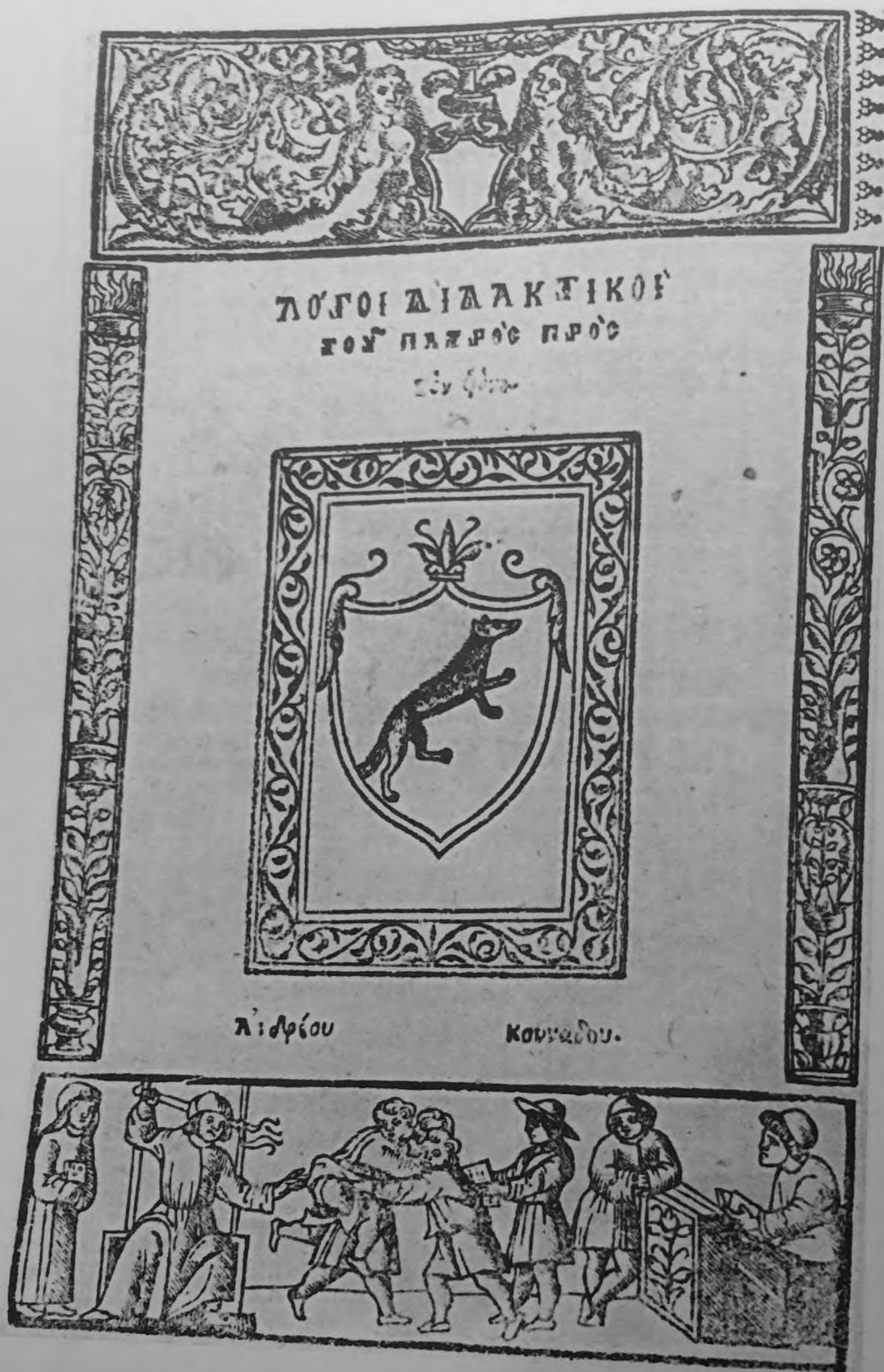


fig. 81

cussed below the woodcuts were purely Venetian in style and rarely was there an attempt to bring in any Byzantine elements into their illustration.

It is almost certain that the earliest modern Greek text to have an illustration was the 1524 edition of the *Πένθος θανάτου* by Giustos Glykys from Koroni (BH I no. 69).⁸² The 1524 edition is not extant today, and there is no information about its illustration from the citation we have of this edition. The second, 1528, edition of this work (LAYTON no. 12) seems to have been an exact reprint of the first. On folio α2^v there is a cut depicting Death: a skeleton holding a scythe in one



fig. 82

hand and a bow and arrows in the other, with a sword hanging from his hip. He is standing on an open coffin containing several skeletons. The coffin is surrounded on three sides by a group of people — mostly women — lamenting and looking at the skeletons. There are trees and a fortress on a hill in the distance (fig. 92a). The woodcut closely describes the poem's depiction of death in verses 617-632.⁸³ The same cut appeared also in the 1543 edition of the poem (BH I no. 102). In the 1564 edition (BH IV no. 623), it was replaced by a different illustration, probably because the original cut had either deteriorated, become lost, or been passed on to another printer. This time, Death — again a skeleton — is riding a horse-drawn chariot and holding a long scythe (fig. 92b). Although the cut of the 1528 and 1543 editions follows the description in the text and was obviously made expressly for this work, it is purely Western in style and execution. The fierceness of the expression in the portrayal of Death is reminiscent of German depictions of Death of the period.⁸⁴ The 1600 edition of *Πένθος θανάτου* (PAPADOPOULOS, II no. 1046) is illustrated with a different, smaller, and cruder woodcut, representing Death riding a horse, holding a scythe and attacking a crowd of people trying to escape him (fig. 92c). This cut is a copy of an illustration used in an undated edition of C. Castellani's *Meditatione della morte* (ESSLING no. 2339; SANDER no. 1776), printed by Giovanni Andrea and Florio Vavassore. Andrea Vavassore, or Valvassore, and his brother Florio were active working in Venice in the 1540s.⁸⁵

The most lavishly illustrated Greek vernacular text of the sixteenth century was the modern Greek translation of Homer's *Iliad* (BH I no. 75; SANDER no. 3428) made by Nikolaos Loukanis of Zakynthos. It was printed in 1526 by the brothers Nicolini da Sabbio for Damiano di Santa Maria. A manuscript notation in a copy now at the Biblioteca Nazionale in Rome states that the German scholar Christoph August Heumann wrote that the artist who executed the woodcuts was named Carnesecca and that he was a well-known painter of that period. The notation also furnishes the information that most of the copies of the *Iliad* were lost at sea when pirates attacked the ship that was carrying them to the Eastern Mediterranean.⁸⁶

There are 133 different woodcut illustrations and five repetitions in the modern Greek *Iliad*, bringing the total to 138. The style of the woodcuts is that found in many Venetian books of the period, especially in works of vernacular literature such as the romances of chivalry that were so popular throughout Western Europe during this time (fig. 93a-f). It appears that the expense of so lavishly illustrated a book was too much for its publisher, Damiano di Santa Maria, because all of his subsequent vernacular publications were either devoid of illustration or used the *Iliad* woodcuts to illustrate the different stories of the other chapbooks he published. Occasionally, one or two woodcuts were borrowed or copied from other Italian works to illustrate a text.⁸⁷ Konstantinos Sathas, who in 1870 wrote the introduction to the first modern edition of the Loukanis *Iliad* of 1526, was appalled by the style of the *Iliad* illustrations. He found them awkward, poorly executed and altogether ridiculous.⁸⁸

The illustrations of the modern Greek *Iliad* became so well identified with the vernacular Greek book of the sixteenth century that when a woodcut used to illustrate a particular scene was



Aug 11, 1526, 35



τοῦ οἰοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν ῥωμανοῦ τοῦ μελωδοῦ. Εἰς τὸ κέ ἐκίκραξα
ἰσχυρῶς. καὶ ψάλλομεν σιχηρά, τοῦ ἀποστόλου.
Ο' ἐξ ὑψίστου κληθεῖς.

Τὴν ἀκτῖνα τὴν θείαν διδουμένην. ὅτε
νόσφι κρείττονι πεπληρωμένος τοῖς πνεύματι
ζώφω κρατύνω, προσήλθε σαῦλος,
τὴν θείαν καθαρὴν ἐξαγούμεν. τότε
παμμακάριτος ὡς ἱεραρχὴς σοφὸς, ἰσχυρὸς.

Ζοῖν καὶ ἐν τῷ ὁμῶς. πᾶς πηγαζόμενος
ἐοῖε φωτοχυσίαις, ἐκ τοῦ αἰδύτου φέγγους
ἀπείσει. τὴν φαιδρὸν τὴν οὐρανὸν τελευτῶν
νῦν ἑορτὴν ἱκεσίας σου. Ζοφειὰν ἐκκαθαίρει
καὶ, αἰσινία ἐλδοθ' ἐρωστοί.
Εἴτε αἱ πνεύματα τοῦ οἰοῦ. ἡ χ...

fig. 83



fig. 84a

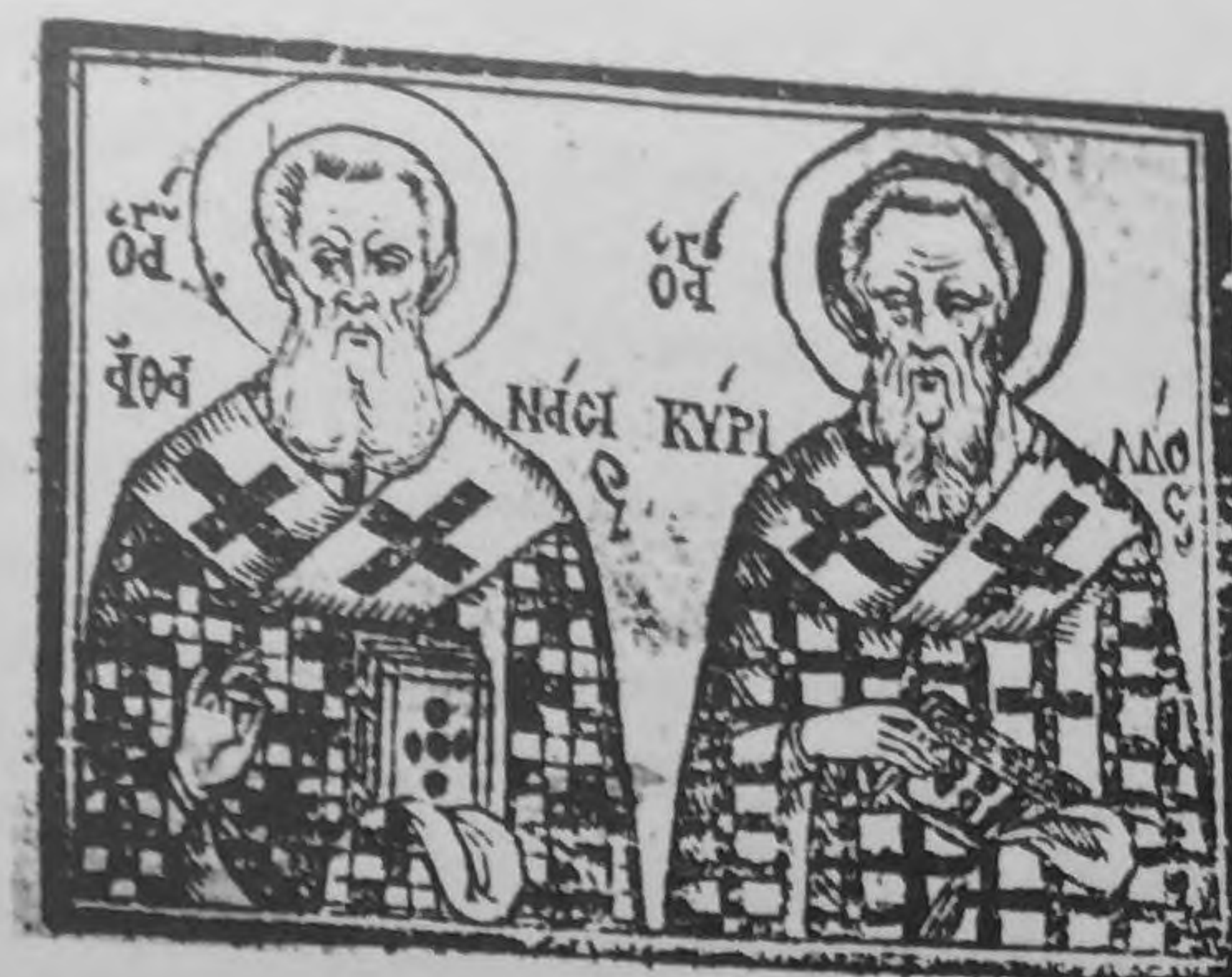


fig. 84b



fig. 84c



fig. 84d



10fig. 84e



fig. 84f

not available, the woodcut was replaced by a close copy. Two of the most popular blocks of the *Iliad* set were numbers 12 ($\gamma 1^v$) and 13 ($\gamma 3^r$). No. 12 was used in its original form for three editions of the Alexander the Great romance (BH I no. 83=ILIOU no. 3 (1529); BH I no. 129(1553); ILIOU no. 25(1600). The original cut of no. 12 also appeared on the title page of three editions (1534, 1543, 1553) of the *Apokopos* (BH I no. 90; BH I no. 104; BH IV no. 557; fig. 94a). The last appearance of the original cut was in the 1640 edition of the *Iliad* (BH XVIIIs. I no. 290). A copy of the block can be found in the 1603 edition of the *Iliad* (BH XVIIIs. V no. 11) and in the 1603 edition of the Alexander the Great romance (BH XVIIIs. I no. 16; fig. 94b). Finally, a very awkward copy of the copy of no. 12 can be seen in the 1654 edition of the Alexander the Great romance (PHOSKOLOS A no. 31).⁸⁹

Woodcut no. 13 (fig. 93c; SANDER pl. 350) was used in its original form in the 1548 and 1567 editions of the story of *Belisarios* (BH I no. 122; LAYTON no. 26).⁹⁰ It was also used in the 1543 edition of the *Imberios*⁹¹ and in the 1600 edition of the Alexander the Great romance (ILIOU no. 25). A copy of no. 13 (fig. 95) appeared in the 1553 edition of *Imberios* (BH IV no. 558), in the 1554, 1562 and 1577 editions of *Belisarios* (BH I no. 132; BH II no. 260; BH IV no. 721), and in the 1603 editions of the *Iliad* (BH XVIIIs. V no. 11) and the Alexander the Great romance (BH XVIIIs. I no. 16). One illustration, no. 60 ($\kappa 6^v$), was copied extensively (fig. 93d) and was used to illustrate Italian vernacular texts as well.⁹²

At times, as in the case of the 1553 edition of the *Imberios* (BH IV no. 558), only one of the woodcuts in the book — no. 6 — was from the original *Iliad* group. A second illustration was a copy of no. 13, and the remaining three were smaller cuts, inferior in quality and clearly borrowed from other sources (fig. 96a-c).⁹³ This is also true of the *Belisarios*, which throughout its various editions, has had two woodcut illustrations. One, no. 13, is either the original cut taken from the 1526 *Iliad*, or a copy of it, while the second woodcut is a new illustration not found



fig. 85

elsewhere that was possibly made to illustrate this particular story (fig. 97).⁹⁴ The last appearance of the *Iliad* woodcuts was in the third edition of the *Iliad*, which came out in 1640 (BH XVIIIs. I no. 290). By this time, some of the cuts had passed to other hands or had become lost. The 1640 edition had one hundred and one different woodcuts, twenty repeats, and one woodcut that did not belong to the *Iliad* group.⁹⁵

The modern Greek version of Boccaccio's *Teseida* (Θησέος καὶ γάμοι τῆς Ἑμήλιας), which came out in 1529 (BH I no. 84), was also illustrated with some of the woodcuts of the *Iliad* — ten — plus one new woodcut that made its appearance in modern Greek texts for the first time. The new woodcut, no. 11 (16^r), was either borrowed from elsewhere or was made for this particular edition (fig. 98a). Two of the *Iliad* woodcuts were modified to fit the Theseid story better. These were no. 5 (no. 65 of the *Iliad* set), occurring on folio β4^v and no. 6 (*Iliad* no. 127) on folio β6^r (fig. 98b).⁹⁶ Another work which used one of the *Iliad* cuts in at least three of its five sixteenth century editions was the modern Greek version of the *Fior di virtù* (Ἄνθος τῶν Χαρίτων). Unlike its delightfully illustrated Italian counterparts, the Greek editions of the *Anthos* have only one woodcut illustration, the one borrowed from the modern Greek *Iliad* set, no. 1 (fig. 93a).⁹⁷ The use of the *Iliad* woodcuts gives us a very clear picture of the standard practices of the sixteenth century printers and publishers: the use of the same cuts to illustrate different and unrelated scenes; modification of the original block to fit a different situation; liberal borrowing of cuts from other printers; and copying of cuts when the original was not readily available.

Besides the vernacular texts printed for Damiano di Santa Maria, only a handful of books produced by other printers had woodcut illustrations. One such book is the 1531 edition of Leonardos Phortios's *Ποίημα περὶ στρατιωτικῆς πραγματίας* (BH I no. 85). The Phortios book has a title-border with scenes of duelling, of war, and duelling armour. The cut is signed "Evstachius" in the lower right-hand side corner (fig. 99a). This is the signature of the artist Eustachio Celebrino from Udine, who was active in Venice from 1522.⁹⁸ This woodcut was originally made for the 1523 edition of Paris de Puteo's (del Pozzo) *Duello* (ESSLING no. 2096; SANDER no. 5415). The cut later passed into the hands of Melchiorre Sessa and his partner Pietro Ravani, who used it on the title page of their 1525 editions of Paris de Puteo's *Duello* (ESSLING no. 2097; SANDER no. 5416). It was later used by the heirs of Pietro Ravani in the Phortios book. The same title-border was also used by Comin da Trino di Monferrato to illustrate the title page of his edition of Flavius Vegetius's *Scriptores rei militaris*, 1540 (SANDER no. 7503). Besides the title-border illustration, the Phortios work has twenty-one woodcuts of war machines of various types, which have been influenced by the illustrations found in such works as Roberto Valturio's *De re militari*, Verona, 1472 (SANDER no. 7481) and of subsequent works of this nature (fig. 99b-c).

In 1536, Bartolomeo Zanetti printed the controversial compilation of Ioannikios Kartanos, *Tò παρὸν βιβλίον ἔναι ἡ Παλαιά τε καὶ Νέα Διαθήκη* (BH I no. 95). The Kartanos work was actually a translation into modern Greek of the type of vernacular compilations of the Bible stories known as *Fioretti della Bibbia* that were very popular in the West during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.⁹⁹ The Kartanos work, unlike its Italian counterparts, which were profusely illustrated, had only eight illustrations in all. These depict: Adam and Eve (α12^v); Noah's Ark (λ7^v); Abraham entertaining Angels (ο2^v); Moses receiving the Tablets of the Law (σ5^v); David wearing his crown and playing a *viola da braccio* (ψ7^r); the Nativity scene: visit of the Magi, with shepherd and flock at the foot (δδ3^v); the Crucifixion (κκ7^v) and the Resurrection (μμ6^r; figs. 100a-e, 241a-c).

Except for the woodcut of David, which is signed with the initials I.A. on the lower left-hand corner, the remainder of the cuts are not signed. More than one artist — at least three — signed



fig. 86a



fig. 86b



fig. 86c



fig. 86d



fig. 86e



fig. 86f

his work with the initials I.A. or Z.A. [Zoan Andrea], and scholars have not yet been able to identify them or completely distinguish between their individual work.¹⁰⁰ The David woodcut in the 1536 Kartanos is a close copy of a David cut found in the *Diurnale monasticum* (Venice, Lucantonio Giunta, 1515).¹⁰¹ Two of the other blocks, the Crucifixion and the Resurrection (fig. 241b-c), can also be traced to earlier sources. The blocks of the Crucifixion and the Resurrection can be traced to the 1523 *Oktoechos* (ESSLING no. 2217) discussed earlier (fig. 59b-c). The remainder of the cuts are in the late Italian Renaissance style and must have been borrowed from other Italian sources as yet unidentified.

The 1549 edition of the Kartanos¹⁰² has similar illustrations most of which are close copies of the 1536 edition.¹⁰³ However, the cut of David is completely different and smaller in size. The 1549 David is kneeling with his crown and harp on the floor beside him (fig. 101d). The block is a copy of the David found on the title page of the *Psalterion*, 1525 (BH I no. 73; ESSLING no. 177; SANDER no. 5945; fig. 60), which in turn is a copy of the David in the *Fioretto della Bibbia*



fig. 86g



fig. 87a



fig. 87b



fig. 88



fig. 89



fig. 90a



fig. 90b



fig. 91



fig. 92a



fig. 92b



fig. 92c



fig. 93a



fig. 93b



fig. 93c



fig. 93d

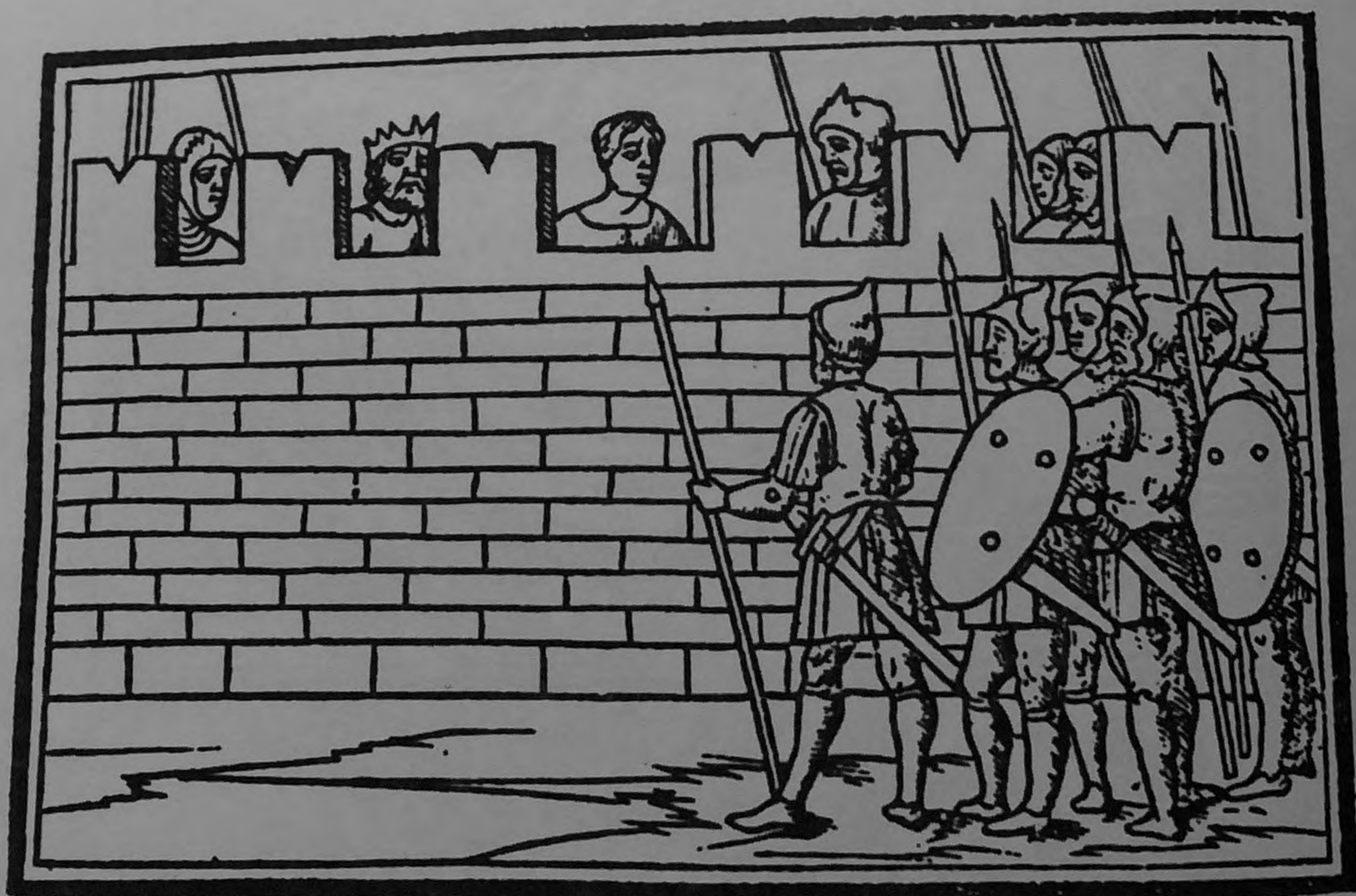


fig 93e

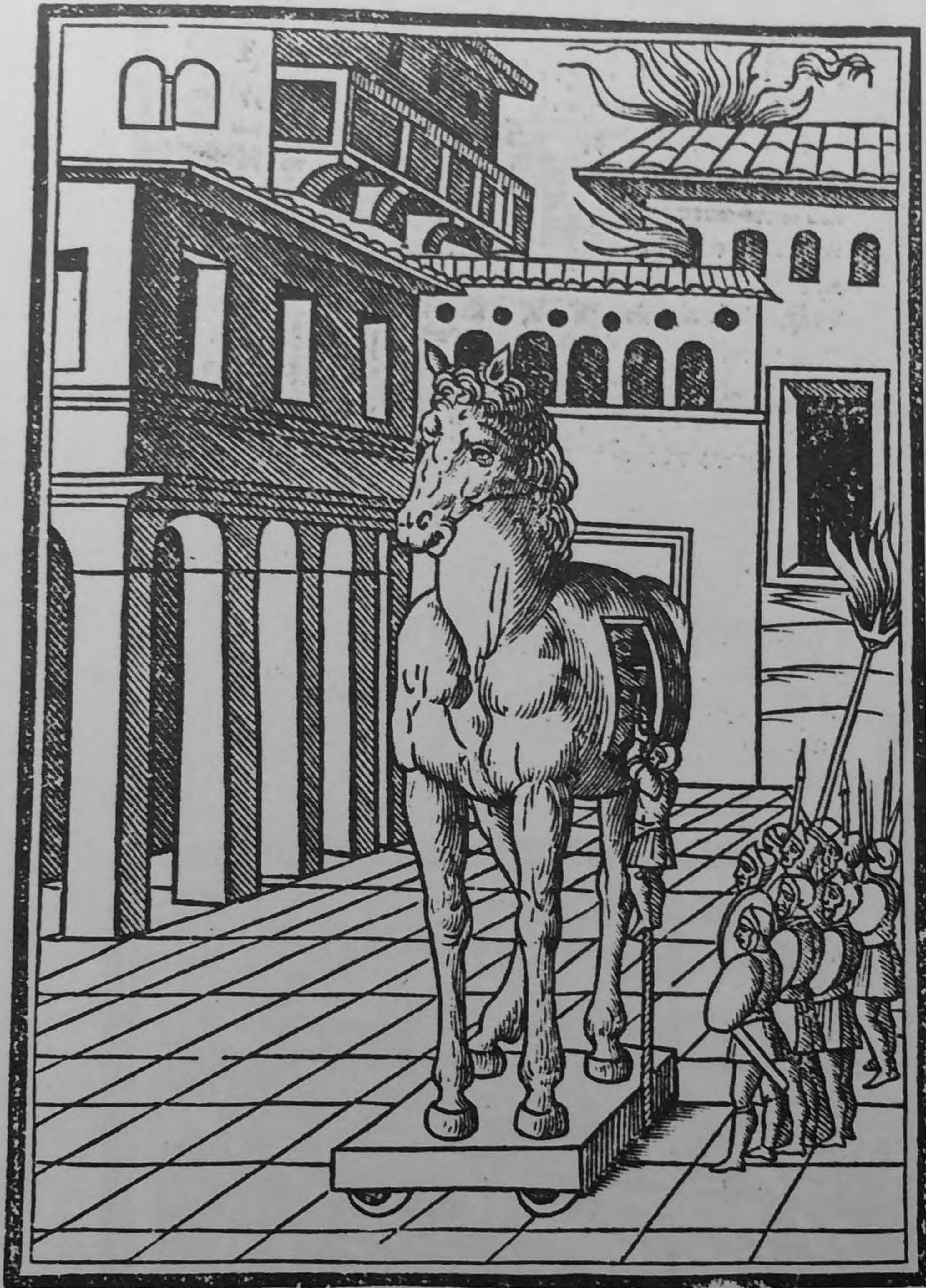


fig. 93f



fig. 94a



fig. 94b



fig. 95

hystoriato. Venice, J. Tacuino, 1515 (ESSLING no. 161; SANDER no. 2764). The cut of the Nativity is also different in the two editions. In the 1536 edition, the scene shows the visit of the Magi, with shepherd and flock in front and above them an angel holding the inscription "ΔΟΞΑ ΕΝ ΥΨΙΣΤΟΙΣ ΘΕΩ" (883^V). The Nativity of the 1549 edition has Joseph, Mary, and the shepherds kneeling over the infant Jesus, above them the inscription "NATIVITAS CRISTI" (fig. 101e). Only the cuts of the Crucifixion and the Resurrection are the same in both editions (fig. 241).

Another edition, printed by Cristoforo Zanetti in 1556, is illustrated with the same number of woodcuts as the earlier editions. The first four woodcuts, Adam and Eve, Noah's Ark, Abraham entertaining Angels and Moses receiving the Tablets of the Law are identical to those of the 1549 edition. The remaining four woodcuts are different. Woodcut no. 5 is the same as that used in the



fig. 96a



fig. 96b



fig. 96c



fig. 97



fig. 98a



fig. 98b

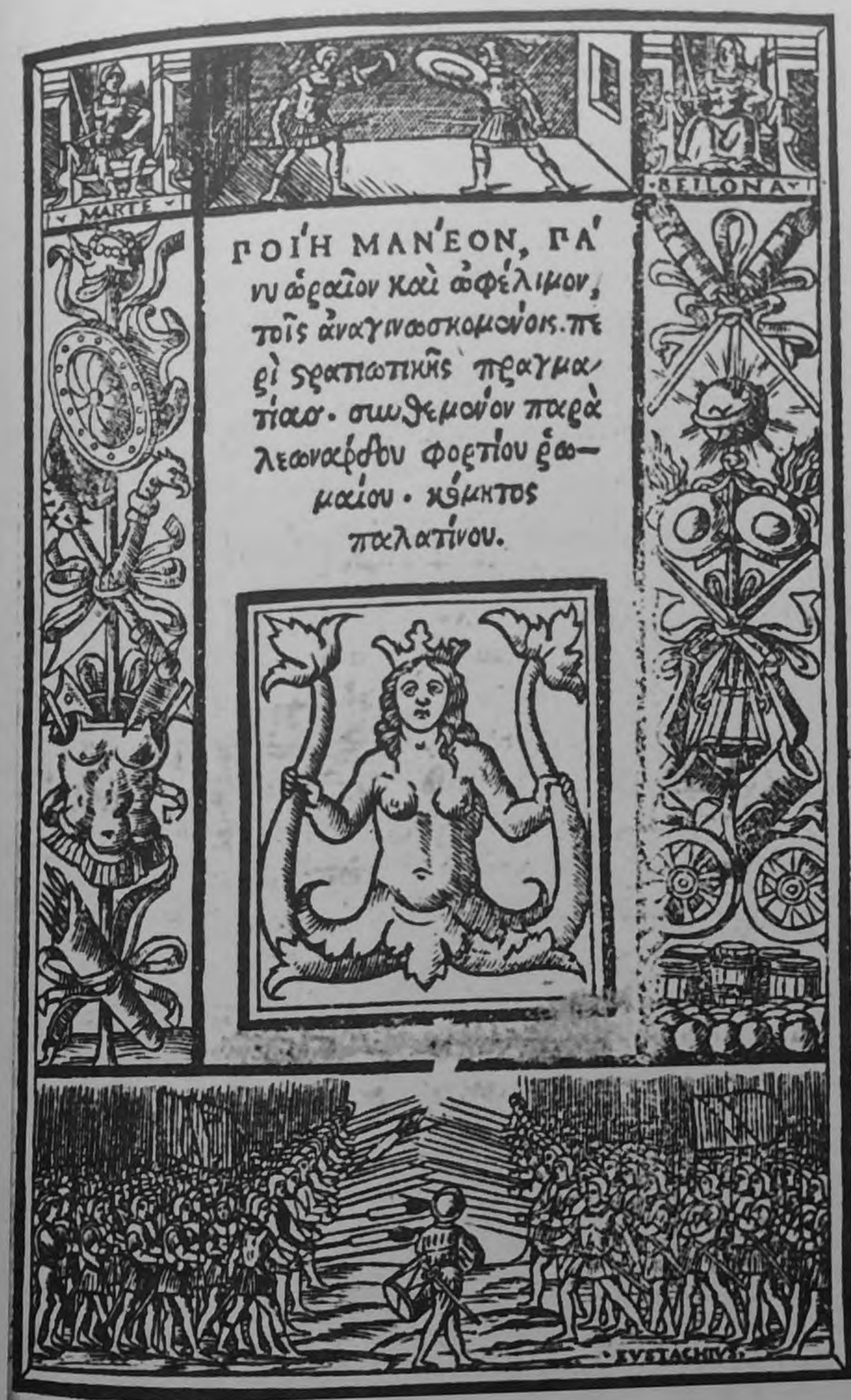


fig. 99a



fig. 99b

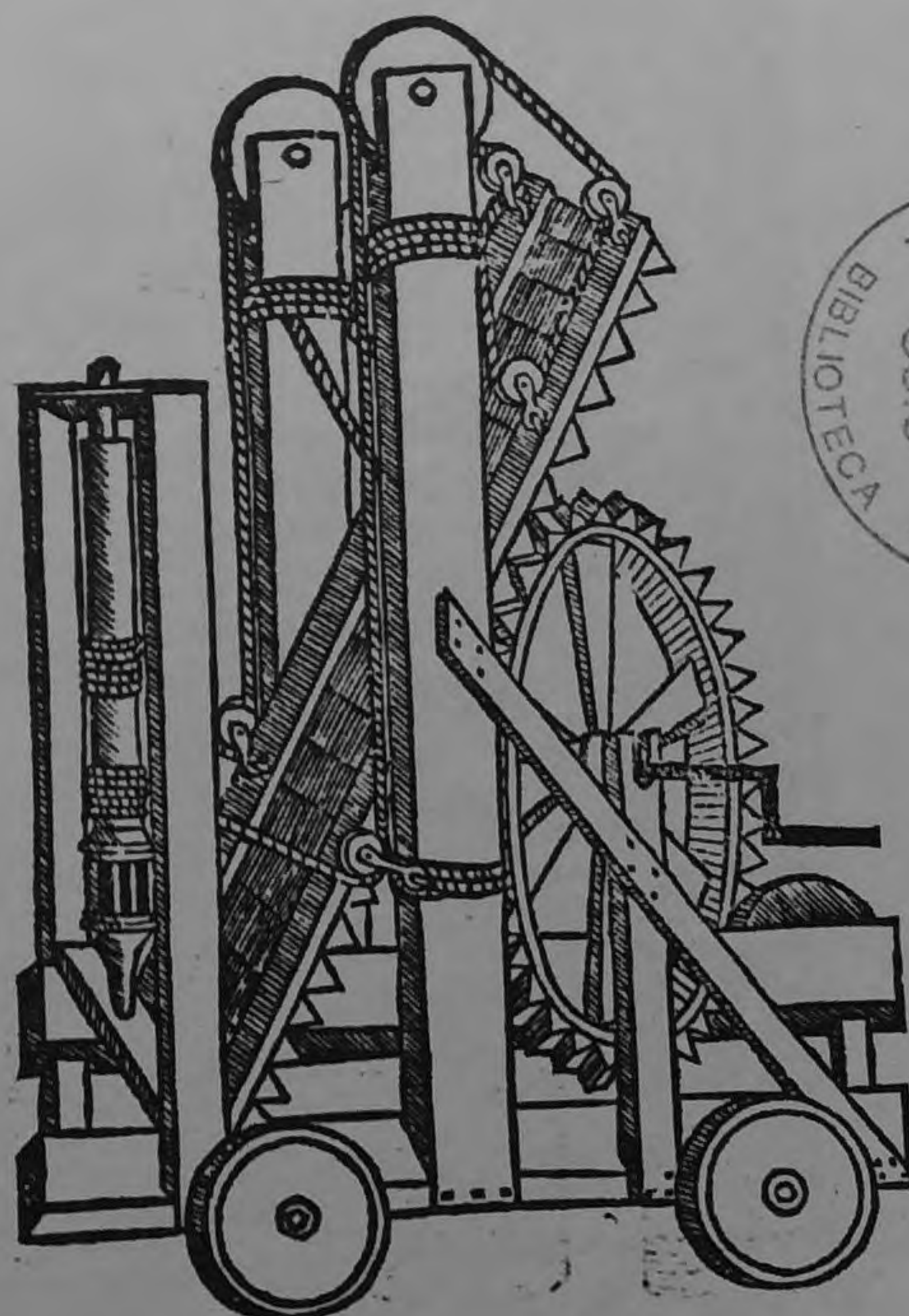


fig. 99c



edition of 1567 (fig. 102a). The Nativity woodcut is different and smaller while the woodcuts of the Crucifixion and the Resurrection are the same as those used in some of Cristoforo Zanetti's Greek liturgical editions (figs. 250, 251).

The Kartanos edition of 1567 (BH IV no. 641) has seven woodcuts in all. The first three (Adam and Eve, Noah's Ark, and Abraham with Angels) are the same as those used in the 1549 edition. Woodcut no. 4 ($\pi 2^v$) depicts the battle between David and Goliath (fig. 102a). In the background of the scene is a town with two armies, the Phillistines and the Hebrews, fighting outside of it. David is in the center, holding a sling in his left hand and a sword in his right hand. Goliath is lying wounded on the ground in front of him. The word "GOLIATH" is discernible on the fringe of his tunic. The cut, as in the case of all of the others, was obviously used to illustrate a different work, and was not made specifically for the 1556 and 1567 editions of Kartanos. The Nativity cut ($T4^r$) is much smaller than in previous editions (fig. 102b) and is a close copy of one found in an undated work by Joanne Fiorentino, *Historia dei doi invidiosi e falsi accusatori* (ESSLING no. 2450).¹⁰⁴ The cut of the Crucifixion is yet another copy of the 1523 *Oktoechos* (ESSLING no. 2217; fig. 102c). The Resurrection is the only woodcut that was used in three of the editions, 1536, 1549, 1567.



fig. 100a



fig. 100b



fig. 100c



fig. 100d



fig. 100e



fig. 101a



fig. 101b



fig. 101c



fig. 101d



fig. 101e



fig. 102a



fig. 102b



fig. 102c



fig. 103



fig. 104



fig. 105

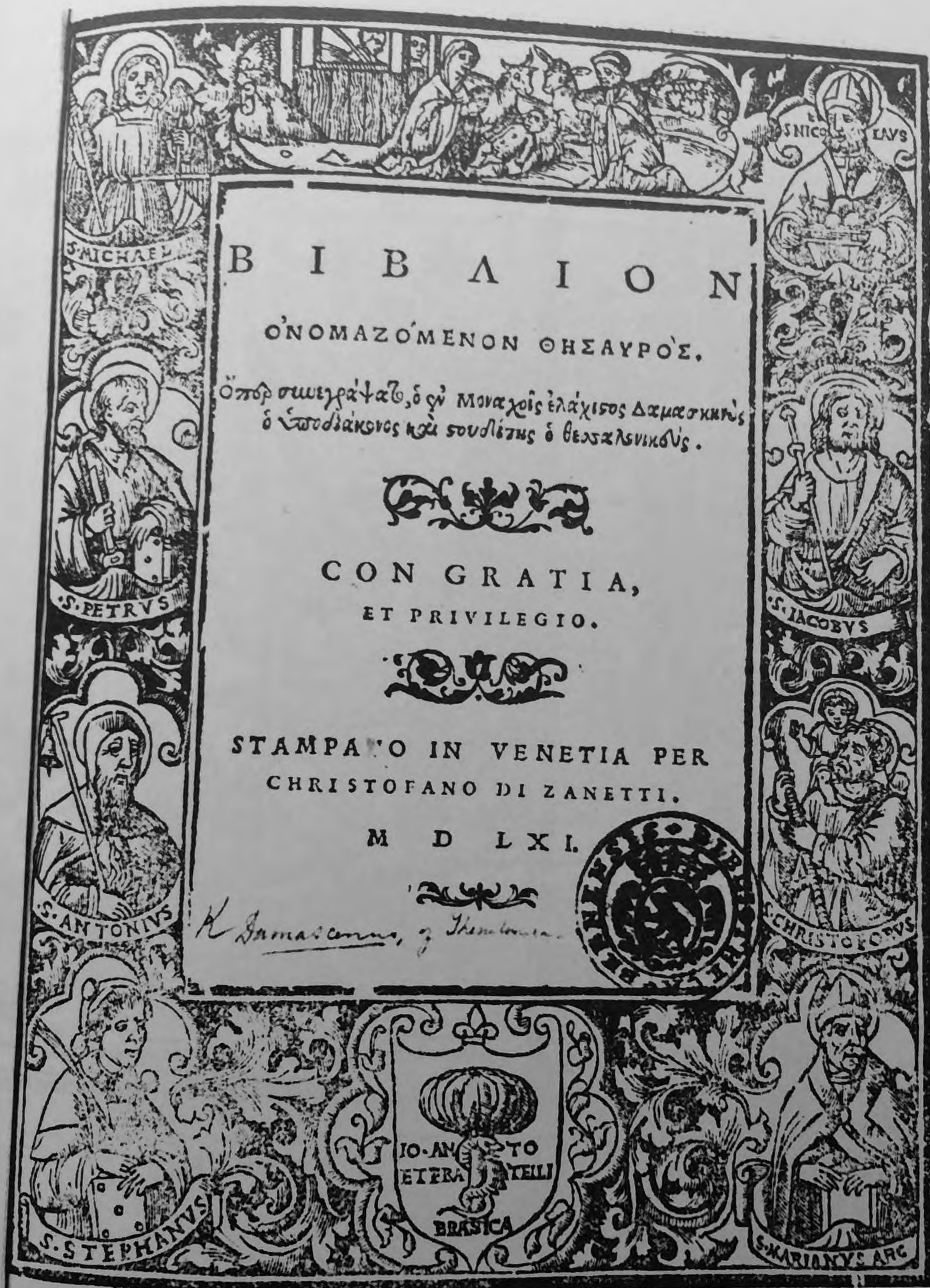


fig. 106



fig. 107

יֵזָאֵל.



fig.108b



fig. 108a



fig. 109



fig. 110



fig. 111a

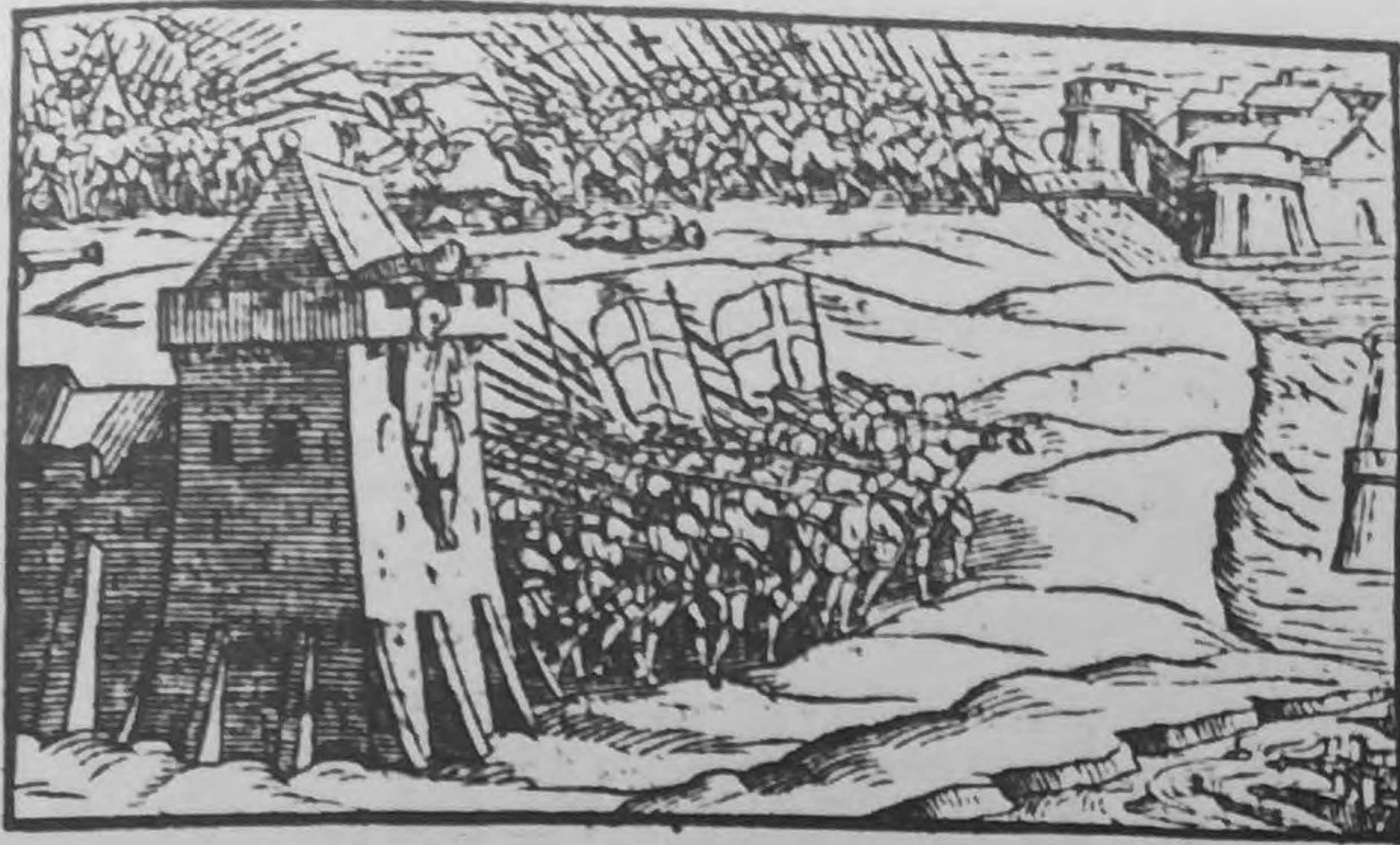


fig. 111b

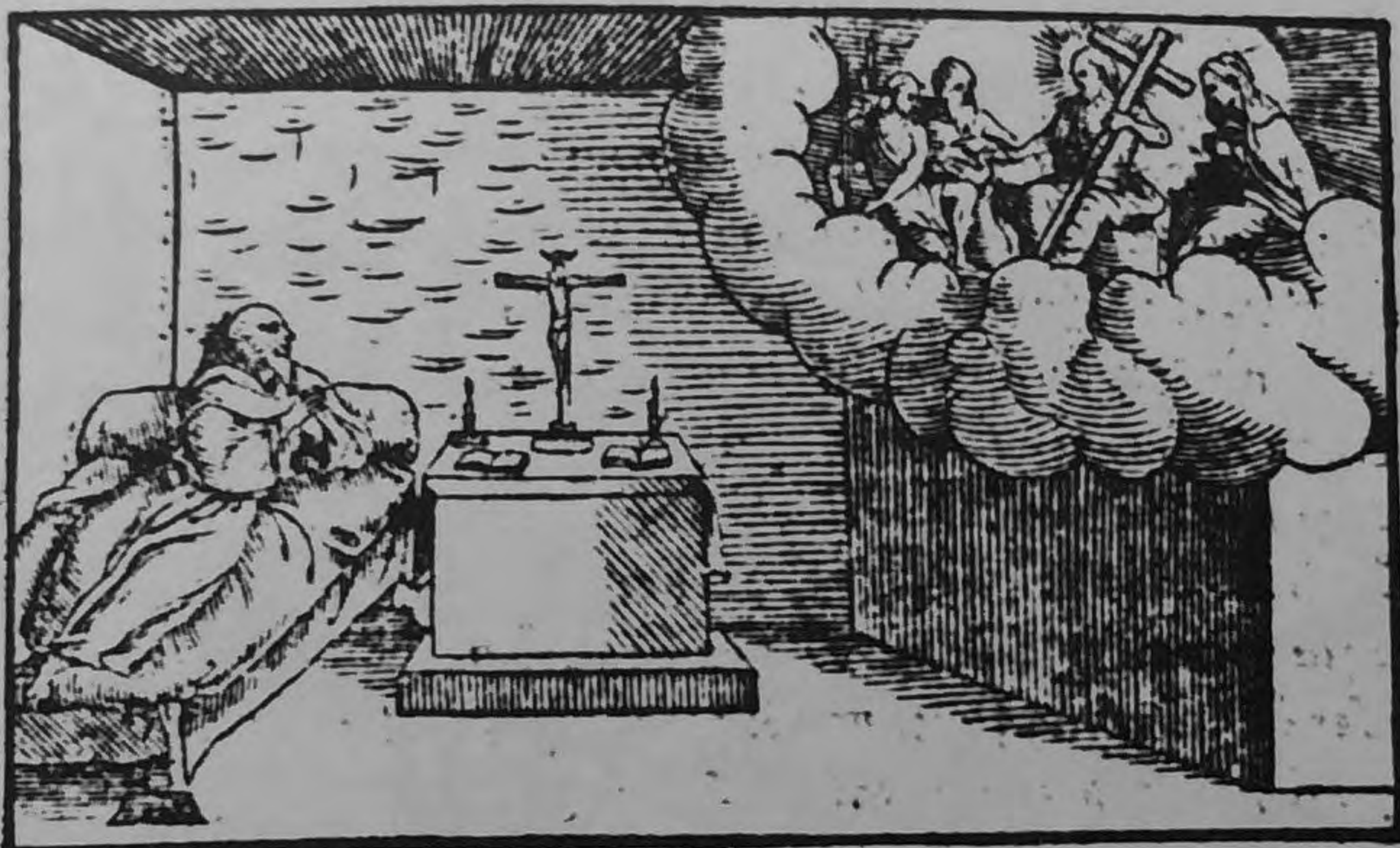


fig. 111c

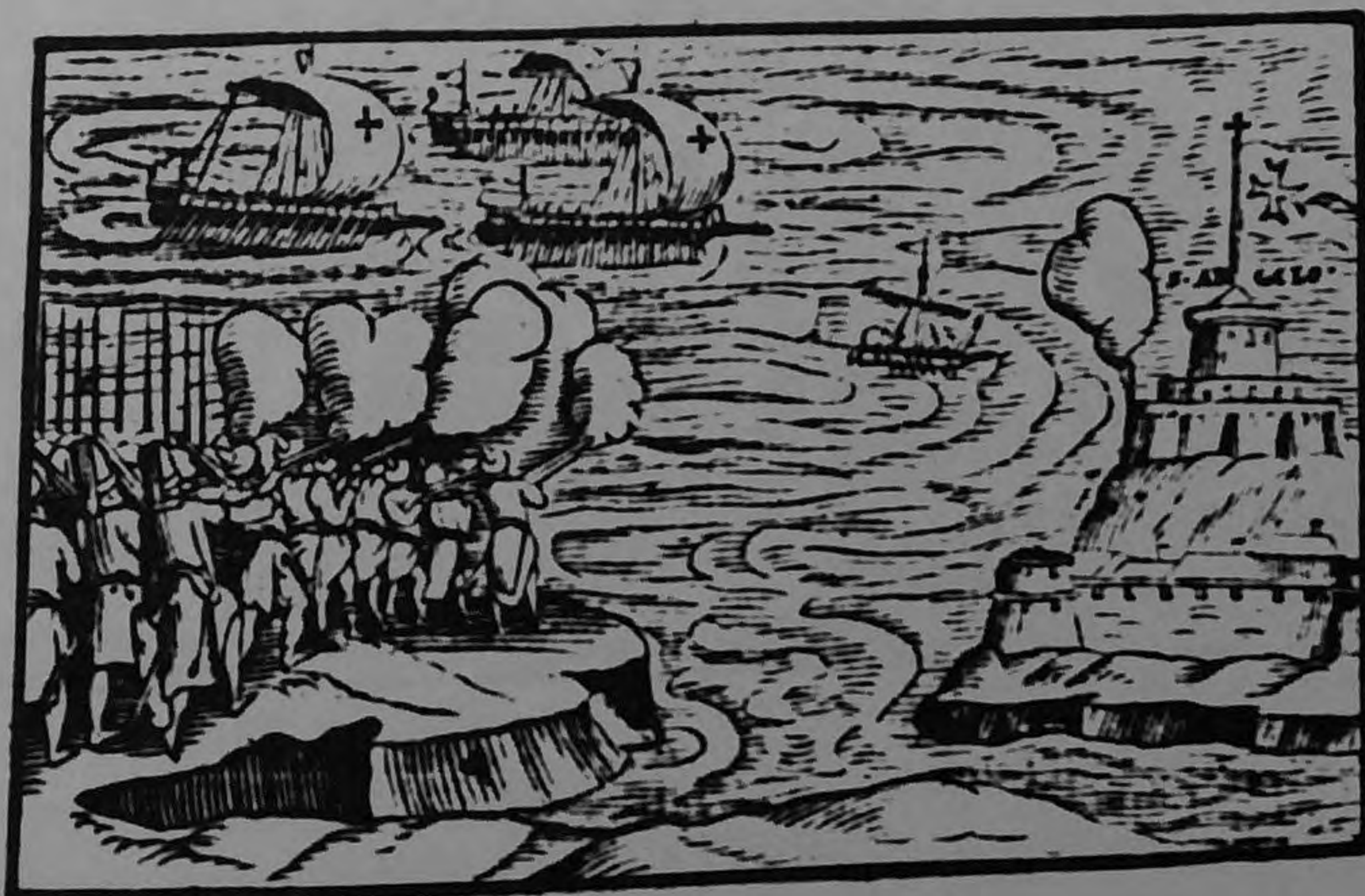


fig. 111d

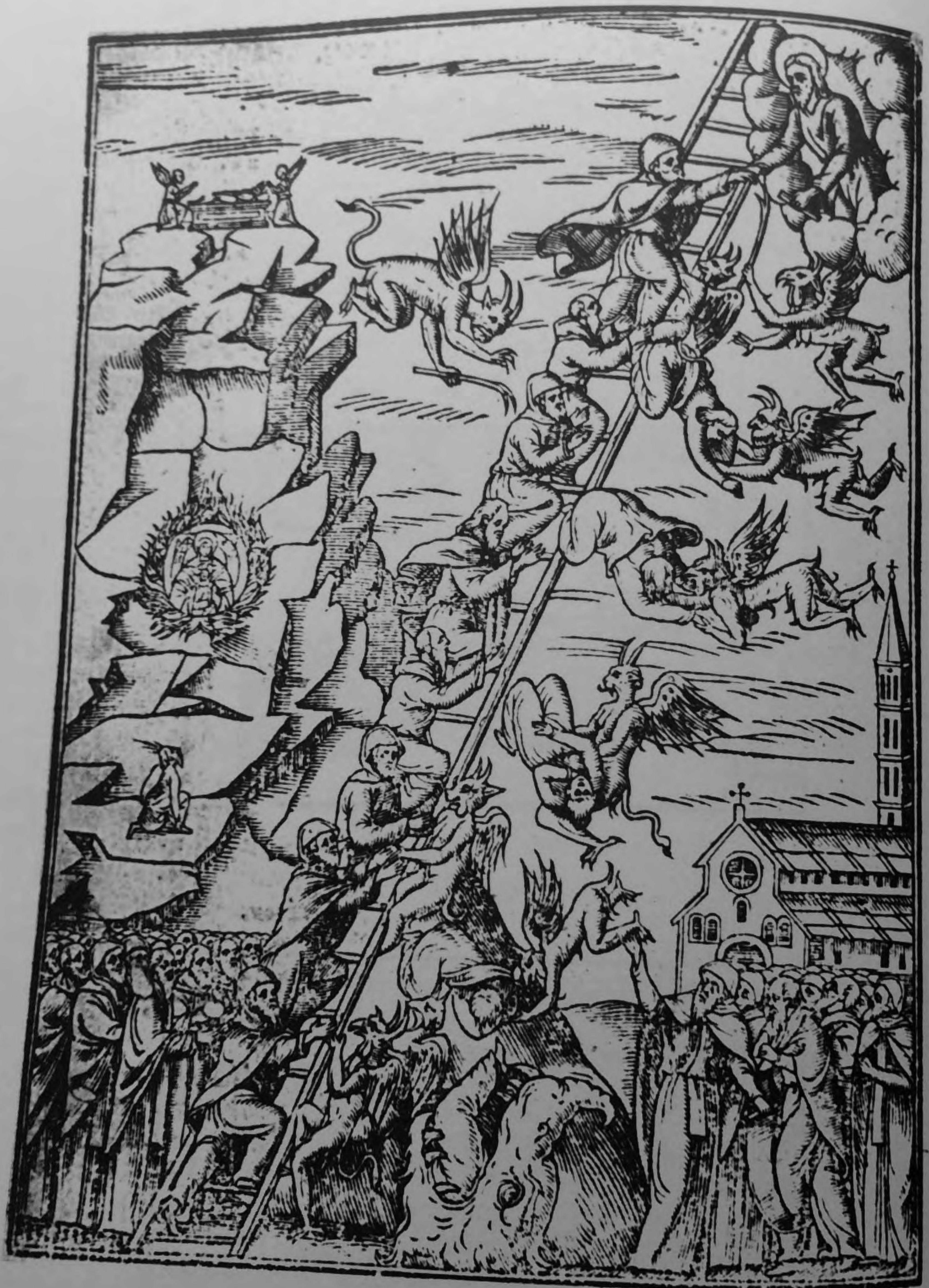


fig. 112

Around 1553, a curious work entitled *Spanos* (BH III no. 105) was published. "Spanos" means a beardless, smooth-faced man. The work is a parody of an Orthodox liturgy and was very controversial when it came out.¹⁰⁵ Because of its controversial nature, the work was printed without indication of place, printer or date of publication. However, Legrand correctly assigns it to the press of Cristoforo Zanetti c. 1553. On the verso of the title page, there is a full-page woodcut of a man with very little hair conversing with a goat (fig. 103). This cut was obviously made specifically for this work or perhaps for its missing first edition, which came out around 1542.¹⁰⁶ The 1562 and 1579 editions (BH IV no. 613; BH IV no. 735), also printed by Cristoforo Zanetti, have a similar cut, a very close copy of the one that appeared in the 1553 edition (fig. 104). Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and even as late as 1832, perhaps even later, editions of the *Spanos* were always accompanied by similar cuts which were copies or copies of copies of the early *Spanos* woodcut (fig. 105).¹⁰⁷

It is not known when the first edition of the *Thesaurus* (*Βιβλίον ὀνομαζόμενον Θησαυρός*) of Damaskenos Stoudites was published. The earliest edition known today was printed by Cristoforo Zanetti in 1557-58 and has been first described by I. Trifonov.¹⁰⁸ Two other editions by Cristoforo Zanetti have survived, one printed in 1561 (PAPADOPOULOS II no. 209), and the other in 1562 (LADAS no. 54). The 1557-58, 1561, and 1562 editions are almost identical in appearance. All have the same elaborate title-border, which came from the stock of the Nicolini da Sabbio.¹⁰⁹ In the middle of the lower part of the border there is the mark of the Nicolini da Sabbio, a cabbage plant with a serpent entwined around its stem with the name "Io. Anto. et fratelli" (fig. 106). Under the name, there is the word *Brasica* (cabbage). On the verso of the title page of all editions, there is a Crucifixion that is a copy of the Crucifixion from the *Oktoechos* of 1523 (ESSLING no. 2217). This cut appears in many of the Zanetti Greek imprints. Only the headpiece decorations and the type are different in the three editions.¹¹⁰

In the mid-1560s and the 1570s, Giacomo Leoncini also brought out a series of editions of the work. The Leoncini editions are much more elaborately illustrated. They have a different copy of the *Oktoechos* Crucifixion on the verso of the title page. In addition, at the beginning of the chapter headings there are small cuts illustrating each sermon (fig. 107). These illustrations are, for the most part, of Western origin and were most likely borrowed from illustrations in Catholic service books.¹¹¹ Most of the small cuts used by Leoncini were later used to illustrate the 1594 edition of the *Thesaurus*, printed by Francesco Giuliani (PAPADOPOULOS II no. 302).

In 1568, Emmanouel Glyzounis brought out his first publication, an arithmetic, called *Βιβλίον πρόχειρον τοῖς πᾶσι περιέχον τὴν τετρακτικὴν ἀριθμητικὴν ἢ μᾶλλον εἰπεῖν τὴν λογαριαστικὴν* (PAPADOPOULOS II no. 235). It was printed by Cristoforo Zanetti. On the verso of the title page there is a full-page woodcut of a turbaned man measuring the stars with a sextant. On a rock nearby is a globe. A second edition was printed by Francesco Rampazetto in 1569 (BH IV no. 673). On the verso of the title page of this edition there is a full-page cut of an astronomer measuring the stars with a sextant. On the ground nearby are a book, a compass, and a tablet of geometric forms (fig. 108a). This woodcut is similar to many cuts of this nature found in Italian books of this period. Two later editions of the Glyzounis arithmetic book were both printed in 1596. The 1596 edition printed for Glyzounis by Francesco Giuliani (PAPADOPOULOS II no. 305^a), again has on the verso of the title page a cut of a man pointing at the stars and the moon with his right hand, and holding a compass with his left. On the ground beside him, there is an oblong tablet with geometric forms (fig. 109). The other 1596 edition, printed by Pietro Zanetti (BH II no. 219), has an illustration on the verso of the title page that is quite different. It represents a

crowned, bearded old man seated on a bench with his legs crossed, holding a compass in his right hand and a sphere in his left. The sky shows the sun, moon, and several stars as well as two unattached hands pointing to the moon (fig. 110). All surviving editions also contain a small cut of the Resurrection, which is placed at the head of the section explaining how to calculate Easter entitled: "Περὶ τοῦ πῶς νὰ εὕρῃσκει τὸ ἅγιον Πάσχα ὁ καθεὶς καὶ ἕκαστος Χριστιανὸς ἀεὶ καὶ πάντοτε" (fig. 108b). The small cuts of the Resurrection are borrowed from Catholic works and are far removed from the Orthodox representations of the Resurrection, "εἰς Ἀδου κάθοδον," as shown in fig. 59c.¹¹²

In 1571, Cristoforo Zanetti printed the only edition of Antonios Achelis's long poem on the 1565 Siege of Malta, *Βιβλίον...μάλτας πολιορκίαν* (BH IV no. 683; figs. 45, 111a-d, 162-164).¹¹³ The Achelis book is one of the best-illustrated Greek books of the sixteenth century. It has an elaborate architectural title-border decorated with figures of cherubs and grotesques. In the middle of the lower part, there is a woman representing Virtus (fig. 246). The title page is obviously borrowed from an Italian work. The book is decorated with twenty fine small woodcuts that appear at the head of each section describing the events of the siege. Because some of the illustrations have descriptive legends in Italian E. Legrand¹¹⁴ and subsequent scholars assumed that these woodcuts had been borrowed from one of the many Italian editions by Marino Fracasso or Gentile di Vendôme that were printed in Italy during this period. However, an intensive search in several libraries and an exhaustive examination of most of the publications on the Siege of Malta failed to yield any results.¹¹⁵ It could very well be that the cuts of the Achelis work were designed specifically for this edition by an Italian artist who did not know Greek (figs. 111, 162-64).¹¹⁶

In 1590, Francesco Giuliani printed the first modern Greek translation of Saint Joannes Climacus's *Heavenly Ladder*, *Κλίμαξ τοῦ Παραδείσου* (BH II no. 185=IV no. 824). The work was printed at the expense of its translator, Maximos Margounios, Bishop of Kythera, and of the publisher Emmanouel Glyzounis. On folio α10^v there is a full-page woodcut of the heavenly ladder extending diagonally across, with Christ beckoning at the head of the ladder. On each step there are monks climbing towards heaven. At the foot of the ladder, and to the left there are more monks waiting for their turn to climb the ladder. The climbing figures are pursued by demons who are trying to topple them. At the base, in the foreground near the foot of the ladder, there is a dragon representing Hell with his mouth open ready to swallow the monks falling from the ladder. On the right side of the cut, there is a rectangular church that represents the monastery of Saint Catharine on Mount Sinai, where Saint Joannes Climacus was the abbot. In front of the church there is another cluster of monks. To the left of the church there is a monk, representing Saint Joannes Climacus, kneeling on a rock and looking heavenward. Halfway up the rock, on the left side of the picture, there is a small medallion showing the Holy Bush surrounded by flames. At the top of the rocky mountain, there are two kneeling angels praying on each side of an open coffin containing the relic of Saint Catharine (fig. 112).

It is obvious that the artist who executed the original design for this block was very familiar with the Byzantine iconography of Saint Joannes Climacus.¹¹⁷ The ladder, monks climbing, Christ beckoning, demons and dragons, and the Church of Saint Catharine are all elements found in Greek manuscript illuminations of the work. The artist who designed this woodcut was either familiar with the manuscript tradition or had perhaps seen paintings or murals depicting this scene.

As we have seen, the illustration style of the Greek liturgical and vernacular book was, for the most part, Italian Renaissance in origin. Although there were attempts to bring Byzantine and

post-byzantine elements into this style of illustration, these elements were, with very few exceptions, used side-by-side with the style that was prevalent in the Italian book production of the period. Zacharias Kallierges was the first printer to introduce Byzantine features carried over from the Greek manuscript tradition, mostly decorative motifs. These were imitated by a few printers and publishers of the early 1520s and 1530s. The Byzantine influence in the Greek printed book became gradually less apparent in subsequent years. However, towards the end of the century, some Orthodox iconographical influences again appeared probably because from the mid-sixteenth century on, there was an increase in the number of members of the Greek community in Venice who took an active part in the production of Greek books as publishers, editors, translators, correctors, illustrators, and financial backers.

NOTES

¹ *Le vite*. Ediz. critica con introduzione e commenti di Aulo Greco. Firenze, 1970, I, 398.

² C. F. BÜHLER, *The Fifteenth Century Book*. Philadelphia, 1960, 62-63 where some of the collector humanist scholars of Italy are discussed.

³ SANDER IV, xix. For the types of illumination allowed in Renaissance manuscripts see O. PÄCHT, Notes and Observations on the Origin of Humanistic Book-Decoration, *Fritz Saxl 1890-1948. A Volume of Memorial Essays from his Friends in England*. D. J. Gordon, ed. London, 1957, 184-94.

⁴ N. LEVARIE, *The Art & History of Books*. New York, 1968, 116. See also E. P. GOLDSCHMIDT, *The Printed Book of the Renaissance*. Cambridge, 1950, 48. For the Italian illustrated editions of Aesop see SANDER nos. 49-120.

⁵ E. P. GOLDSCHMIDT, *The Printed Book of the Renaissance*, 48. R. WEISBERG, Humanist Attitudes Toward the Illustration of Books, *Coranto*, 7, no. 2(1971)3-17.

⁶ See reproductions in F. BARBERI, *Il frontespizio nel libro italiano del quattrocento e del cinquecento*, I, 32. See folio a2^r where there is a woodcut initial Γ and the initial L.

⁷ ESSLING no. 169, SANDER no. 5944, pl. no. 259.

⁸ ESSLING no. 463. This same cut was also used for Aldus's *Breuiissima introductio ad litteras graecas*, c. 1497 (LAYTON no. 3; SANDER no. 3521, pl. no. 219). See also C. F. BÜHLER, Notes on Two Incunabula Printed by Aldus Manutius, *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 36(1942)18-26.

⁹ Reproduction on p. 407.

¹⁰ A. M. HIND, *An Introduction to a History of Woodcut*. London, 1935, II, 500, fig. 261.

¹¹ A. M. HIND, *An Introduction*, II, 416. See also V. M. ESSLING, *Les missels imprimés à Venise de 1481 à 1600*. Paris, 1894, ii. SANDER, IV, xxi-xxii.

¹² A. W. POLLARD, The Transference of Woodcuts in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries, *Bibliographica*, 2(1896)343-68.

¹³ MORTIMER no. 523. See also D. BLAND, *A History of Book Illustration*. 2nd rev. ed. Berkeley, 1969, 143 and fig. 107.

¹⁴ Some of the Verdizotti blocks are supposed to derive from Titian's designs. See H. TIETZE and E. TIETZE-CONRAT, Titian's Woodcuts, *The Print Collector's Quarterly*, 25(1938)347, 469.

¹⁵ MORTIMER no. 522 where the title page of the 1538 edition is reproduced. See also LADAS XVIII, I no. 153, p. 158 from the 1779 edition.

¹⁶ ESSLING no. 1296, p. 24; SANDER no. 4912, pl. no. 256. Not all scholars agree on the date of publication of this work. It ranges from c. 1494 to c. 1497. Most catalogues of incunabula now list it as c. 1497. See R. PROCTOR, *The Printing of Greek*, 94-97. G. MARDERSTEIG, Aldo Manuzio e i caratteri di Francesco Griffio da Bologna, III, 123, places the printing of the Mousaios to the end of 1497. See also N. BARKER, *Aldus Manutius*, 52 and note 19.

¹⁷ But see M. SICHERL, Die Musaios-Ausgabe des Aldus Manutius und ihre lateinische Übersetzung, *Italia medioevale e umanistica*, 19(1976)257-76, who attributes the Latin translation to Aldus Manutius. For a

discussion of the variant issues of the Mousaios see C. F. BÜHLER, Aldus Manutius and his first edition of the Greek Musaeus, *La bibliofilia*, 52(1950)123-127=*Early Books and Manuscripts*. New York, 1973, 162-69=*Scritti sopra Aldo Manuzio*. Firenze, 1955, 3-7. See also C. F. BÜHLER, Additional note to Aldus Manutius and his First Edition of the Greek Musaeus, *Scritti sopra Aldo Manuzio*, 106-07.

18 E. P. GOLDSCHMIDT, *The Printed Book*, 70 claims that the woodcuts in the Mousaios were copied from a Byzantine miniature. However, he does not furnish us with the source or sources this was taken from. The Byzantine influence, if indeed there is one, fails to manifest itself in these poorly executed woodcuts.

19 ESSLING no. 1296 note 1.

20 Copies of the two woodcuts can be found in the Aldine 1517 edition of the Mousaios (a8^v and b1^r) ESSLING no. 1297, repr. p. 25, SANDER no. 4913. See also the Giunti 1519 edition of the Mousaios, where the woodcuts are copies of the 1517 Aldine edition (a8^v and b1^r) SANDER no. 4914. Copies of the woodcuts can also be found in the Mousaios editions printed in Paris by Christian Wechel, 1528 and 1538. See also C. E. LUTZ, *Manuscripts Copied from Printed Books, Essays on Manuscripts and Rare Books*. Hamden, Ct., 1975, 129-38.

21 A. W. POLLARD, *Italian Book Illustration*. London, 1894, 8 and R. WEISBERG, *Humanist Attitudes*, 16.

22 V. CARTER, L. HELLINGA & T. PARKER, *Printing with Gold in the Fifteenth Century, The British Library Journal*, 9(1983)1-13; C. W. GERHARDT, *Wie haben Ratdolt und Callierges Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts in Venedig ihre Drucke mit Blattgold hergestellt?*, *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* 1984, 145-50; V. SCHOLDERER, *Red Printing in Early Books, Gutenberg Jahrbuch* 1958, 105-07 and his *A Further Note on Red Printing in Early Books, Gutenberg Jahrbuch* 1959, 59-60.

23 ESSLING no. 1184, SANDER no. 7110, pl. no. 257. For the Galen see ESSLING no. 1235 and SANDER no. 3010.

24 V. SCHOLDERER, *Greek Printing Types*. London, 1927, figs. 22 and 23.

25 See Hesychios, 1520 (RENOUARD, xlv, no. 34; ANNALI I no. 139); Sophocles, 1522 (RENOUARD, xlvii, no. 65; ANNALI I no. 173); Gaza, Theodorus, 1526 (RENOUARD, xlix, no. 81; ANNALI I no. 188); Aristotle, 1547 (RENOUARD, lv, no. 140; ANNALI I no. 252); Porphyrios, 1548 (MORTIMER no. 396, RENOUARD, lvi, no. 143, ANNALI I no. 262); Aristotle, 1552 (ANNALI I no. 283). See also fig. 174.

26 See the headpieces of the *Triodion*, 1522 and 1538 (BH III no. 242; BH I no. 96); *Parakletike*, 1522, 1538 (BH I no. 65=LADAS no. 10; BH I no. 97); *Menaia* of September, 1526 (BH III no. 279=LADAS no. 16); November, 1527 (BH III no. 286); February, 1536 (BH III no. 351); *Evangelion*, 1539 (BH I no. 99).

27 BH II, 155. A similar page border is found in the first edition of the *Parakletike*, 1522 (BH I no. 65=LADAS no. 10) and in the *Oktoechos*, 1523 (ESSLING no. 2217; SANDER no. 5025; PHOSKOLOS B no. 1). The Nicolini da Sabbio page border is also used in their editions of H. Herp, *Speculum perfectionis*, 1524 (ESSLING no. 2146; SANDER no. 3378) and Manuel Philes, *Στίχοι ἱαμβικοί*, 1533 (BH I no. 89). It is also used in the *Psalterion*, 1525 (BH I no. 73; ESSLING no. 177, p. 174; SANDER no. 5945) printed for Melchiorre Sessa and Pietro Ravani. It is also found in the title page of a work printed by F. Bindoni and M. Pasini in 1534 see F. Barberi, *Il frontespizio*, II no. lxxv.

28 MORTIMER no. 253.

29 NORTON, 30, 34.

30 The same cut is also used on the title page of the *Psalterion*, 1524 (BH I no. 70).

31 ASCARELLI no. 105. It appeared on the title page of the 1522 edition of the *Martyrologium secundum morem Romane curie*. Venetijs per Io. Antonium & fratres de Sabio, 1522 (ESSLING no. 1175, p. 450, SANDER no. 4416).

32 This is the first book which bears the name of Damiano di Santa Maria as publisher and Demetrios Zenos as editor. The three cuts are reproduced in ESSLING no. 2217, p. 474-75.

33 SANDER no. 5025.

34 PHOSKOLOS B no. 1, 30-31 where the whole preface is reproduced.

35 Virtually all other sixteenth century printers of Greek books had copies of these cuts. See I. Kartanos, *Τὸ παρὸν βιβλίον... Παλαιά τε καὶ Νέα Διαθήκη*. B. Zanetti, 1536 (BH I no. 95); *Oktoechos*, A. Spinelli, 1549 (BH I no. 124); *Parakletike*, A. Spinelli, 1559-1560 (BH I no. 137); *Apostolos*, C. Zanetti, 1550 (BH I no. 126); *Horologion*, C. Zanetti, 1559 (ILIOU no. 8). The Spinelli set was later used by A. Verghis in the *Oktoechos*, 1578 (BH II no. 158); it can also be found in the *Oktoechos*, Z. B. Tauroceni, 1584 (BH II no. 170) and the *Evangelion*, G. Aliprandi, 1586 (ILIOU no. 21). Copies can also be found in the *Pentekostarion*, A. Pinelli, 1600 (BH II no. 232); *Oktoechos*, A. Giuliani, 1659 (PHOSKOLOS A no. 34); *Oktoechos*, N. Glykys, 1701 (BH XVIII. I no. 7).

36 On Luc' Antonio degli Uberti see ESSLING, pt. III, 98-107. P. KRISTELLER, *Early Florentine Woodcuts*. London, 1897, xl-xlv. C. E. RAVA, *Arte dell'illustrazione nel libro italiano del rinascimento*. Milano, 1945, 31-34. S. SAMEK LUDOVICI, *Arte del libro*. Milano, 1974, 158-59. M. PITTALUGA, *L'incisione italiana nel*

- Cinquecento*. Milano, 1928, 84, 126 note 26. J. D. PASSAVANT, *Le peintre-graveur*. Leipzig, 1864, V, 62-66 confuses Luc' Antonio degli Uberti with the publisher Lucantonio Giunta.
- 37 Reproduction of the Crucifixion ESSLING no. 1770, p. 252, SANDER no. 5118.
- 38 ESSLING, pt. III, 239-252. See also his survey of the Venetian book illustration in pt. III, 9-126. SANDER, IV, ix-lxxxvii. C. E. RAVA, *Arte dell' illustrazione*, 8-53.
- 39 ESSLING no. 177, p. 173; SANDER no. 5945.
- 40 ESSLING no. 161, reproduction of the Tacuino cut on p. 164.
- 41 *Triodion*, 1522 (BH III no. 242); *Parakletike*, 1522 (BH I no. 65).
- 42 *Psalterion*, 1521 and 1524 (BH III no. 320; BH I no. 70); *Horologion*, 1523 (BH II no. 235; ESSLING no. 2215; SANDER no. 3468); *Oktoechos*, 1523 (ESSLING no. 2217; SANDER no. 5025; PHOSKOLOS B no. 1).
- 43 See BH I, 181.
- 44 1546 (LAYTON no. 17); 1547 (BH I no. 120). This cut is a close copy of the David found in Bartolomeo Caroli, *Regola utile e necessaria...* Venice, Bernardino Bindoni, n. d. (ESSLING no. 2338, repr. p. 536; SANDER no. 1746=c. 1533-50). For other Psalters with similar cuts of David see the editions of 1555 (FINAZZI no. 88, and pl. xxia). 1577 (PAPADOPOULOS II no. 259). 1578 (BH II no. 159). 1584 (PAPADOPOULOS II no. 274^a). 1588 (ILIOU no. 22).
- 45 For further details of the cut depicting a school scene see below, and figs. 62, 80, 81.
- 46 Andrea Spinelli introduced two architectural title-borders (figs. 64-65) one of which, fig. 65 was acquired by Z. B. Tauroceni (1580-1584) and his partner and successor, Giovanni Aliprandi (1586-1593), who used it extensively. It later passed to Domenico de Poloni (1599-1603).
- 47 T. de MARINIS, *Il castello di Monselice*. Verona, 1941, 44.
- 48 Examples of the Spinelli title-borders can be seen in the series of *Stichera*, 1548-1549 (BH III nos. 484-486, 494-495; MANOUSAKAS, nos. 1-2, p. 45; PHOSKOLOS B no. 3; LADAS nos. 39-41, p. 36. See also his *Evangelion*, 1550 (BH I no. 127).
- 49 See WEALE-BOHATTA nos. 790-791, 1127. See also V. M. ESSLING, *Les missels imprimés a Venise de 1481 a 1600*. Paris, 1894, 217. See also EISS III nos. 3552 and 3554.
- 50 The *Horologia*, 1569 published by Giacomo Leoncini (PAPADOPOULOS II no. 237) and Cristoforo Zanetti (Universitätsbibliothek Innsbruck) also have small cuts depicting seasonal occupations in the *Menologion* section.
- 51 Almost nothing is known about this artist, who also signed some of his work as Lunardus or Leonardus. His work is found in Catholic religious books, such as Breviaries and Missals, published by Lucantonio Giunta. See ESSLING, *Les missels*, 196, 202, pl. xxxvii. See also ESSLING pt. III, 107, 249.
- 52 *Oktoechos*, 1549 (BH I no. 124) cut of Saint John of Damaskos (α3^v), cut of the Crucifixion (v1^r).
- 53 ESSLING, *Les missels*, 217-18, p. 222, fig. xlv; WEALE-BOHATTA no. 1127.
- 54 ESSLING, *Les missels*, no. 128, p. 217-18, where the cut is described in detail see p. 293, fig. xlv. This woodcut was also used in the *Missale Monasticum*. Venice, Domenico Nicolini, 1580 (ESSLING, *Les missels*, no. 242 [sic=244]).
- 55 See the *Menaia* of March. Z. B. Tauroceni, 1584 (LADAS no. 82, p. 75) and P. Zanetti, 1588 (BH II no. 176); and of May, P. Zanetti, 1588 (BH II no. 177); *Triodion*, Heirs of C. Zanetti, 1591-92 (PAPADOPOULOS II no. 298); *Pentekostarion*, D. de Poloni, 1600 (BH IV no. 862). See also D. de Poloni's *Menaion* of December, 1602-03 (BH XVIIIs. I no. 11). The cut passed from printer to printer during the latter part of the sixteenth century.
- 56 RENOUEAU, 144 note 1.
- 57 ESSLING, no. 1798: *La Passione del nostro signor iesu Christo*. Pesaro, 1513, p. 267.
- 58 ESSLING, *Les missels*, Crucifixion X, p. 65, 230, no. 213. See also MORTIMER, nos. 308 and 310.
- 59 MORTIMER no. 307.
- 60 ESSLING no. 203, p. 188.
- 61 Other *Evangelia* with full page cuts of the Evangelists, 1575, printed by C. Zanetti (BH II no. 155); 1581, C. Zanetti (BH II no. 273); 1586, G. Aliprandi (BH II no. 282); 1599, heirs of P. Zanetti (BH IV no. 856); 1599, D. de Poloni (LADAS no. 99).
- 62 See *Evangelia* of 1560 and 1575 both printed by G. Leoncini (BH IV nos. 599 and 700).
- 63 On the use of the liturgical books for instructional purposes during the years of the Turkish Occupation see M. CRUSIUS, *Turcograeciae*. Basel, 1584, 205. Β. Γ. ΣΚΟΡΔΕΛΗΣ, 'Η 'Οκτώηχος καὶ ἡ φυλλάδα τοῦ Μεγάλου 'Αλεξάνδρου ἢ τὸ σχολεῖον καὶ ὁ λαός, *Παρνασσός*, 7(1883)197-211. Σ. ΛΑΜΠΡΟΣ, Τὰ ἀναγνώσματα τῶν πάππων μας, *Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων*, 15(1921)237-71. See also Φ. ΗΛΙΟΥ, Σημειώσεις γιὰ τὰ "τραβήγματα" τῶν ἐλληνικῶν βιβλίων τὸν 16ο αἰῶνα, *Ἑλληνικά*, 28(1975)111-16.

⁶⁴ *Oktoechos*, 1579 (PAPADOPOULOS II no. 260^a) brought out by Giacomo Leoncini; *Oktoechos*, 1589 (BH II no. 283) printed by Pietro Zanetti who also used the cut on the title page of Z. Skordylis, *Περὶ τῶν τῆς συγγενείας βαθμῶν*, 1588 (BH II no. 178); *Oktoechos*, 1596 (BH II no. 221) printed by Francesco Giuliani.

⁶⁵ For the *Oktoechoi* where the school cut is moved to folio A1^v see the *Oktoechos*, 1598, edited by Maximos Margounios and printed by the heirs of Pietro Zanetti (fig. 258). See also the editions of 1640 (PHOSKOLOS A no. 15) where the school scene cut can be found both on the title page and on A1^v; 1683 (BH XVIIIs II no. 577); 1701 (BH XVIIIs I no. 7); 1747 (LADAS XVIII I no. 50 fig. 26); 1773 (LADAS XVIII I no. 125); 1787 (BH XVIIIs II no. 1205); 1789 (LADAS XVIII, II nos. 583 and 588).

⁶⁶ See *Akolouthia...Naoum*, Moschopolis, 1740 (BH XVIIIs I no. 264); *Chresimos paidagogeia*, Venice, 1745 (LAYTON no. 33); *Alphabetarion*, Constantinople, n.d. (LADAS XVIII I no. 184, fig. 66); *Alphabetarion*, Vienna, 1792 (LADAS 1791-95, no. 60); *Alphabetaria*, Vienna, 1816 and 1820 (GHINIS-MEXAS II nos. 6672 and 6693).

⁶⁷ ESSLING no. 443, p. 393.

⁶⁸ T. de MARINIS, *Il castello*, 58, pl. xxxviii (Guarino Veronese, *Grammaticales regulae*, 1488), IGI no. 2172, pl. xxvii (Johannes Britannicus, *Regulae ad institutionem filiorum suorum*, 1490), ESSLING no. 1572, p. 152 (Battista Guarino, *Institutiones grammaticae*, 1507).

⁶⁹ The shape of this headpiece in the form of a Greek Π is very common in Greek sixteenth century publications and derives from headpieces found in Greek manuscripts.

⁷⁰ See the imprints of C. Zanetti and his heirs (BH II nos. 155, 176-77, 190, 196, 201, 248, 273 and BH IV nos. 808, 856). The Zanetti cut passed, along with his other stock, to A. Pinelli who used it in a *Parakletike*, 1604 (BH XVIIIs I no. 20) and a *Typikon*, 1603-1604 (BH XVIIIs I no. 21).

A close copy of the headpiece can be seen in the liturgical books of Giacomo Leoncini (fig. 79). See also BH II no. 270 and BH IV nos. 599, 630-31, 639, 656, 666-669, 700; LADAS no. 71; PHOSKOLOS A no. 6. The Leoncini cut was later acquired by the Pinelli. It appears in a *Triodion*, 1636 (BH XVIIIs I no. 249) and a *Menaion* of February, 1643 (BH XVIIIs I no. 331).

Another copy of the headpiece can be seen in the books printed for E. Glyzounis by Fr. Giuliani (fig. 83). See BH II no. 213, 282. The Glyzounis-Giuliani cut was also used by G. Aliprandi in the *Menaia* of June, 1592 (BH II nos. 197) and May, 1593 (BH II no. 198), and by D. de Poloni see the *Evangelion*, 1599 (LADAS no. 99) and the *Pentekostarion*, 1600 (BH IV no. 862). It can also be found in a *Pentekostarion*, 1681 printed by A. Giuliani (BH XVIIIs V no. 178) and a *Typikon*, 1685 printed by N. Saros (BH XVIIIs II no. 597). Copies of copies continued to appear in other liturgical books like the one in a *Menaion* of December, 1684 brought out by N. Glykys (LADAS no. 277, p. 199).

⁷¹ For further information about this printer see under his name in Part II.

⁷² They can be found in the Tauroceni *Menaia*, 1581-1582 (BH IV nos. 751-52, 757-59; LADAS nos. 76, 78, 82, 87).

⁷³ A. ΞΥΓΓΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, "Αγνωστος σειρά Μηναίων τοῦ 16^{ου} αἰῶνος μὲ ξυλογραφίας, 'Ο Βιβλιόφιλος, 6 no. 1(1952)83-87.

⁷⁴ See also G. Leoncini's edition of the *Θεία Λειτουργία*, 1574 (BH II no. 268, folio a2^r).

⁷⁵ K. Δ. MEPTZIOS, Λουκᾶς Σουγδουρῆς ὁ ἐξ Ἰωαννίνων, ἐκδότης ἐν Βενετίᾳ (1570-1591), *Ἡπειρωτικὴ Ἑστία*, 18(1969)11-14.

⁷⁶ On the Greek painters residing and working in Venice see M. I. MANOYSAKAS, "Ἕλληνες ζωγράφοι ἐν Βενετίᾳ μέλη τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Ἀδελφότητος κατὰ τὸν 15^{ον} αἰῶνα, *Μνημόσυνον Σοφίας Ἀντωνιάδης*. Βενετία, 1974, 212-26. On the Cretan school of painting see M. CHATZIDAKIS, *Les débuts de l' école crétoise et la question de l' école dite italogrecque, Μνημόσυνον Σοφίας Ἀντωνιάδης*, 169-211. See also his *La peinture des "Madonneri" ou "Vénéto-crétoise" et sa destination, Venezia, centro di mediazione tra Oriente e Occidente (secoli XV-XVI). Aspetti e problemi*. Firenze, 1977, II 673-90.

⁷⁷ Document of October 16, 1586 cited in M. I. MANOYSAKAS, *Τὰ κυριώτερα ἔγγραφα (1536-1599) γὰ τὴν οἰκοδομὴ καὶ τὴ διακόσμηση τοῦ Ἀγίου Γεωργίου τῶν Ἑλλήνων τῆς Βενετίας, Εἰς μνήμην Παναγιώτου Α. Μιχαήλ. In memoriam Panayotis A. Michelis*. Ἀθήναι, 1972, 345.

⁷⁸ The count does not include the imaginary portrait of Galen in the Zacharias Kallierges work mentioned earlier.

⁷⁹ On Markos Bathas see M. I. MANOYSAKAS, "Ἕλληνες ζωγράφοι, 217-18 and H. HUNGER, Markos Bathas ein griechischer Maler des Cinquecento in Venedig, *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*, 21(1972)131-37.

⁸⁰ For the dating of this work see under Z. Skordylis and Z B. Tauroceni in Part II.

⁸¹ The portrait of Ioannes Nathanael is reproduced in N. P. KISELEV, *Knigi grecheskoi pechati v sobranii gosudarstvennoi biblioteki SSSR im V. I. Lenina, Kniga*, 26(1973)136. For more information on Ioannes Nathanael see under his name in Part II.

⁸² E. Legrand describes it from an entry in M. MAITTAIRE, *Annales Typographici*. London, 1741, V, pt. 2, 427.

⁸³ For a discussion of this work see Γ. Θ. ΖΩΠΑΣ, Πένθος θανάτου, ζωής μάταιον, καὶ πρὸς Θεὸν ἐπιστροφή. Ἀθήναι, 1970, especially 21-35.

⁸⁴ Γ. Θ. ΖΩΠΑΣ, 'Ο χάρος καὶ ἡ ἀπεικόνισις αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ στιχουργήματι 'Πένθος θανάτου,' Παρνασσός, 12(1970)420-38. For the portrayal of Death in Byzantine and post-byzantine times see G. MORAVCIK, Il caronte bizantino, *Studi bizantini e neoellenici*, 3(1930)45-68. See also M. Alexiou, Modern Greek Folklore and its Relation to the Past. The Evolution of Charos in Greek Tradition, 221-36.

⁸⁵ For Giovanni Vavassore, see ASCARELLI, 184-88; ASCARELLI-MENATO, 363; PASTORELLO no. 445¹⁻³, V. M. ESSLING and C. EPHRUSSI, Zoan Andrea et ses homonymes, *Gazette des beaux arts*, 3. pér. 5(1891)401-15, 6(1891)225-44, especially 225-44. H. GOLLOB, Ein Beitrag zur Zoan-Andrea-Frage, *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* 1959, 165-70. See also E. T. FALASCHI, Valvassori's 1553 Illustrations of *Orlando furioso*: the Development of Multi-Narrative Technique in Venice and its Links with Cartography, *La bibliofilia*, 77(1975)227-51.

⁸⁶ E. FOLLIERI, Su alcuni libri greci stampati a Venezia nella prima metà del Cinquecento, *Contributi alla storia del libro italiano. Miscellanea in onore di Lamberto Donati*. Firenze, 1969, 124-26. It has been impossible to locate volume two of the Heumann book and indeed it seems volume two has never been published: see J. G. MEUSEL, *Lexikon der vom Jahr 1750 bis 1800 verstorbenen deutschen Schriftsteller*. Leipzig, 1805, V, 460.

⁸⁷ D. HOLTON, A Set of Sixteenth Century Woodcuts in Greek Popular Texts, *Ἑλληνικά*, 25(1972)371-76. E. FOLLIERI, Su alcuni, 120-36; E. LAYTON, Notes on the Illustration, 1-10.

⁸⁸ *Ὁμήρου Ἰλιάς μεταβληθεῖσα πάλαι εἰς κοινὴν γλῶσσαν παρὰ Νικολάου τοῦ Λουκάνου*. Ἀθήνησι, 1870, θ'-ι' (Collection de monuments pour servir a l' étude de la langue néo-hellénique, 5).

⁸⁹ For the woodcuts used in the various editions of the Alexander the Great romance see HOLTON, A Set, 371-76.

⁹⁰ For a reproduction of no. 13 see also SANDER no. 3428, pl. no. 350.

⁹¹ For the earliest edition of the *Imberios* see T. de MARINIS, La prima edizione della traduzione greca di *Pierre de Provence et la belle Maguelonne*, *Appunti e ricerche bibliografiche*. Milano, 1940, 90-91. E. LAYTON, Notes on Some Printers and Publishers of 16th Century Modern Greek Books in Venice, 133-36.

⁹² See ESSLING no. 2471, p. 604=Giovanni Andrea Vavassore, *Libro nouo de la battaglia del Conte Orlando*, n.d. See also T. BULGARELLI, *Gli avvisi a stampa in Roma nel Cinquecento*. Roma, 1967, no. 41, pl. xxii.

⁹³ The illustrations in the *Imberios* are the following: No. 1 (verso of title page) corresponds to a copy of no. 13 of the modern Greek Iliad. No. 2 (α4^r) is that of no. 6 and no. 3 (α10^r) is a copy of a cut (d3^v) found in M. Boiardo, *Il quarto libro d' Orlando innamorato*. (In Vinegia appresso Girolamo Scotto, 1545). No. 4 of the *Imberios* (α11^v) is a copy of G. Tagliente, *Libro de abaco* (Venezia, c. 1520) found in G5^v (ESSLING no. 1870; SANDER no. 7151; MORTIMER no. 489). Illustration no. 5 (α13^v) is a free rendition of a cut found in the Boiardo work (f1^v).

⁹⁴ The 1548 edition of *Belisarios* (BH I no. 122) has no. 13 (α1^r) on the title page (SANDER pl. 350) and a new cut on the verso of the title page. In the 1554 (BH I no. 132=VRETOS II no. 45) and 1562 (BH II no. 260) editions both cuts are copies. The edition of 1567 (LAYTON no. 26) has the original no. 13 cut (SANDER pl. 350) the second cut is also the same as that of 1548. In the 1577 edition (BH IV no. 721) both cuts are copies.

⁹⁵ For the illustration of the 1603 edition of the *Iliad* see D. HOLTON, A Set, 371-76; E. LAYTON, Notes on the Illustration, 1-10.

⁹⁶ E. FOLLIERI, Su alcuni, 130-36. See also D. HOLTON, A Set, 374; E. LAYTON, Notes on the Illustration, 1-10.

⁹⁷ BH III no. 305 (1529); BH III no. 366 (1537); BH I no. 119 (1546); BH IV no. 624 (1564); ILIOU no. 23 (1594). It was not possible to study the editions of 1564 and 1594. The 1564 edition was reported by Legrand from a copy at the Synodal Library of Moscow and the 1594 edition, the only copy of which survived in the monastery of Simonos Petras Library on Mount Athos, has been destroyed in a fire. See E. Δ. ΚΑΚΟΥΛΙΔΗ, Fior di virtù-"Ανθος Χαρίτων", *Ἑλληνικά*, 24(1971)267-311. See also E. FOLLIERI, Su alcuni, 130.

⁹⁸ S. MORISON, *Eustachio Celebrino da Vdene, Calligrapher, Engraver and Writer for the Venetian Printing Press*. Paris, 1929, 18, fig. 7; L. Servolini, Eustachio Celebrino da Udine, intagliatore, calligrafo, poligrafo ed editore del sec. XVI, *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* 1944/49, 182, 185 fig. 5.

⁹⁹ E. ΚΑΚΟΥΛΙΔΗ-ΠΑΝΟΥ, Ἰωαννίκιος Καρτάνος. Συμβολὴ στὴ δημώδη πεζογραφία τοῦ 16^{ου} αἰώνα, *Θησαυρίσματα*, 12(1975)218-56. See also E. LAYTON, Notes on Some Printers, 138-42.

¹⁰⁰ V. M. ESSLING and C. EPHRUSSI, Zoan Andrea et ses homonymes, *Gazette des beaux-arts*, pér. 3, 5(1891)401-15; 6(1891)225-44. H. GOLLOB, Ein Beitrag, 165-70. L. DONATI, *Del mito di Zoan Andrea e di altri miti grandi e piccoli*. Firenze, 1959. See also ESSLING, pt. III, 109-16, 251-52; SANDER IV, lvii-lviii; J. D. PASSAVANT, *Le peintre-graveur*, V, 79-88.

- 101 ESSLING no. 972, p. 338; SANDER no. 2444. H. BOHATTA, *Bibliographie der Breviere 1501-1850*. Leipzig, 1937, no. 1029.
- 102 For further details on the 1549 Kartanos edition see E. LAYTON, Notes on Some Printers, 140 and note 52.
- 103 Compare the cuts of Adam and Eve, Noah's Ark, Abraham with angels and Moses receiving the tablets of the law in the editions of 1536 and 1549.
- 104 The cut of the Joanne Fiorentino work is signed with the monogram L, identified with the artist Luc' Antonio degli Uberti.
- 105 L. POLITIS, Venezia come centro della stampa e della diffusione della prima letteratura neoellenica, Venezia, centro di mediazione tra Oriente e Occidente, II, 469-70. H. EIDENEIER, *Spanos. Eine byzantinische Satire in der Form einer Parodie*. Berlin, 1977, 58-70 and his Σπανός. Ἀθήνα, 1990, 13-51.
- 106 Although there is mention in the sources of an earlier edition of *Spanos* none has been found thus far. Recently an *imprimatur* dated August 11, 1542 has been found which confirms the assumption of an earlier edition. See E. LAYTON, Notes on Some Printers, 135-36, note 43. See also H. EIDENEIER, *Spanos*, 58-60.
- 107 Βιβλίον ὀνομαζόμενον Σπανός, 1803 see E. ΔΗΜΗΤΡΑΚΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ, Ἑλληνικὴ βιβλιογραφία 1800-1863. Προσθήκες, Ὁ Ἑρανιστής, 10(1973)258, no. A1275, and 1832 (GHINIS-MEXAS no. 2163). Both editions were printed in Venice by Nikolaos Glykys.
- 108 Ritor Teofan i ipodiakon Damaskin Studit, *Spisanie na Bulgarskata Akademiia na naukite*, 71(1950)10-12. See also D. PETKANOV-TOTEVA, *Damaskinite v bulgarskata literatura*. Sofia, 1965, 12 note 2. It is believed that there must be an earlier missing edition of the Danaskenos Stoudites work see E. X. ΔΕΛΗΔΗΜΟΣ, Θησαυρὸς Δαμασκηνοῦ τοῦ ὑποδιακόνου καὶ Στουδίτου τοῦ Θεσσαλονικέως. Θεσσαλονίκη, 1971, 5-13. See also under Cristoforo Zanetti in Part II.
- 109 See *Martyrologium secundum morem Romane curie*. Uenetijs per Io. Antonium et fratres de Sabio, Mccccxxij (ESSLING no. 1175, p. 450; SANDER no. 4416). VACCARO no. 417.
- 110 For more information on the sixteenth century editions of the *Thesaurus*, see Chapter III and under Cristoforo Zanetti in Part II.
- 111 See Leoncini editions 1565? (PAPADOPOULOS II no. 1006). 1568 (BH IV no. 657), 1570 (BH II no. 151).
- 112 Α. Δ. ΠΑΛΙΟΥΡΑΣ, Ἡ δυτικοῦ τύπου Ἀνάσταση τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ ὁ χρόνος εἰσαγωγῆς της στὴν Ὁρθόδοξη τέχνη, Δωδώνη, 7(1978)385-97.
- 113 For the text and its provenance see the introduction in H. Pernot's edition of *Gentil de Vendosme et Antoine Achélis, Le siège de Malta par les Turcs en 1565*. Paris, 1910, i-xvi. See also G. SPADARO, Sulle fonti dell' *Assedio di Malta* di Antonio Achelis, Ὁ Ἑρανιστής, 4(1966)80-116. For books on the Siege of Malta printed during the sixteenth century see C. GÖLLNER, *Turcica; die europäischen Türkendrucke des XVI. Jahrhunderts*. Bucuresti - Baden Baden, 1961-1963. II, 105-292.
- 114 BH IV, 173.
- 115 GÖLLNER, *Turcica*, II, 105-292; H. A. BALBI, Some Bibliographical Notes, 1-35.
- 116 For editions of the Fracasso work see C. GÖLLNER, *Turcica*, II, 105-292. See also H. A. BALBI, Some Bibliographical Notes on the First Book Printed on the Siege of Malta (1565) Written by Pierre Gentil de Vendôme, Pirated by Marino Fracasso, Utilized by Alfonso Ulloa Without Acknowledgement or Mention of the Author, Followed by a Bibliographical Notice of Natale Conti and his History of the Siege of Malta, *Archivum Melitense*, 9(1932)1-35.
- 117 For the manuscript iconography of the heavenly ladder see J. R. MARTIN, *The Illustration of the Heavenly Ladder of John Climacus*. Princeton, 1954, 10-19. See also L. REAU, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien*. Paris, 1958, III pt. II, 723-24.

III

Liturgical and Other Religious Works

IT was not until the first half of the sixteenth century that printers and publishers in Venice began to produce books for a new clientele, the Greeks of Greece. It was during this period that most of the first editions of the Greek liturgical books were printed. In the fifteenth century, only two books, both Psalters, were printed with the Greeks in mind. The Aldine Greek edition of the *Horae* (Ὡραὶ τῆς ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας, 1497, BMC V, 558; RENOUEAU, 15-16 no. 13), was probably addressed, at least partially, to the uniate Greeks.¹ The editions of the classical authors and the lexicons and grammars of ancient Greek printed in the fifteenth century, although used and often edited by Greeks, were primarily produced for western consumption and distribution. It was also during the first half of the sixteenth century that the first books written in modern Greek began to appear in print.

The Greek Orthodox Church does not possess liturgical books comparable to the Breviary and the Missal of the Roman Catholic Church. The texts which are needed for its service are contained in a number of different books, the most important of which are the *Anthologion*, *Apostolos*, *Euchologion*, *Evangelion*, *Heirmologion*, *Horologion*, *Leitourgikon* (*Theiai Leitourgiai*), *Menaia*, *Oktoechos*, *Parakletike*, *Pentekostarion*, *Psalterion*, *Triodion*, and *Typikon*. When the first printed editions of these books came out in Italy, the Greek Church was under Ottoman rule, and its spiritual leaders, the patriarchs of Constantinople, were far from the centers of Greek printing. Thus, there were no officially authorized printed editions of the liturgical books in the sixteenth century. For the most part, these printed editions were the product of private initiative. To this day, no critical systematic studies of the first editions of the liturgical books have been conducted. Equally, no comprehensive studies have been made to trace the manuscripts that served as models for these early imprints.² During the *Tourkokratia*, several of the liturgical books were used as schoolbooks throughout the Greek speaking world. The titles most used for this purpose were mainly the *Psalterion*, the *Oktoechos*, the *Horologion*, and the *Apostolos*.³

As mentioned above, the *Psalterion* was the only liturgical book to be printed in the fifteenth century. It is usually composed of one hundred and fifty psalms, divided into twenty sections, or *kathismata*, followed by nine odes or canticles taken from the Old and New Testaments. The *Psalterion* is one of the most frequently used of the liturgical books. In the sixteenth century, it came out in numerous editions:⁴

1486 (Alexandros Alexandrou) BH I no. 4; BMC V, 409; fig. 13

c.1496-98 (Aldus Manutius) BH I no. 11; BMC V, 563; fig. 48

1521 (G. A. Nicolini da Sabbio and brothers for A. Kounadis) BH III no. 230

- 1524 (S. Nicolini da Sabbio for P. Kounadis) BH I no. 70
 1525 (M. Sessa and P. Ravani); BH I no. 73; fig. 60
 1534 (S. Nicolini da Sabbio for D. di Santa Maria) BH III no. 333
 1545 (G. A. and P. Nicolini da Sabbio for M. Sessa) BH I no. 117; fig. 113
 1546 (G. A. and P. Nicolini da Sabbio for D. di Santa Maria) LAYTON no. 17
 1547 (Cr. Zanetti) BH I no. 120; fig. 61b
 1555 (Cr. Zanetti) FINAZZI no. 88; LADAS no. 47; fig. 61c
 Pre-1577 (Cr. Zanetti) LADAS no. 89=1587 [sic]⁵
 1577 (Cr. Zanetti) PAPADOPOULOS II no. 259
 1578 (A. Verghis) BH II no. 159
 1584 (Ek ton typon tou Kounadou) BEES I no. 616; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 274^a
 1586 ([Fr. Giuliani] for E. Glyzounis) BH II no. 174; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 278
 1588 (P. Zanetti) ILIOU no. 22.



fig. 113

In 1509, Zacharias Kallierges printed the first edition of the *Horologion*. The *Horologion* or Book of Hours, contains the Ordinary (unchanging) prayers of the canonical offices, to which are added the *Kontakia* or *Troparia* characteristic of each day, as well as other hymns of a certain type, such as the Office of the *Akathistos*, etc. In some of the printed editions, there is a section at the end on the ecclesiastical reckoning of the seasons and the *Paschalia* that indicate the date of Easter and the dates of other movable feasts for a certain number of years.⁶ Because, as already mentioned, the *Horologion* was also used as a schoolbook, it came out in a great many editions:

- 1509 (Z. Kallierges for Giacomo de Pencio) BH I no. 36; fig. 21
 1520 (Florence, B. Giunti) BH I no. 63; fig. 22
 1523 (G. A. and brothers Nicolini da Sabbio for Martino Locatelli) BH II no. 235

- 1524 (S. Nicolini da Sabbio for D. di Santa Maria) BH I no. 71
 1532 (V. Ravani and Associates) BH I no. 87=III no. 319; fig. 114
 1535 (B. Zanetti for V. and G. Fr. Trincavelli) BH I no. 94
 1538 (S. Nicolini da Sabbio for D. di Santa Maria) BEES I no. 170
 1545 (N. Sophianos) BH I no. 115; fig. 115
 1546 (Cr. Zanetti) BH III no. 468
 1546 (P. & C. Nicolini da Sabbio for M. Sessa) BH I no. 118
 1547 ILIOU 318 no. 6
 1549 (P. & G. M. Nicolini da Sabbio) PAPADOPOULOS II no. 131
 1549 (A. Spinelli) BH III no. 496
 1552 (B. Imperatore) PHOSKOLOS A no. 3
 1553⁷
 1554 (Cr. Zanetti for Fr. Rampazetto) PAPADOPOULOS II no. 161
 1559 (Cr. Zanetti) ILIOU no. 8
 1561 (G. Leoncini) PAPADOPOULOS II no. 210
 1563 (A. Spinelli) BH I no. 141
 1563 (Fr. Rampazetto for G. Leoncini) BH IV no. 616; fig. 116
 1568 ILIOU 319 no. 20⁸
 1569 (G. Leoncini) PAPADOPOULOS II no. 237
 1569 (Cr. Zanetti)
 1574 (G. Leoncini) BH II no. 154
 1580 (Cr. Zanetti) BH II no. 164
 1581 (Z. B. Tauroceni) BH II no. 165; fig. 117
 1584 (Ek ton typon tou Kounadou) BH II no. 277
 1584 (Z. B. Tauroceni)
 1584-86 (G. Aliprandi) BH II no. 172=IV no. 780
 1587 (P. Zanetti) BH IV no. 803
 1595 (P. Zanetti) BH IV no. 846
 Pre-1596 (Fr. Giuliani for E. Glyzounis?).⁹

In 1509, Zacharias Kallierges also printed the *Exepsalmata* (BH I no. 34), a collection of prayers, which was also probably meant to be used as a schoolbook. However, the *Exepsalmata* was never reprinted.¹⁰

The *Oktoechos* was first printed in Rome in 1520 by Zacharias Kallierges (LAYTON no. 7; fig. 118). It contains the hymns and offices pertaining to eight consecutive Sundays, one for each *echos*, or tone. Some of the hymns contained in the *Oktoechos* are attributed to Saint John of Damaskos, and in many of the printed editions, there is a woodcut representing the Saint sitting at his desk, writing. For more than three centuries, the *Oktoechos* was the book most frequently used by Greek children to learn to read. By the mid-sixteenth century, editions often had a small woodcut depicting a school scene on the lower part of the title page (figs. 62, 80, 120).¹¹ The sixteenth century editions of the *Oktoechos* are:

- 1520 (Rome, Z. Kallierges) BH I no. 64=VRETOS I no. 3; LAYTON no. 7; fig. 118
 1523 (G. A. and brothers Nicolini da Sabbio for D. di Santa Maria) ESSLING no. 2217;
 SANDER no. 5025; PHOSKOLOS B no. 1; fig. 119
 1525 (M. Sessa and P. Ravani) BH I no. 72
 1540 (S. Nicolini da Sabbio for D. di Santa Maria) BEES I no. 170

- 1549 (A. Spinelli) BH I no. 124; fig. 62
 [1558] (Cr. Zanetti) BH I no. 135¹²
 [1560?] (Cr. Zanetti) PAPADOPOULOS II no. 200^{a13}
 1565 (G. Leoncini) BH II no. 143
 1566 (Cr. Zanetti) ILIOU no. 91⁴
 1568 (Cr. Zanetti) ILIOU, 318 no. 19¹⁵
 1578 (A. Verghis) BH II no. 158
 1579 (G. Leoncini) PAPADOPOULOS II no. 260^a
 1584 (Z B. Tauroceni) BH II no. 170
 1585 (Heirs of Cr. Zanetti) ILIOU no. 20; LADAS no. 86
 1587 (Fr. Giuliani)
 1589 (P. Zanetti) BH II no. 283; fig. 80
 1596 (Fr. Giuliani) BH II no. 221; fig. 120
 1598 (Heirs of P. Zanetti).

ΩΡΟΛΟΓΙΟΝ

ΕΠΙΕΚΟΝΤΑ ΕΝΤΑ ΜΕΤΑ
 ΤΑΥΤΗΝΣΕΑΙΩΣ ΓΕ-
 ΓΡΑΜΜΕΝΑ.



fig. 114



fig. 115



fig. 116

The *Parakletike* and the *Triodion* were the next liturgical books to appear in print. They were both published at the end of March 1522 and were financed by the same publisher who also brought out the *Psalterion* of 1521. The publisher was Andreas Kounadis of Patras whose firm was responsible for the publication of most of the first editions of the liturgical books in the first half of the sixteenth century.

The *Parakletike*, also known as the *Megale Oktoechos* contains, in addition to all the material found in the *Oktoechos*, the *Troparia* and Canons of the Vespers and Matins used every day of the week. The arrangement of the hymns in the collection is attributed to Saint Joseph the Hymnographer, who also wrote some of the Canons. The editions of the *Parakletike* are:

- 1522 (G. A. and brothers Nicolini da Sabbio for A. Kounadis) BH I no. 65; LADAS no. 10
- 1523 (G. A. and brothers Nicolini da Sabbio for A. Kounadis) ILIOU no. 2; LADAS no. 13¹⁶
- 1538 (St. Nicolini da Sabbio for G. Giraldi & D. di Santa Maria) BH I no. 97
- 1550 (Cr. Zanetti for D. di Santa Maria) KORDOSIS B no. 1; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 141^a
- 1554 (Cr. Zanetti) BH IV no. 563
- 1558 (Cr. Zanetti) PAPADOPOULOS II no. 178
- 1559 (Cr. Zanetti) BH I no. 136
- 1559-60 (A. Spinelli for N. Kouvlis) BH I no. 137; LADAS no. 51; fig. 65
- 1569 ([G. Leoncini]) PAPADOPOULOS II no. 239¹⁷

Οκτῆχὺς Εὐλεΐα Γραῖα
Venetij, per Ant. S. Fratru.
De Sabio . 1523.

~ΟΚΤΩΗΧΟΣ~



22. 7. 28

fig. 119

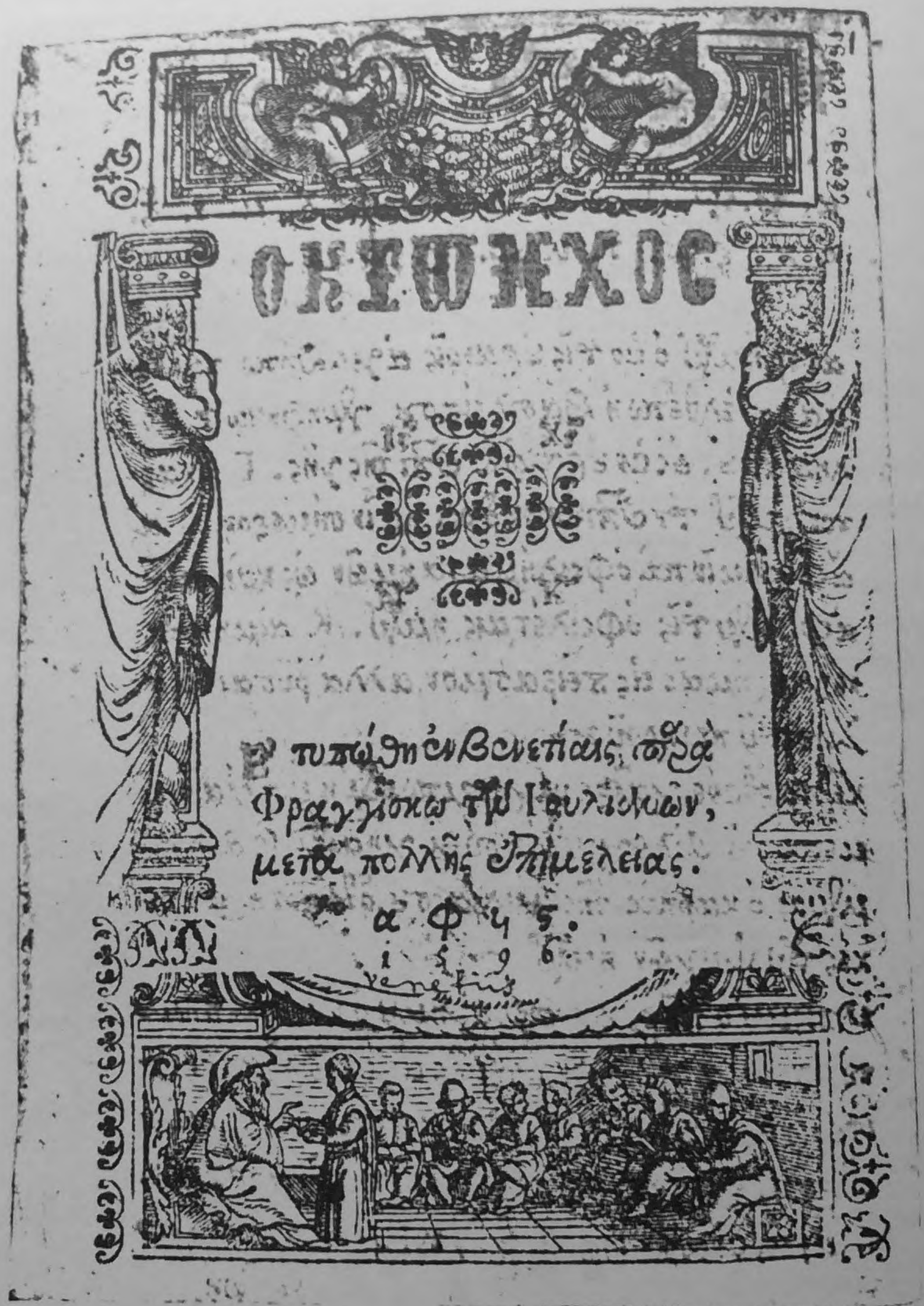


fig. 120

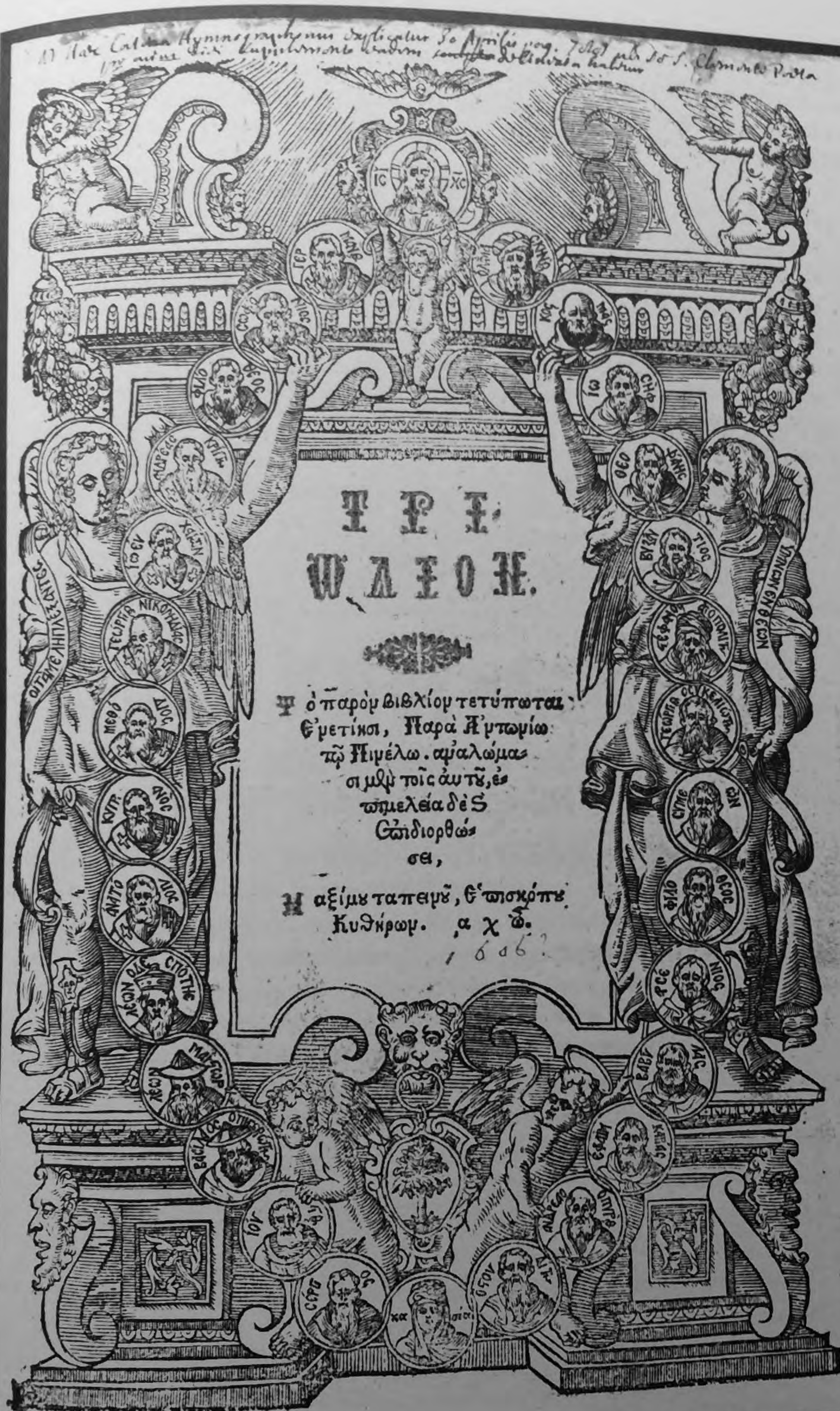


fig. 121

The *Triodion* is so named because the majority of the Canons it contains are composed of three Odes. It contains the services, or Offices, of the ten weeks preceding Easter, from the Sunday of the Pharisee and the Publican up to and including Holy Saturday. The most important authors of the poetry contained in the *Triodion* were Kosmas Melodos, Theodoros Stoudites, and his brother, Ioseph of Thessalonica. The sixteenth century editions are:

- 1522 (G. A. and brothers Nicolini da Sabbio for A. Kounadis) BH I no. 66=III no. 242
- 1538 (S. Nicolini da Sabbio for D. di Santa Maria) BH I no. 96
- 1551 (Cr. Zanetti for D. di Santa Maria) BH II no. 240
- 1554 (Cr. Zanetti) PAPADOPOULOS II no. 163^a; PAPADOPOULOS B no. 4
- 1555 (V. Valeris) KORDOSIS B no. 21⁹
- 1558 ILIOU 318 no. 16
- 1559 (Cr. Zanetti) BH IV no. 594
- 1561 (Cr. Zanetti) BH IV no. 605
- 1565 (G. Leoncini) BH II no. 144; fig. 66
- 1568 (Cr. Zanetti) ILIOU no. 11
- 1573 (G. Leoncini) BH IV no. 689
- 1574 (G. Leoncini) ILIOU no. 12²⁰
- 1580-1574 (G. Leoncini) ILIOU no. 15
- 1580 (Z. B. Tauroceni) BH IV no. 739
- 1586 (Heirs of Cr. Zanetti) BH IV no. 796
- 1589 (Fr. Giuliani) BH IV no. 815²¹
- 1591-92 (Heirs of Cr. Zanetti) PAPADOPOULOS II no. 298; ADAMS L no. 854=1561-62 [sic]
- 1599 (D. de Poloni) PAPADOPOULOS II no. 312
- 1600 (A. Pinelli) BH II no. 234 [sic=233]; PAPADOPOULOS II 320^a; fig. 121.

The first edition of the *Apostolos*, or Book of Epistles, came out in 1525. The *Apostolos* contains extracts from the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles, arranged according to the order in which they are read during the course of the entire year. It is divided into two parts, which correspond to the Proper of the Seasons and the Proper of the Saints. In the sixteenth century, there were several editions of the *Apostolos*:²²

- 1525 (S. Nicolini da Sabbio for D. di Santa Maria) KORDOSIS A no. 1; LADAS no. 14
- 1534 (S. Nicolini da Sabbio for D. di Santa Maria) BH III no. 334
- 1542 (G. A. and P. Nicolini da Sabbio for D. di Santa Maria) BH II no. 238
- 1550 (A. Spinelli) BH I no. 125
- 1550 (Cr. Zanetti for D. di Santa Maria) BH I no. 126²³
- 1551 (P. Nicolini da Sabbio) ILIOU 318 no. 10
- 1554 (Cr. Zanetti)
- 1559 (Cr. Zanetti) LADAS no. 49; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 179
- 1562 (Cr. Zanetti) PAPADOPOULOS II no. 212^a
- 1569 (G. Leoncini) LADAS no. 64; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 236
- 1573 (G. Leoncini)²⁴ fig. 122
- 1578-1573 (G. Leoncini) ILIOU no. 14
- 1579 (Cr. Zanetti) BH II no. 161
- 1583 (Heirs of Cr. Zanetti) KORDOSIS B no. 3
- 1584 (Z. B. Tauroceni) BH IV no. 778

1585 (Typos Kounadou) PAPADOPOULOS A no. 28

1594 (Fr. Giuliani for E. Glyzounis) PAPADOPOULOS II no. 301a

1596 (Heirs of P. Zanetti) BH II no. 220; fig. 123.



fig. 122

The *Pentekostarion* first appeared in 1525. It contains the movable feasts of the liturgical year for the fifty days beginning with Easter Sunday and ending with Pentecoste or Sunday of All Saints. The sixteenth century editions are:

- 1525 (S. Nicolini da Sabbio for D. di Santa Maria) BH III no. 270
- 1544 (G. A. and P. Nicolini da Sabbio for D. di Santa Maria) BH I no. 109
- 1552 (A. and G. Spinelli; BH II no. 244=IV no. 538) LADAS no. 43
- 1555 (V. Valeris) KORDOSIS B no. 2²⁵
- 1555 (Cr. Zanetti) PAPADOPOULOS II no. 166
- 1560 (Cr. Zanetti) PAPADOPOULOS II no. 201
- 1565 (G. Leoncini)
- 1567 (Cr. Zanetti) BH IV no. 640; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 232
- 1568 (LADAS no. 61)²⁶
- 1575 (G. Leoncini) MANOUSAKAS no. 3; LADAS no. 69
- 1579-1565 (G. Leoncini) VRETOS I no. 18=BH II no. 162; SKLAVENITES no. 5
- 1586 (Heirs of Cr. Zanetti) BH IV no. 795
- 1588 (Heirs of Cr. Zanetti) LADAS no. 91
- 1589-90 (Fr. Giuliani for G. Aliprandi) PAPADOPOULOS II no. 292
- 1591 (Heirs of Cr. Zanetti) LADAS no. 91
- 1600 (A. Pinelli) BH II no. 232
- 1600 (D. de Poloni) BH IV no. 862.

The *Euchologion* contains the texts of the sacraments for the ceremonies performed by the bishop, priest and deacon during the Office. It also contains all the prayers prescribed for them. In addition, it contains the text of the three liturgies, the rites and prayers for the sacraments, benedictions and other ceremonies.²⁷

- 1526 BH I no. 77=VRETOS I no. 7²⁸
- 1544 ILIOU 318 no. 5²⁹
- 1545 (N. Sophianos, M. Samariaris and N. Eparchos) BH I no. 116
- 1550 CAVE II, 28; ILIOU, 318 no. 9³⁰
- 1553 (Cr. Zanetti) BH IV no. 548
- 1555 ILIOU, 318 no. 12³¹
- 1558 (Cr. Zanetti) BH I no. 134³²
- 1560 (Cr. Zanetti) PAPADOPOULOS II no. 200
- 1562 (Cr. Zanetti) SKLAVENITES no. 4
- 1564 (H. Valeris) BH IV no. 620; PHOSKOLOS B no. 5
- 1566 (G. Leoncini) BH II no. 146=IV no. 632
- 1570 (G. Leoncini) PAPADOPOULOS B no. 6
- 1570-71 (H. Valeris) BH IV no. 680; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 246
- 1578 (A. Verghis) BH II no. 272
- 1580 (Z. B. Tauroceni) LADAS no. 74
- 1580 (Cr. Zanetti) BEES I no. 127
- 1585 (Ek ton typon Kounadou) PHOSKOLOS A no. 9; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 276^a
- 1589 (P. Zanetti) BH IV no. 816³³

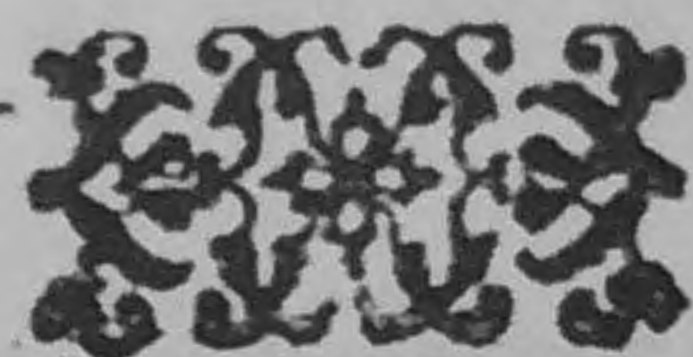
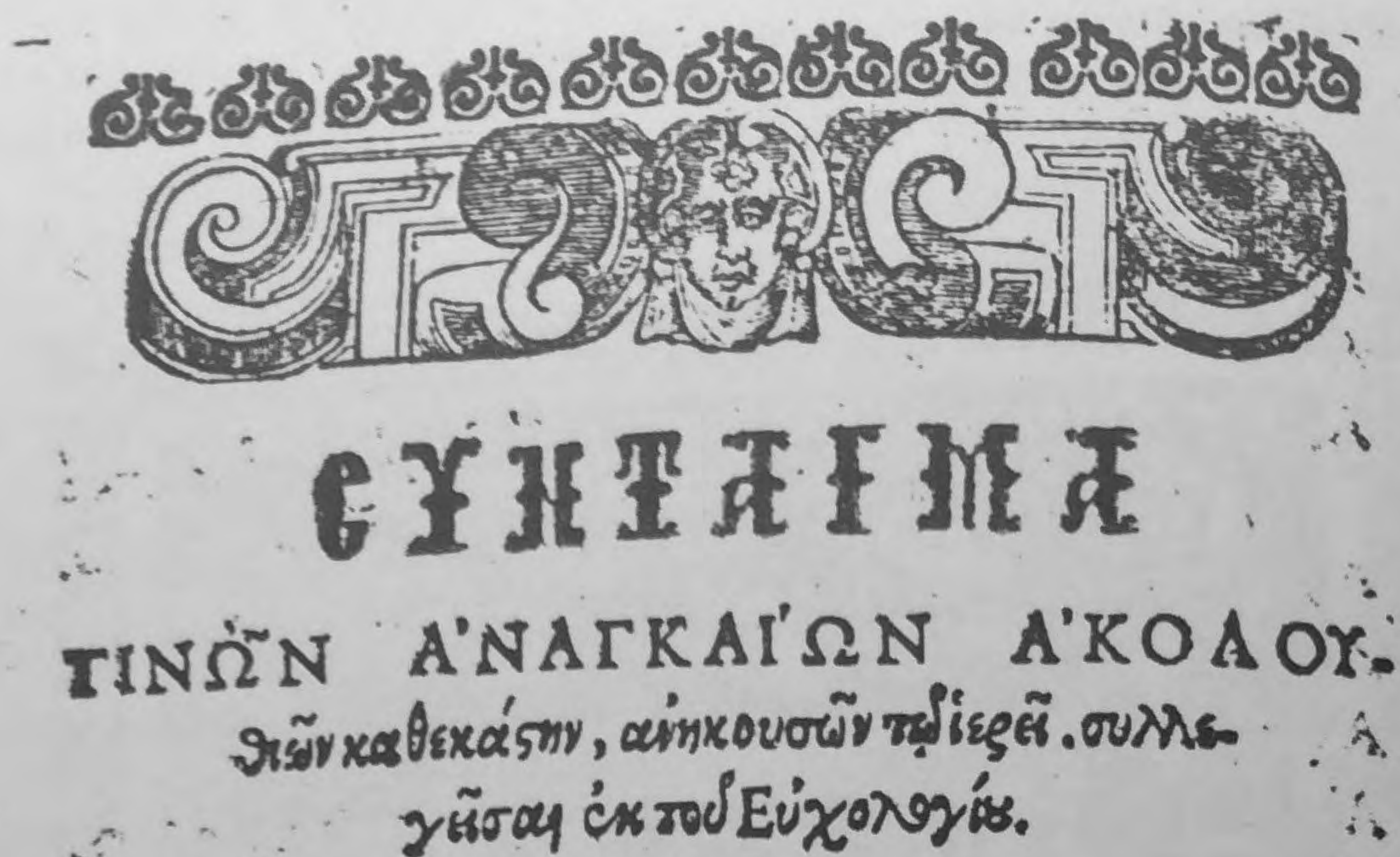
1596 (P. Zanetti)

1599 ILIOU, 319 no. 35

1600? (A. Pinelli?) ILIOU 319 no. 36.³⁴



fig. 123



Ἐκτύπηθη ἐν Βασιλείᾳ, πρὸς τὸ Φραγγισκὸν τῆς Ἱερουσαλῆμ,
 ἀναλώμασι, συνθήσει διορθώσει καὶ ἐκδώσει, κυρεῖ
 Εμμανουὴλ τοῦ Γλυζούνιου.
 Ἐπεὶ δὲ τῆς ἐν σάρακος οἰκονομίας τοῦ κυ, καὶ τοῦ
 καὶ τῆς ἡμέρας τοῦ κυ. ρα φη ε.

fig. 124

An abridged edition of the *Euchologion*, entitled *Σύνταγμα τινῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀκολουθιῶν...ἐκ τοῦ Εὐχολογίου* (BH II no. 206; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 305; fig. 124), came out in 1595. It was compiled and edited by Emmanouel Glyzounis and was printed at his expense by Fr. Giuliani.

The first edition of the three liturgies, i.e. the liturgies of Saint John Chrysostom, Saint Basil the Great, and the liturgy of the Presanctified, was printed in Rome in 1526 and edited by Demetrios Doukas. The three liturgies also are included in the *Leitourgikon*, which was not printed as such in the sixteenth century. The three liturgies came out in the following editions:

- 1526 (Rome, D. Doukas) BH I no. 76
 1528 (G. A. and brothers Nicolini da Sabbio for D. Zinos and M. Noukios)
 BH I no. 80³⁵
 1574 (G. Leoncini) BH II no. 268; fig. 125
 1575 (Cr. Zanetti) LADAS no. 68
 1578 (G. Leoncini) BH II no. 157
 1580 (Cr. Zanetti) PAPADOPOULOS II 263bis
 1584 (Typos Kounadou) BH II no. 276=IV no. 777
 1589 (P. Zanetti) LAZAROU no. 388
 1594 ILIOU 319 no. 32.³⁶



fig. 125

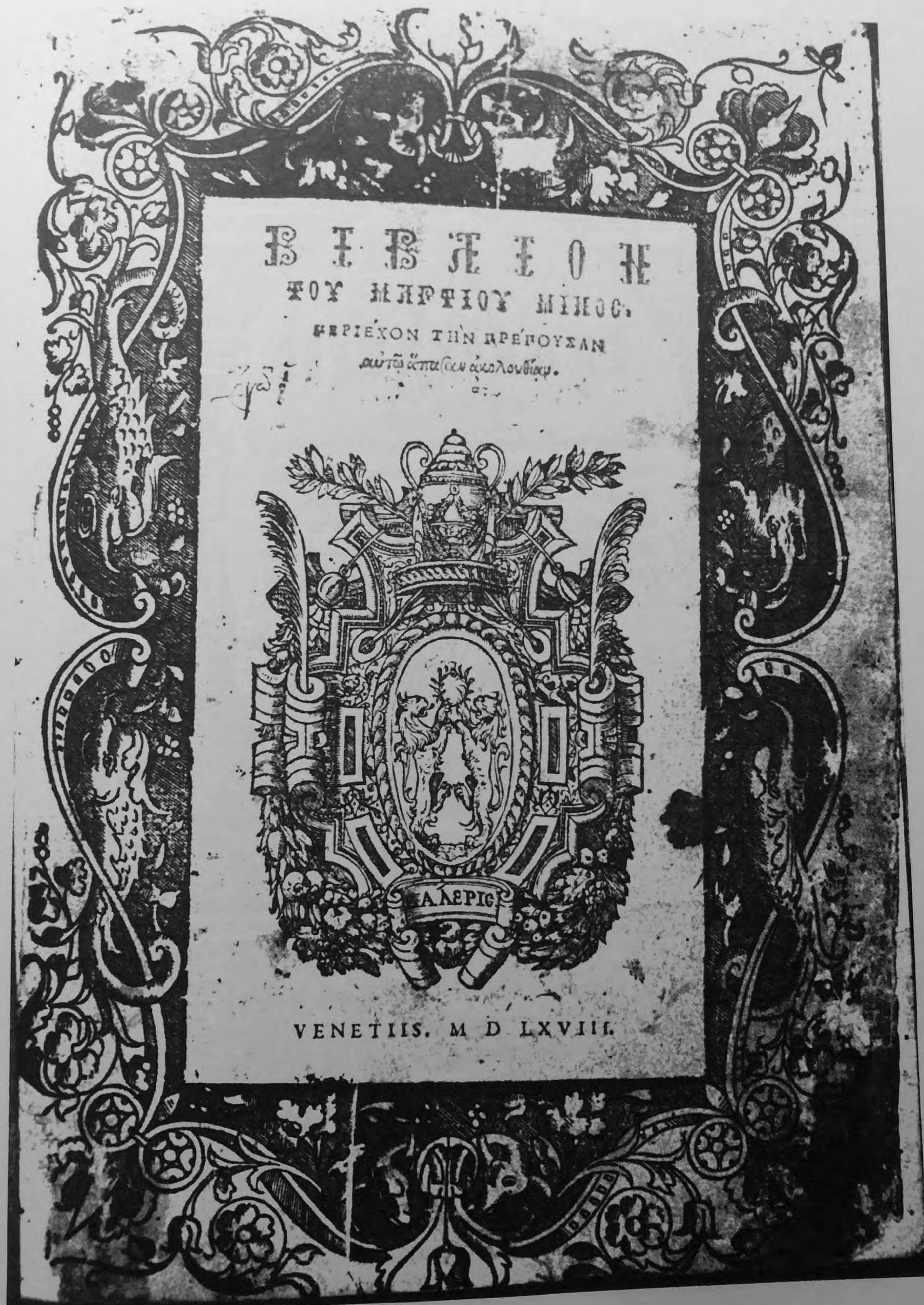


fig. 127

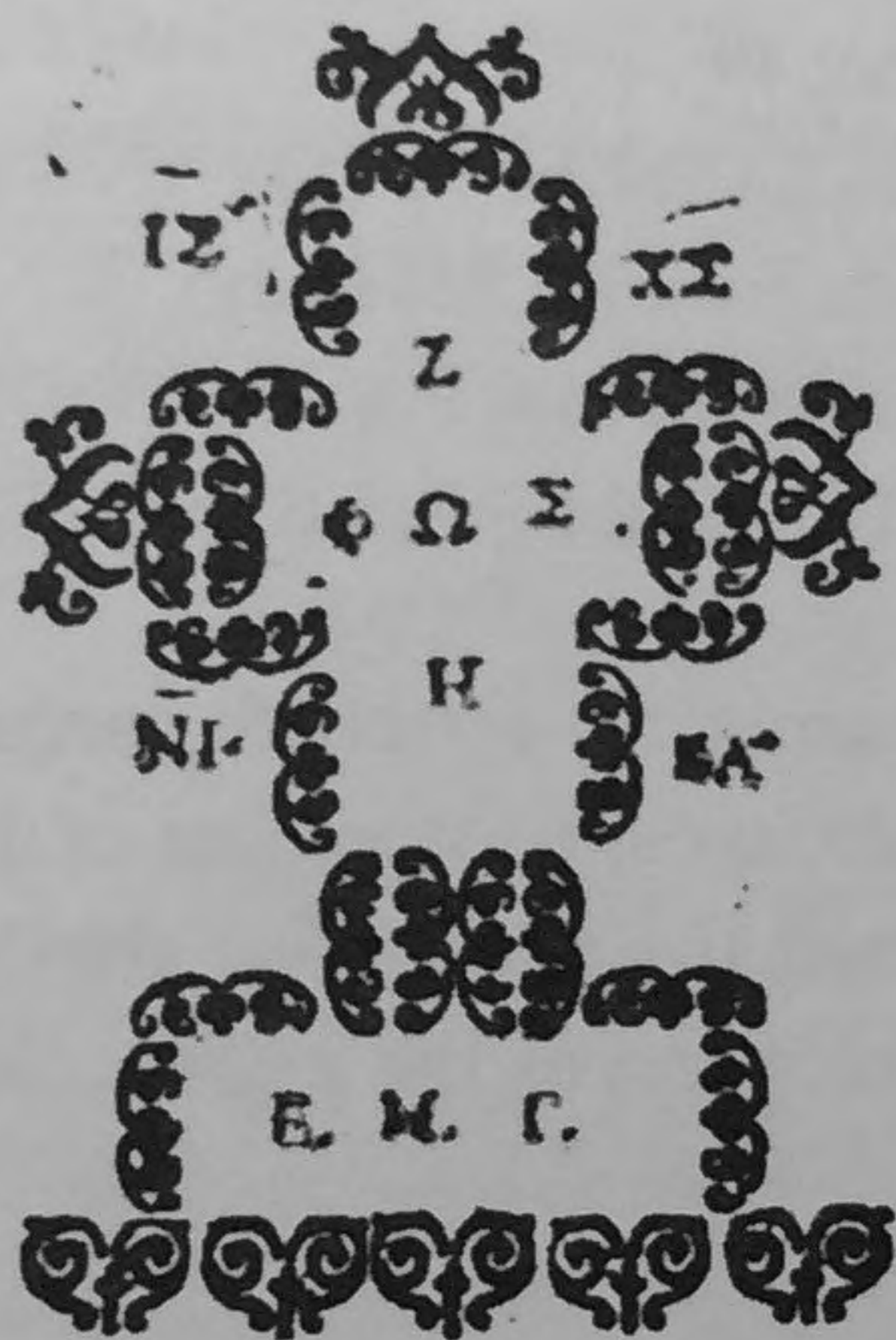


fig. 128



Θ Η Ξ Ψ Ω Β Γ Δ Ε Ζ Η Θ Ι Κ.

ΟΥ Τ Ο Σ Ι.



Ἰσχύεται ἐκτίσει καὶ Φραγίσκω τῆς Γουλιδυῖν. αἰαλώμασι
καὶ διορθώσει, κυρὲ Εμμεδουήλ τοῦ Γλιωζωτίου.

Ἐτε δὲ πρὸς σάρεν, οἰκονομίας τῶν
καὶ θυ καὶ σῆς ἡμῶν ἰὺ χῦ.
Ρ Φ Ξ Ξ

There also exists an *Εἰλητάριον* (missa in rotulis), printed on parchment, which contains the liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom. Linos Politis discovered an imperfect copy of this work with the date and name of the printer missing. On the basis of the typefaces, he ascribed it to the press of Nikolaos Sophianos, c. 1545.³⁷

The *Menaia* consist of twelve books, one for each month, starting with the month of September, which is the beginning of the Orthodox liturgical year. They contain the Office of all the feasts, with fixed dates, including the feast days of the lives of the saints, their *Akolouthia* or Office, special hymns, and prayers. The *Menaia* began to come out in 1526. During the sixteenth century, the *Menaia* were usually printed in sets of three or six. The first publisher of *Menaia* sets was Damiano di Santa Maria.³⁸ From the set of *Menaia* published by Damiano di Santa Maria, the following are extant today:

- 1526 September (S. Nicolini da Sabbio) BH III no. 279; LADAS no. 16; BEES I no. 639
- 1527 October (G. A. and brothers Nicolini da Sabbio) BH III no. 285; LADAS no. 17
- 1527 November (G. A. and brothers Nicolini da Sabbio) BH III no. 286
- 1528 December (G. A. and brothers Nicolini da Sabbio) BEES I no. 495; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 49
- 1533 December (S. Nicolini da Sabbio) STOYANOV no. 10³⁹
- 1533 January (S. Nicolini da Sabbio) BH III no. 327
- 1533 February (S. Nicolini da Sabbio) PAVLOPOULOS no. A 40
- 1536 February (S. Nicolini da Sabbio) BH III no. 351.⁴⁰

The biggest publisher of *Menaia* during the sixteenth century was Andrea Spinelli. His main editor for the series was Nikolaos Malaxos, protopapas of Nauplia, who not only edited the *Menaia* but also chose and established the text.⁴¹ For the *Menaia* printed through 1549 one Bartolomeo Giannini is given in the colophon as the printer. Subsequent Spinelli editions furnish no printer's name:

- 1548 March (B. Giannini) BH I no. 121; MANOUSAKAS no. 1; PHOSKOLOS B no. 2⁴²
- 1548 April (B. Giannini) MANOUSAKAS no. 2; PHOSKOLOS B no. 3; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 128
- 1548 May (B. Giannini) BH III no. 484; LADAS no. 41
- 1548 June (B. Giannini) BH III no. 485
- 1548 July (B. Giannini) BH III no. 486
- 1549 June (B. Giannini) BH III no. 494
- 1549 August (B. Giannini) BH III no. 495
- 1551 March (PAPADOPOULOS I no. 3903)⁴³
- 1551 September (BH IV no. 516)⁴⁴
- 1551 October (BH IV no. 517)
- 1551 November (BH II no. 241; PAPADOPOULOS B no. 2)
- 1551 December (BH IV no. 518)
- 1551-52 January (BH IV no. 535)
- 1551-52 February (BH II no. 242; LADAS no. 42; PHOSKOLOS B no. 4)
- 1558 March (BH II no. 252)
- 1558 April (BH II no. 253)

- 1558 May (BH II no. 254)
- 1558 June (BH II no. 255)
- 1558 July (BH II no. 256)
- 1558 August (BH II no. 257).

Cristoforo Zanetti printed *Menaia* between 1555 and 1558. Later, between 1586 and 1596, his heirs and his son Pietro printed a series of *Menaia*. A list of the surviving editions is given below:

- 1555 September (BH II no. 248)
- 1557 September (STOYANOV no. 31)⁴⁵
- 1557 October (BH II no. 249)
- 1557 November (BH II no. 250; STOYANOV no. 19=1547[sic])
- 1557 December (STOYANOV no. 20=1547[sic])
- 1557 February (BH II no. 251)
- 1558 November (STOYANOV no. 37)
- 1558 December (BH II no. 258)
- 1558 January (BH II no. 259)
- 1586? March (BH II no. 176=1588; BH IV no. 823=1590; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 281; fig. 67)⁴⁶
- 1587/88 April (BH IV no. 808; LADAS no. 88?)⁴⁷
- 1588 May (BH II no. 177)
- 1591 May (LADAS no. 94)
- 1591 June (BH II no. 188)
- 1591 July (BH II no. 189)
- 1591 August (BH II no. 190)
- 1592 September (BH II no. 195)
- 1592 October (BH II no. 196)
- 1593 November (BH II no. 201)
- 1595 December (BH II no. 214)
- 1595 June (LADAS no. 98)
- 1595-96 January (BH II no. 215)
- 1596 February (BH II no. 222).

Another set of *Menaia* was brought out by Giacomo Leoncini between 1561 and 1569:

- 1561 September⁴⁸
- 1566 September (BH IV no. 630)
- 1566 October (BH IV no. 631)
- 1566/67 November (BH IV no. 639)
- 1568 December (BH II no. 147=IV no. 656)
- 1568/69 January (BH IV no. 662)
- 1568/69 February (BH IV no. 663; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 238)
- 1569 March (BH IV no. 664)
- 1569 April (BH IV no. 665; fig. 126)
- 1569 May (BH IV no. 666)

- 1569 June (BH IV no. 667)
- 1569 July (BH IV no. 668)
- 1569 August (BH IV no. 669).

In 1568, the publisher Hippolytos Valeris brought out a set of *Menaia* for March through October. They were all edited by Ioannes Nathanael:⁴⁹

- 1568 March (BH IV no. 650; fig. 127)
- 1568 April (BH IV no. 651)
- 1568 May (BH IV no. 652)
- 1568 June (BH IV no. 653)
- 1568 July (BH IV no. 654)
- 1568 August (BH IV no. 655)
- 1568 September (LADAS no. 59)
- 1568 October (LADAS no. 60).

Between 1581 and 1584, a series of *Menaia* were printed by Zuan Battista Tauroceni:⁵⁰

- 1581 September (BH II no. 274=IV no. 750)
- 1581 October (BH IV no. 751; LADAS no. 76)
- 1581 November (BH IV no. 752)
- 1581? December (STOYANOV no. 56 [sic])⁵¹
- 1582 December (BH IV no. 759; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 271)
- 1582 January (BH IV no. 757; fig. 128)
- 1582 February (BH IV no. 758)
- 1584 March (BH IV no. 779; LADAS no. 82).

Giovanni Aliprandi or Liprandi, published a series of *Menaia* in 1592-93, in partnership with Emmanouel Glyzounis, Loukas Sougdouris, and Antonio Zemelli or Gemelli.⁵² The printer of the *Menaia* was Fr. Giuliani:

- 1592 April (BH IV no. 833; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 295^a)
- 1592 June (BH II no. 197)
- 1592 July (BH IV no. 834)
- 1592 August (BH IV no. 835)
- 1593 March (MOSCHONAS II no. 541)⁵³
- 1593 April⁵⁴
- 1593 May (BH II no. 198=IV no. 840)
- 1593 June.⁵⁵

Emmanouel Glyzounis published another set of *Menaia* between 1592 and 1596. They were printed by Francesco Giuliani who later became his partner. The volumes are:

- 1592 March (LADAS no. 95)⁵⁶
- 1593 April (MOSCHONAS II no. 541)⁵⁷
- 1593 May (BH II no. 198=IV no. 840)
- 1595 August⁵⁸

- 1595 September (BH II no. 212)
 1595 October (BH II no. 213; fig. 129)
 1596 November (BH II no. 217).⁵⁹

A *Menaion* of February 1599 (BH IV no. 857; fig. 68) survives from the press of Domenico de Poloni, active at the end of the sixteenth and the very beginning of the seventeenth centuries.⁶⁰

The only known edition of the New Testament printed for Greek distribution is the one brought out in 1538 by G. A. Nicolini da Sabbio for M. Sessa, *Τῆς Καινῆς Διαθήκης, Ὑπαντα* (BH II no. 237). This edition was reprinted in 1687 by Nikolaos Glykys and in 1695 by Nikolaos Saros.⁶¹ There were no translations of the New Testament into modern Greek before the seventeenth century.⁶²

The *Evangelion* was first printed in 1539. It contains the sections, or pericopes, of the four Gospels in the order in which they are read by the deacon during the year during both Mass and the Offices.

- 1539 (S. Nicolini da Sabbio for Girolamo Giraldis and D. di Santa Maria) BH I no. 99
 1550 (A. Spinelli) BH I no. 127; fig. 64
 1552 (Cr. Zanetti) BH IV no. 537
 1560 (G. Leoncini) BH IV no. 599; LADAS no. 53⁶³
 1560 (Cr. Zanetti) PAPADOPOULOS II no. 199
 1563 (Cr. Zanetti) BH IV no. 615
 1575 (Cr. Zanetti) BH II no. 155; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 256
 1575 (G. Leoncini) BH IV no. 700
 1581 (Cr. Zanetti) BH II no. 273; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 266
 1584 (Ek ton typon tou Kounadou?) LADAS no. 83⁶⁴
 1586 (G. Aliprandi) ILIOU no. 21
 1588 (Heirs of Cr. Zanetti) LOVERDOU no. 1
 1588 (Fr. Giuliani for E. Glyzounis) BH II no. 182=II no. 282
 1590 (Heirs of Cr. Zanetti) BH IV no. 822; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 289
 1599 (Heirs of Cr. Zanetti) BH IV no. 856
 1599 (D. de Poloni) LADAS no. 99.⁶⁵

In 1588, Emmanouel Glyzounis compiled an *Evangelistarion* (BH II no. 183; LADAS no. 90) which contained a collection of tables and rubrics governing the reading of the Gospels throughout the year. The copyright for the printed edition of the *Evangelistarion* was obtained by Glyzounis some time between 1 February 1587 and early May 1588. His petition is undated.⁶⁶ Another, earlier, attempt had been made as far back as 1563 to print an *Evangelistarion*. On 13 October 1563, Antonios Episkopoulos was granted permission to print "il libro intitolato Evangelistarion et Paschaliū et Calendarium, scritti in lingua greca."⁶⁷ Whether the projected books were ever printed is not known. None have come down to us. An *Evangelistarion*, 1599 (VRETOS I no. 26) attributed to the press of E. Glyzounis is doubtful.⁶⁸

The earliest edition of the *Typikon* was printed in 1545. Damiano di Santa Maria, the publisher of the *Typikon*, obtained a copyright of ten years for its publication.⁶⁹ The *Typikon* is not actually a liturgical book proper, i.e., it is not used during any of the liturgical functions of the Church. It contains the order in which the liturgical ceremonies are conducted throughout the year and

gives all of the detailed rubrics of the different offices of each day for the entire year. Of the five editions mentioned in the sources, the 1525 edition was never published.⁷⁰ From those remaining, only two are extant today.

1545 (G. A. & P. Nicolini da Sabbio for D. di Santa Maria) BH I no. 114; fig. 130

1555 ILIOU, 318 no. 14

1577 (G. Leoncini) BH II no. 270

1584 ILIOU, 319 no. 27.

Εὐμεπίστη, ἐν οἰκίᾳ Ἰωακίμου ἀγιογράφου καὶ πέτρου τῶν σαβιέων καὶ
αὐτῶν δὲ λῶν. α, β, γ, δ, ε. ἱερομοναχίῳ, Δ'.

fig. 130

The earliest known edition of the *Akolouthia tou Anagnostou* is the one published in 1549 by Federico Torresano, *Ἀκολουθία τοῦ Ἀναγνώστου, ἡγουν τὰ Συλλειτουργικά* (BH I no. 123; LAYTON no. 18; fig. 131).⁷¹ After the death of the publisher, E. Glyzounis, in 1596, among his stock, there were 125 copies listed of an edition of the *Akolouthia tou Anagnostou*, listed as "*Siliturgie*." This edition was probably published by Glyzounis between 1588 and 1596 since all of the other books in his stock, with the exception of the editions of the classics, were published by him or his partners.⁷² There are only two extant editions of the *Akolouthia tou Anagnostou* in the sixteenth century.

1549 (F. Torresano) BH I no. 123; LAYTON no. 18; fig. 131

1594 (P. Zanetti)⁷³

Pre-1596 (E. Glyzounis).⁷⁴

Some recently published documents by S. Kaklamanis⁷⁵ have revealed that an agreement had been drawn between two members of the Greek community, Vasileios Valeris and Demetrios Marmaretos, the Italian businessman Sylvestro de Odino, and Metrophanes, Metropolitan of Caesarea, to publish an *Anthologion*. Metrophanes was in Venice at this time as the envoy of Patriarch Dionysios II. Nikolaos Malaxos and Andronikos Noukios, both members of the Greek Brotherhood, scribes, and editors of liturgical books, served as witnesses to the signing of the agreement. The request to the appropriate Venetian authorities to obtain permission to print the *Anthologion* was made by Demetrios Marmaretos on behalf of the partners. On 20 July 1548, a copyright was granted to "Dimitri Marmoreto et compagni per il libro greco titolato Anthologio delle laudi di Dio et de Santi."⁷⁶ There is also mention of the *Anthologion* in two other sources. On 30 November 1558, the heirs of Vasileios Valeris, his brothers Hippolitos, Nikolaos, Ioannis, and Georgios, filed a suit against Nikolaos Malaxos in order to recover the money owed to them for the sale of several books the Valeris brothers had sent to him in Crete. Among the various books listed, there is mention of 50 copies of an *Anthologion*.⁷⁷ This undoubtedly refers to the first edition of the *Anthologion*.⁷⁸ Also, a manuscript catalogue compiled in 1578 of the manuscripts and printed books of Metrophanes lists a printed edition of an *Anthologion*.⁷⁹ The *Anthologion* is a compression into a single volume of the Offices of the saints and the seasons.⁸⁰ The known sixteenth century editions are:

- 1548? (V. Valeris & D. Marmaretos) EISS III no. 3991=[155.]⁸¹
 1564 (H. Valeris) PAPADOPOULOS II no. 220^a
 1568 (H. Valeris) PAPADOPOULOS II no. 232^a
 1578 (C. Zanetti) ILIOU no. 13
 1579? (G. Leoncini) STOYANOV no. 52⁸²
 1582 (C. Zanetti) BH IV no. 756; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 268
 1587 (E. Glyzounis) BH II no. 175⁸³
 1593-94 (P. Zanetti) PAPADOPOULOS B no. 7
 1594 STOYANOV no. 64⁸⁴
 1598 (Heirs of P. Zanetti) SKLAVENITES no. 6
 1599 (D. de Poloni) PAPADOPOULOS II no. 309^a.

There was also a *Néon 'Avθολόγιον* printed in Rome in 1598 by the Vatican Printing Office (BH II no. 225), edited by the uniate Antonios Arkoudios, Protopapas of Soletto (fig. 47). The work presents, in a condensed form, the twenty most important liturgical books of the Orthodox Church. This edition was an attempt to imitate the Roman Breviary. It was addressed to uniate priests but hoped to attract the attention of the Orthodox priests as well, especially those who had to travel from church to church to perform the liturgy and could not carry with them all of the liturgical books needed for the service.⁸⁵

The *Heirmologion* is a collection of *heirmoi* or modal stanzas — with or without melodies — according to which the stanzas of each of the nine odes of the canons are to be sung. The *Heirmologion* is the book used by the chanter (ψάλτης) during the service. The printed *Heirmologia* of the sixteenth century, at least the three that have come down to us, do not include music. The earliest known edition of the *Heirmologion* is that of 1549 (PAPADOPOULOS II no. 130^a; fig. 132). It

was published by the same consortium that produced the first edition of the *Anthologion*. On 15 October 1549, Demetrios Marmaretos and his partners were granted permission to print the *Heirmologion*.⁸⁶ There are only three extant editions of the *Heirmologion* today:

- 1549 (V. Valeris and D. Marmaretos) PAPADOPOULOS II no. 130^a; fig. 132
 1553⁸⁷
 1568 (G. Leoncini) BH II no. 148⁸⁸
 1584 (Ek to typon tou Kounadou) BH II no. 169; FINAZZI no. 97; fig. 133.

ἈΝΘΟΛΟΓΙΑ ΤΟΥ
 ἀναγνώστου. ἡγουμένου
 συλλεκτηρίου.



Venetijs apud Federicum Turri-
 sanum. M D XLIX.

fig. 131

In 1595-96 Francesco Giuliani printed an *Ἀναγνωστικόν* (BH II no. 216) edited and financed by Emmanouel Glyzounis. In the preface Glyzounis says that he was urged to collect all of the lessons of the year into one book by the priest Georgios of Cyprus, who was well-versed in liturgical matters.⁸⁹ The *Anagnostikon* contains the text usually found in manuscripts of the *Prophetologion*, which is the Old Testament lectionary used in Byzantium. Manuscripts of the *Prophetologia* can be traced to the ninth century and disappear after the seventeenth century. The *Prophetologion/Anagnostikon* became obsolete as a liturgical book and was never reprinted after the edition of 1595-96.⁹⁰ It appears that there must have been at least one other, earlier printed edition of the *Prophetologion*, entitled *Ἀναγνώσματα προφητείας*, known only from a manuscript copy of the printed edition that is dated Venice 1545. The colophon of the manuscript appears to be an exact copy of the printed book, as it very much resembles countless colophons of liturgical editions of this period.⁹¹

Beside the liturgical books, only a handful of other religious works were printed during the sixteenth century. These include: I. Kartanos's translation into modern Greek of the stories of the



fig. 132

Bible; Damaskenos Stoudites's sermons, Alexios Rartouros's sermons; Z. Skordylis's compilation on the grades of kinship; a modern Greek translation of Saint Joannes Climacus's *Heavenly ladder*; and Gabriel Severos's treatise on the Sacraments. Before these are discussed, mention should be made of the *editio princeps* of Saint Basil, *Opera*, printed in Venice in 1535 by Stefano Nicolini da Sabbio, (LADAS no. 24; FINAZZI no. 66). The printing of this work was conceived and executed by Stefano Nicolini da Sabbio who requested and received a ten-year copyright from the Venetian authorities to print it.⁹² Although Stefano was responsible for the edition, the work was partly financed by Damiano di Santa Maria. A certain number of copies were printed at his expense and bear his name as publisher in the colophon. Damiano di Santa Maria's clients were, as far as can be ascertained, almost exclusively the Greeks of Italy and the Eastern Mediterranean. Thus, one can safely infer that the copies published at his expense were to be for sale to mostly Greek clients. Copies of the Saint Basil survive with the variant colophons. Some only mention Stefano Nicolini da Sabbio (FINAZZI no. 66: Venetiis per Stephanum De Sabio MD XXXV. Mensis Octobris XXV), while others give Stefano as printer and Damiano as publisher (LADAS



fig. 133

monachy collegij Societatis Jesu. L. 5484¹

ΤΟ ΠΑΡΟΝ ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ ΕΝΑΙ Η
παλαιά τε καὶ νέα διαθήκη, ἥτοι τὸ αἶθος
καὶ ἀναγγαῖον αἰῶνος. ἔστι δὲ πᾶς
ἐν ὠφελίμῳ καὶ ἀναγκαῖον
πρὸς πᾶσα χρεία αἰῶνος.

Approbavit R. P. Camisius 1578
συνὸ θεῶ



Ἀρχὴ τὸ ἡμῶν παιτὸς.

Non sine Priuilegio
Jo. Alb. Widmestady.
Venerat

fig. 134

no. 24: Venetiis per Stephanum De Sabio sumptu expensis vero d. Damiani de Sancta Maria MD XXXV. Mensis Octobris XXV). The type with which the Saint Basil was printed (K no. 2: 20 lines=88-89 mm) belonged to Damiano di Santa Maria. With the exception of the Saint Basil, this font was used exclusively for Damiano's publications.⁹³ For the edition of Saint Basil, the editor used four manuscripts, three of which were from the collection of Cardinal Bessarion bequeathed to the Marciana in Venice.⁹⁴

A similar type of arrangement must have been made for the publication of Νικήτα φιλοσόφου τοῦ καὶ Δαβίδ, Ἑρμηνεία εἰς τὰ τετράστιχα...Γρηγορίου τοῦ Ναζιανζηνοῦ, 1563 (BH I no. 140; BH IV no. 617; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 218). The work was edited and partly financed by Zacharias Skordylis. The remainder of the expenses defrayed by the printer, Francesco Zanetti. There are copies which have Zacharias Skordylis's portrait and a lengthy colophon in Greek as given in BH I no. 140. The variant editions omit Skordylis's portrait and epigrams as well as the Greek

ἐν τῇ ἀμαρτίᾳ. καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἔτι κακὸν λογισμὸν πρὸς-
 τῶν. καὶ πάλιν λέγει, ὁρθοὶ μεταλαμβάνετε τῶν θείων
 ἐργῶν ἀγαθῶν, ἡ γοῦν αὖς ἐχομεν ὁρθόδοξον πίστιν
 καὶ αὖς πιστεύομεν ὁρθῶς καὶ καλὰ τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν ἰη-
 σοῦν χριστὸν καὶ ὅτι αὐτὸ ἐκεῖνο ᾔδει τὸ σῶμα καὶ αἷμα
 τοῦ χριστοῦ καὶ ὅχι ἄλλο. ἢ εἰς τύπον αὐτοῦ. ἀλλὰ κα-
 λικὰ αὐτὸ, ὡς ποτὶ εἶπεν ὁ κύριος ὅτι τὸ σῶμα μου τὸ
 ὑμῶν κληόμενον εἰς ἀφεσιν ἀμαρτιῶν. καὶ τὸ ὁμοίως, τὸ
 ὅτι τὸ αἷμα μου τὸ ὑπερ ὑμῶν ἐκχυμένον εἰς ἀφεσιν
 ἀμαρτιῶν, δὲν εἶπε ὁ κύριος ᾔδει εἰς τύπον τοῦ σώματος μου
 ἢ τοῦ αἵματος μου. ἀλλὰ ὁ κύριος ὅτι ἡ γοῦν ὁ κύριος ᾔδει.
 ὁ κύριος καὶ ὁ ἱερεὺς λέγει ὁρθῶς καὶ πιστὰ πιστεύεται καὶ
 ἔστι τὸ λαμβάνεται οἱ καλλοὶ καὶ οἱ δίκαιοι ὡς ποτὶ αὐ-
 τὸ ἐκεῖνο τὸ σῶμα καὶ αἷμα τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν ἰησοῦ χρι-
 στοῦ καὶ διότι δοξολογίαν τῷ θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ τῷ ἀξιώσαντι
 ἡμᾶς μεταλαβεῖν τῶν ἀγαθῶν αὐτοῦ μυστηρίων. ἔπει-
 σα λέγει δολογία κυρίου ἐστὶ ἐφ' ὑμᾶς τῇ αὐτῇ χάρι-
 τι καὶ φιλανθρωπία πάντοτε νῦν καὶ αἰεὶ καὶ εἰς αἰῶ-
 νας τῶν αἰώνων. ἡ γοῦν νὰ ᾔδει πάντοτε ἡ χάρις τοῦ
 κυρίου καὶ ἡ δολογία μετὰ τὸν λαόν, καὶ ὁ λαὸς βεβαιῶν
 τὸν λόγον τοῦ ἱερέως καὶ λέγει ἀμὲν νὰ γένη ἔτι ὡς-
 ποτὶ λέγεις ἐνύ δέσποτα. Δόξα τῷ θεῷ.

Τ Ε Λ Ο Σ.

In Venegia per M. Damian di Santa
 Maria: ne l'anno del Signore.
 M. D. X L I X.

fig. 135

colophon which explains Skordylis's part in the preparation of the book. Instead, there is a dedication to Cardinal Hernando Medici (BH IV no. 617; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 218; FINAZZI no. 92) signed by Francesco Zanetti. Thus one can infer that the copies financed by Zacharias Skordylis were printed with a Greek clientele in mind while the ones dedicated to Cardinal Fernando de' Medici were to be sold by the printer to his Italian and other Western customers.

In the documents recently published by S. Kaklamanis, there is a transcription of an *imprimatur* granted to Demetrios Marmaretos and company for the publication of the *Nomimon*. The *imprimatur* is dated 16 February 1549. It was granted after the publication of the 1548 *Anthologion* and before the request by the same group to publish the *Heirmologion*. According to the *imprimatur*, the work to be published is described as "li canoni de Apostoli et Concilii generali et particolari, con certe espositioni di piu auttori, il qual libro è chiamato Nomimo."⁹⁵ The *Nomimon* as described in the *imprimatur* contained a collection of the canons of the Apostles, and the various topical and oecumenical synods, as well as interpretations of earlier laws and writers of Byzantine canon law. This is the first attempt by the Greek Orthodox Church to issue a printed

version of the canons based on post-byzantine law. It is possible that this edition of the *Nomimon* was similar to or based on the "Synopsis Minor," a Byzantine work that was very popular during the years of the *Tourkokratia*. In the sixteenth century, it was paraphrased into modern Greek by Theodosios Zygomalas, who was an official of the Patriarchate of Constantinople. His father, Ioannis Zygomalas, had accompanied Metrophanes of Caesarea during his visit to Italy and acted as his secretary and interpreter.⁹⁶ However, it is doubtful if the *Nomimon* was ever printed in 1549.⁹⁷

The first religious book in the vernacular was Ioannikios Kartanos's *Tò paròn biblíon énai h̄ palaiá te kai néa diathíkē ētoi tò anthos*, 1536 (BH I no. 95; fig. 134). The work was based on the type of vernacular compilations published in Italy and elsewhere under the title *Fioretti della Bibbia* that were addressed to the masses and were extremely popular. The Italian editions were usually profusely illustrated in order to facilitate understanding of the stories in the Bible. The Kartanos work has only eight woodcut illustrations (fig. 100a-e). Ioannikios Kartanos (c. 1500-after 1567) was a cleric (an hieromonachos, a monk who is a consecrated priest). He also appears to have held

the title of Protosynkellos of Corfu. He was in Venice as early as 1534, where he was incarcerated as a result of an altercation between himself and the uniate Archbishop of Monemvasia, Arsenios Apostolis, when the latter took the pulpit at the Greek Orthodox Church in Venice. It appears that Kartanos worked on his compilation between 29 May 1534 and 29 September 1537, while he was in prison. The work was not only translated and prepared for publication while Kartanos was in prison but was also published while he was still incarcerated.⁹⁸

The application to obtain a copyright to print the Kartanos *Anthos*, as the work is popularly known, was made by Giovanni Francesco Trincavelli, who, as far as is known, had no connection with Kartanos. However, during the 1530s, he and his father, Vettore Trincavelli, edited and financed the printing of a number of classical texts, all printed by Bartolomeo Zanetti, who was also the printer of the first edition of the *Anthos*. The Trincavelli had also financed the printing of the *Horologion*, 1535 (BH I no. 94), also printed by B. Zanetti.⁹⁹ The name of Kartanos was not mentioned at all in the copyright application.



ΠΡΟΛΟΓΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΠΑΛΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ
νέας διαθήκης. κεφ. α΄.



ΑΝ ἱεράτατοι μητροπολίται, θεοφιλέτατοι ἐπίσκοποι, δούλαβέστωι τοι ἱερομονάχοι καὶ μοναχοί, θεοσεβέστατοι ἱερεῖς, ἐνδεδεότατοι ἀρχόντες καὶ ἄλλοι οἱ κυρίου καὶ χριστοῦ ἱεροῦ λαοὶ μικροῖ τε καὶ μεγάλαι αὐτοῦ τε καὶ γυναικῶν, χάρις εἴη ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη παρὰ θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ κυρίου ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγὼ ὁ δούλος καὶ ἀνάξιος ἰωάννιμος ἱερομόναχος ὁ καὶ πάντος καὶ μέγας πρῶτο σύγγελος κερκύρων, ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν καὶ ἀμαρτιῶν δούλῳ καὶ φιλακίῳ τῶν βυζαντινῶν. ὁ δὲ διὰ τὴν κακίαν ὅτι ἐποίησα, ἀλλὰ χάριτι τοῦ χριστοῦ διὰ τὴν ἡμῶν δούλειαν καὶ ἀλήθειαν. διὸ ὡς αἰτήσαν, δούλειος καὶ ἀνὴρ μὴ ἔχων τὴν ποιῆσαι διὰ τὴν δούλειαν τῶν λογισμῶν, ὁ βούληθῃ ποιῆσαι ἐκλογὴν τὰ ἐγχεῖται καὶ ἀναγγεῖλαι πάντα τῆς παλαιᾶς τε καὶ νέας διαθήκης μετὰ πολλῶν ἐτέρων ἱστοριῶν καὶ τῶν βασιλέων τὰς πράξεις εἰς ὀλίγους λόγους, καὶ τὰς ἐπὶ ἀγίας καὶ οἰκουμένης σωόδους περὶ ἡμεῶν καὶ ἐκείνης ἀπ' αὐτῶν καὶ μετὰ πόσους χρόνους καὶ κατὰ πῶς καὶ εἰς τέλος ἔκαμα δεκάεννέα λόγους.

β ιιι

fig. 136

The publication of the *Kartanos Anthos* created a minor incident among the more conservative elements of the Orthodox world. Among Kartanos's most virulent critics was the monk Pachomios Rousanos (1508-1553), who called Kartanos a heretic. In addition to objecting to the language, Rousanos also took exception to the fact that the contents of Kartanos's work were subversive because they included apocryphal material.¹⁰⁰ The *Kartanos Anthos* included additional material besides the Bible stories usually not found in its Italian prototype.¹⁰¹ Despite the disapproval of the Church, the work became very popular. There are indications that it was read widely during the sixteenth century. In 1578, an edition of the *Anthos* was even sent to Martinus Crusius at the University of Tübingen, who mentions that it was very popular.¹⁰²

Although only four editions survive today, the make-up of the 1549 edition suggests that there was at least one additional, missing edition, printed after 1536 and before 1549. With the exception of the title page and the page containing the colophon (leaf φφ8^r; fig. 135), which are printed with the type designated as DS no. 3 (20 lines=88-89mm), the remainder of the work is printed with the type and ornaments that belonged to Bartolomeo Zanetti (20 lines=87-88 mm; fig. 136). Thus, the 1549 edition of the *Anthos* is composed mostly of leaves from an earlier, unrecorded edition printed by Bartolomeo Zanetti. Unsold copies of it were bought by Damiano di Santa Maria, who presented it as a new edition by substituting the title page and colophon, both of which appear to be cancels. A comparison of the layout and illustrations of the Zanetti 1536 edition to that of 1549 shows that the 1549 edition was definitely not composed of copies from the 1536 edition (fig. 137). The missing edition was printed by B. Zanetti probably before or shortly after 1540, as Zanetti's type was acquired and used by Giovanni Farri to produce a handful of classical editions between 1542 and 1544.¹⁰³ The known editions of Kartanos are the following:

1536 (B. Zanetti) BH I no. 95; figs. 134, 137

Pre-1540 (B. Zanetti)¹⁰⁴

1549 (D. di Santa Maria) ADAMS K no. 6; PAPADOPOULOS I no. 3038/6129^a;
figs. 135, 136¹⁰⁵

1556 (C. Zanetti)

1567 (G. Leoncini); BH II no. 145=IV no. 641; fig. 63.



ΠΡΟΛΟΓΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΠΑΛΑΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ
νέας διαθήκης.
κεφ. α'.



ΑΝ ἱερώτατοι μητροπολίται,
θεοφιλέστατοι ἐπίσκοποι, δόξα
βίστατοι ἱερομνηστές καὶ μονα-
χοί, θεοσεβέστατοι ἱερεῖς, ἐνδο-
ξότατοι ἀρχόντες καὶ ἄπαρ ὁ
κυεῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ λαὸς με-
κροῖτε καὶ μεγάλοι ἀνδρες τε
καὶ γυναῖκες, χάρις εἰν ὑμῖν καὶ
εἰρήνη παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ κυρίου ἡμε-
τέρου Ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ.
ἐπειδὴ ἐγὼ ὁ ὑπεταγμένος καὶ ἀνάξιος ἰακωνίκος ἱε-
ρομόναχος ὁ καρτάνος καὶ μέγας πρῶτος σύγγελος
κερκύρων, ἐκ τῶν πολλῶν μετ' ἀμαρτιῶν ὑμῶν
ἐς φιλακὴν τῶν βενετιῶν. ἐξ ἧς διὰ τινος κακῆς ὁπ-
ποῖσας, ἀλλὰ χάριτι τοῦ χριστοῦ διὰ τὴν ἡμῶν δι-
σειαν καὶ ἀλήθειαν. δι' ἣν αἰτίαν, ὑπεταγόμενος ἐν
αὐτῇ μὴ ἔχον τὴν ποιῆσαι διὰ τὰς διὰ τὴν τοῦ
σμοῦς, ἡ βλαβερὴν ποιῆσαι ἐκλογὴν τὰ ἔγκειται καὶ
ἀναπαύει πάντα τῆς παλαιᾶς τε καὶ νέας διαθήκης
μετὰ πολλῶν ἐπὶ τῶν ἱστοριῶν καὶ τῶν βασιλέων
καὶ πρῶτοις ὡς ὀλίγοις λόγοις, καὶ τὰς ἐπὶ ἀγίας
α

fig. 137

ΡΟΙΗ' ΜΑ ΔΑΜΑΣΚΗΝΟΥ ΜΟΝΑΧΟΥ.
ΡΙ' Ν Α Ξ .

Λόγος εἰς τὴν ἀναγγελισμὸν τῆς θεοτόκου .	λόγος.	Α
Τοῦ αὐτοῦ, εἰς τὴν χριστοῦ γέννησιν .	λόγος.	Β
Τοῦ αὐτοῦ, εἰς τὰ ἅγια θεοφανεία .	λόγος.	Γ
Τοῦ αὐτοῦ, εἰς τὴν ὑπαπαντήν τ' σωτῆρος .	λόγος.	Δ
Τοῦ αὐτοῦ, εἰς τὴν ἔγχεσιν τοῦ λαζάρου .	λόγος.	Ε
Τοῦ αὐτοῦ, εἰς τὰ βαία .	λόγος.	Σ
Τοῦ αὐτοῦ, εἰς τὴν θεόσωμον πεφύλ .	λόγος.	Ζ
Τοῦ αὐτοῦ, εἰς τὸ πάχα .	λόγος.	Η
Τοῦ αὐτοῦ, εἰς τὴν ἀνάληψιν τ' σωτῆρος .	λόγος.	Θ
Τοῦ αὐτοῦ, εἰς τὴν πνευματικὴν .	λόγος.	Ι
Τοῦ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν μεταμόρφωσιν .	λόγος.	ΙΑ
Τοῦ αὐτοῦ, εἰς τὴν κρίμιν τῆς θεοτόκου .	λόγος.	ΙΒ
Τοῦ αὐτοῦ, εἰς τὰ εἰσόδια τῆς θεοτόκου .	λόγος.	ΙΓ
Τοῦ αὐτοῦ, μαρτύριον τ' ἁγίου γεωργίου .	λόγος.	ΙΔ
Τοῦ αὐτοῦ, διδασκαλία περὶ τρεπτικήν ποδὶ τὸ μὴ σφοδρῶς θρηνεῖν αὐτὸν πε- λούτωντας .	λόγος.	ΙΕ
Τοῦ αὐτοῦ, διδασκαλία περὶ τρεπτικήν ποδὶ νηστείας .	λόγος.	ΙΣ
Τοῦ αὐτοῦ, μαρτύριον τ' ἁγίου θεοδώρου τ' στρατηλάτου .	λόγος.	ΙΖ
Τὸ αὐτοῦ, εἰς τὰ θαύματα τ' ταξιαρχῶν μιχαὴλ καὶ γαβριὴλ .	λόγος.	ΙΗ
Τοῦ αὐτοῦ, μαρτύριον τ' ἁγίου Ἰσααίου τ' δευτέρου ἰωβ .	λόγος.	ΙΘ
Τοῦ αὐτοῦ, βίβλος τ' ἁγίου निकολάου τ' θαυματουργοῦ .	λόγος.	Κ
Τοῦ αὐτοῦ, τῇ κυριακῇ τ' πλάνου καὶ φαρισαίου .	λόγος.	ΚΑ
Τοῦ αὐτοῦ, τῇ κυριακῇ τ' ἀσώπου .	λόγος.	ΚΒ
Τῇ κυριακῇ, τῆς ἀπόκριω .	λόγος.	ΚΓ
Τῇ κυριακῇ, τῆς ἑκτεμνώσεως .	λόγος.	ΚΔ
Τῇ κυριακῇ, τῆς ὁρθοδοξίας .	λόγος.	ΚΕ
Τῇ κυριακῇ, τῆς σωροπεσκιωήσεως .	λόγος.	ΚΣ
Βίβλος πολιτείας τῆς ὁσίας μαρίας τῆς αἰγυπτίας .	λόγος.	ΚΖ
Τῇ κυριακῇ, τῷ θωμᾷ .	λόγος.	ΚΗ
Τῇ κυριακῇ, τῷ μυροφόρῳ .	λόγος.	ΚΘ
Τῇ κυριακῇ, τ' παραλύτου .	λόγος.	Λ
Τῇ κυριακῇ, τῆς ἀμαρτίδος .	λόγος.	ΛΑ
Τῇ κυριακῇ, τ' τυφλοῦ .	λόγος.	ΛΒ
Τῇ κυριακῇ, τῷ ἁγίῳ τῇ θεοφόρῳ πατόρῳ .	λόγος.	ΛΓ
Τῇ κυριακῇ, τῷ ἁγίῳ πάντων .	λόγος.	ΛΔ
Μαρτύριον τ' ἁγίου ἑνδόξου μεγαλομάρτυρος διμητρίου τ' μυροβλύτου .	λόγος.	ΛΕ
Μαρτύριον τ' ἁγίου ἑνδόξου μεγαλομάρτυρος θεοδώρου τ' τήρωνος .	λόγος.	ΛΣ

✠ ΙΙ



ΔΑΜΑΣΚΗΝΟΥ ΜΟΝΑΧΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΥΠΟ

Διακόνου καὶ σπουδίου. λόγος περὶ τῆς φράσεως. εἰς τὴν περὶ τῆς
 ῥων ἐγδρόσιν τῆς λαζάρου. Λόγος, ε.

Τρία μὲν εἶναι τὰ ψυχῆς. ἀπὸ τὰ ὅποια μὲν, ὀνομάζεται ἡ ψυχὴ τῆς ἀνθρώπου, τριμύτης. εἶναι δὲ τὸ λογικόν. τὸ θυμικόν. καὶ τὸ ἐπιθυμητικόν. αὐτὰ τὰ τρία, δὲν εἶναι αἴτιος ὅπου νὰ μὴν τὰ ἔχῃ. ὅτι εἶναι φυσικὰ καὶ ἐνδεδεγμένα τῆς ψυχῆς τῆς καθ' ἑαυτοῦ αἴτιος. ὅτι ἂν αὐτὰ χερίζῃ αἴτιος ἀπὸ τὰ ἄλλα ζῶα. ἀπὸ μὲν τὸ θυμικόν καὶ ἐπιθυμητικόν, χερίζῃ ἀπὸ τὰ ἄψυχα. ἀπὸ δὲ τὸ λογικόν, χερίζῃ ἀπὸ τὰ ἄλογα ζῶα. ἔστι λογικὸν μὲν εἶναι, ὅτι ὁ καθ' ἑαυτοῦ αἴτιος ἀνάγκη νὰ ἔχῃ λόγον, ὁ λόγος δὲ εἶναι διωλός. λέγεται λόγος προφορικὸς. λέγεται ἔσθ' ὁ λόγος ἐνδεδεγμένος. προφορικὸς μὲν εἶναι, αὐτὸς ὅπου σιωπῶντι καὶ ἀκούει. καὶ ἀκούει τῶν ἄλλων τοῦ λόγου καὶ τὰ νοήματα. ἐνδεδεγμένος δὲ εἶναι, αὐτὸς ὅπου συλλογίζεται ὁ αἴτιος μέσα εἰς τὸν νοῦν του. καὶ ἄλλος δὲν δύναται νὰ καταλάβῃ μὴδὲ νὰ ἀκούσῃ. αὐτὸς ὅπου σιωπῶντι καὶ ὅταν κοιμώμεσιν. αὐτὸς ὁ λόγος ὁ ἐνδεδεγμένος, εἶναι τιμωτόρος ἀπὸ τῆς προφορικῆς. ὡς λέγουσιν οἱ φιλόσοφοι τῶν ἑλλήνων, ἀλλὰ ὅλοι οἱ αἴτιοι τὸ ὁμολογοῦσιν. διὸ πᾶσι λέγουσιν ἐστὶν μετὰ συλλογισμὸν. ὁ ἐνδεδεγμένος λόγος, εἶναι μονιμωτόρος ἀπὸ τῆς προφορικῆς. ἡ γὰρ πᾶσι συλλογισμὸν εἶναι ὁ ἐνδεδεγμένος λόγος, παρὰ τῆς προφορικῆς. ὅτι καὶ πᾶσι φορεῖς μετὰ τὸ σῶμα δὲν σιωπῶντι καὶ ἀκούει, ἀλλὰ μέσα μας ὁμολοῦμεν. ἔστιν ὁ ἐνδεδεγμένος λόγος, ἐκασμὴν ὁμολοῦμεν καὶ πολυχρονιωτόρος ἀπὸ τῆς προφορικῆς. πᾶσα πολυχρονιωτόρος, εἶναι ἔτι μᾶλλον ὡς πᾶσι δὲ ὁ ἐνδεδεγμένος λόγος, εἶναι τιμωτόρος ἀπὸ τῆς προφορικῆς. ἔτι μᾶλλον μετὰ τὸν ἀνθρώπον δύσκολον. εἶναι δὲ ὁ σάνδρα. ἔτι ὁ εἶναι σάπημον καὶ ὀλιγοβάσταχτον, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο εἶναι γόνον καὶ πολυβάσταχτον, πᾶσι φανερὸν εἶναι τιμωτόρος. τιμωτόρος φαίνεται νὰ εἶναι τὸ πολυβάσταχτον. ἐστὶν εἶναι ὁ δὲ δύο λόγοι τῆς αἴτιος. τὸ μὲν προφορικόν, πολλὰς φορὰς τὸ χερίζῃ αἴτιος, καὶ γίνεσθαι βωβός. τὸν δὲ ἐνδεδεγμένον, δὲν εἶναι δύναται νὰ τὸ χερίζῃ αἴτιος ὡς εἶναι. ἔτι μᾶλλον μονιμωτόρος εἶναι ὁ ἐνδεδεγμένος, ὅτι τοῦτο εἶναι ἔτι μᾶλλον ἀπὸ τῆς προφορικῆς. ἀπὸ αὐτὸν τὸ ἐνδεδεγμένον λόγον, λέγεται ὁ αἴτιος λογικὸς. ἔτι ἀπὸ τῆς προφορικῆς. ὅτι ἀνέλεγον ἀπὸ τῆς προφορικῆς, δὲν ἠδὲ λαλῶν λέγεσθαι λογικοί, ὅσοι αἴτιοι εἶναι βωβοί. ἀλλὰ μὴδὲ αἴτιοι ἠδὲ λαλῶν ἔστι. ὅτι ὁ αἴτιος αὐτὸς τὸ λογικόν, χερίζῃ ἀπὸ τὰ ἄλογα ζῶα καὶ ὡς τὸ ἐπὶ προείπα, πᾶσι
τῆς
θυμικῆς.

Εἰ μάλιστα ποῖον εἶναι τὸ λογικόν; θυμικόν δὲ ὀνομάζεται, ὅτι ἀνάγκη εἶναι πᾶσι αἴτιος νὰ ἔχῃ καὶ θυμόν. τί δὲ εἶναι ὁ θυμός; ἀκούσιν τῶν φιλοσόφων ὅπου λέγουσιν. θυμός ἐστὶ, ζέσις τοῦ πᾶσι καρδίου αἵματος, δι' ἧς ἐκτείνῃ ἀπὸ τῆς πύλης. ἡ γὰρ ὁλόγηται εἰς τὴν καρδίαν τοῦ αἴτιος, εἶναι αἵμα συμαζομένης. καὶ πᾶσι
τῆς
θυμικῆς.

Θεοφανὸς ε ε

It is not yet known when the earliest edition of Damaskenos Stoudites's sermons, *Βιβλίον ὀνομαζόμενον Θησαυρός*, popularly known as *Thesaurus*, was printed.¹⁰⁶ What is known is that the work was certainly not printed in 1528, the date given in some of the earlier sources.¹⁰⁷ The date in the Askew citation is either a misprint or a misreading of the year 1628 (BH XVIIIs. I no. 178).¹⁰⁸ On the basis of this false date of 1528, other erroneous assumptions were made about the early part of Damaskenos's life. The following few particulars are known about Damaskenos's early years. He was born in Thessaloniki,¹⁰⁹ probably during the latter part of the first quarter of the sixteenth century. He was educated at the Patriarchal Academy in Constantinople under the tutelage of Theophanes Eleavoukos, who taught there between 1543 and 1551.¹¹⁰ While in Constantinople, Damaskenos became a monk and was given the name Damaskenos Stoudites. It is doubtful that he belonged to the order of the monks of the famous Stoudion monastery since the Stoudion monastery had been turned into a mosque during the reign of Bayazid II (1481-1512).¹¹¹ It was during this time that he preached sermons in Constantinople that he delivered in the spoken language, so that they could be understood by the masses. Some time before 1558, he went to Venice to publish his sermons, as he mentioned in an undated letter to Georgios Aitolos written in March and signed "Δαμασκηνὸς ὁ Στουδίτης." Damaskenos wrote that he was on his way to Venice via Corfu: "Ἐνετῆνδε βαδιούμεθα διὰ Κερκύρας."¹¹² It was assumed that the work was printed before 1558 because, by 1558, Damaskenos was no longer an hypodiakonos but had been elevated to the rank of hieromonachos. This information is given in one of his signed and dated manuscripts.¹¹³ Some time later, before 1564, he was consecrated bishop of Lite and

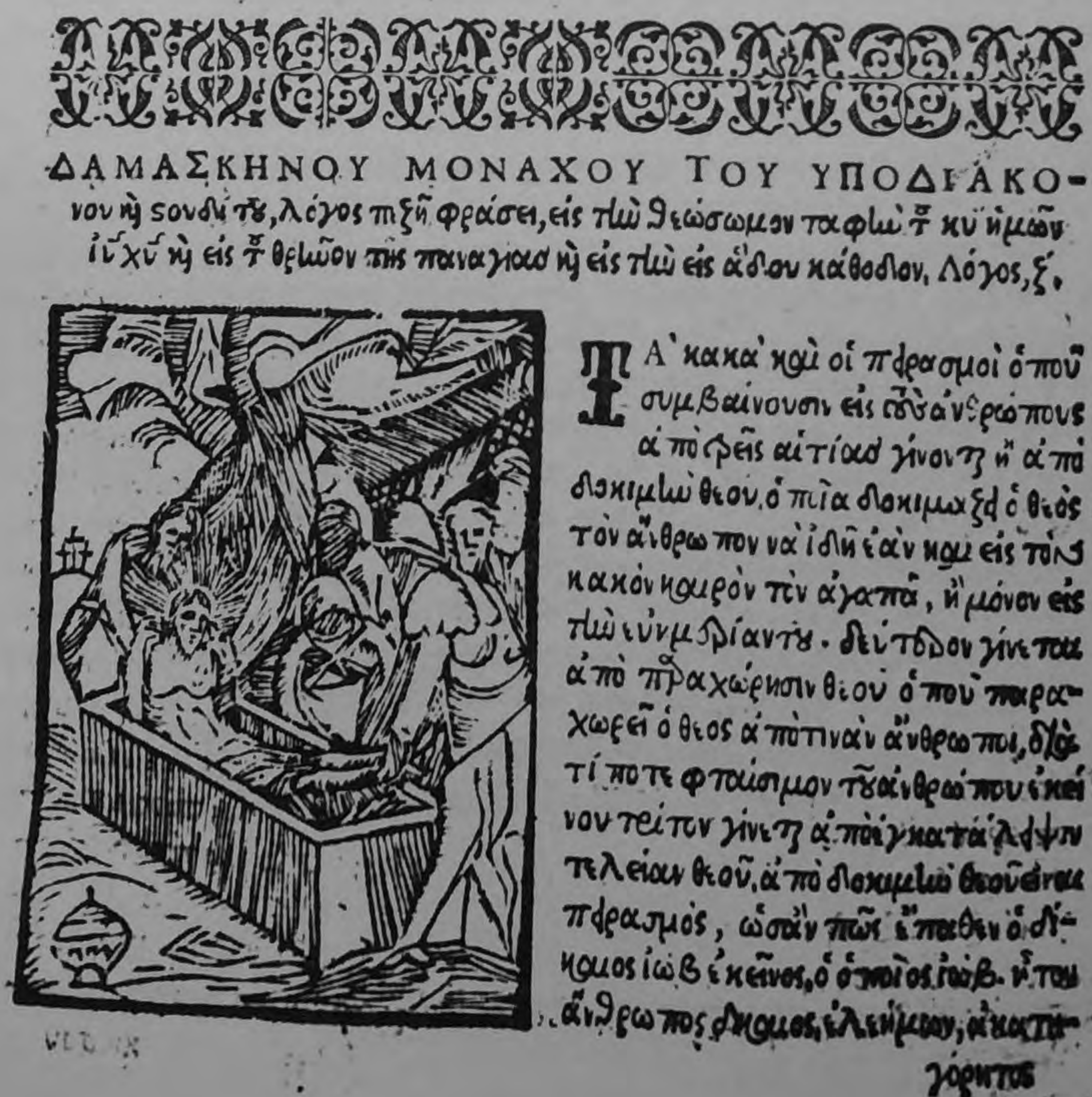


fig. 140

ΔΙΔΑΧΑΙ ΑΛΕΞΙΟΥ
 ΓΕΡΕΩΣ ΤΟΥ ΡΑΡΤΟΥΡΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΧΑΡΤΟ-
 ΦΥΛΑΚΟΣ ΚΑΡΚΥΡΑΣ ΤΟΥ Π ΤΟ ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ ΚΑΛΕΪΤΑΙ . ΕΠΕΙΔΗ ΠΕΡΙΕΧΕΙ
 ΙΑΥΤΑΙ, ΤΑΣ ΙΔΙΑΣ ΑΥΤΕ ΔΙΔΑΧΑΣ ΕΠΙ ΚΑΘ' ΕΙΡΜΟΝ Ε ΤΑΞΙΝ ΔΙΗΡΗΚΕ
 ΤΑΣ ΔΥΡΥΘΜΩΣ Ε ΤΕΧΝΙΚΩΣ ΣΥΝΤΟΙΣ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΠΕΡΟΙΜΙΟΙΣ ΗΘΙΚΟΙΣ ΤΕ
 ΚΥΘΠΙΛΟΓΟΙΣ . Ε ΕΡΜΗΝΕΥΘΗΣΑΣ ΠΑΡΑΥΤΕ ΕΙΣ ΚΟΙΝΗΝ ΔΥΣΑΛΕΚΤΟΝ
 ΠΡΟΣ ΜΑΓΙΣΤΗΝ ΩΦΕΛΕΙΑΝ ΠΑΝΤΟΣ Τ ΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΟΥ ΛΑΩ.



Χάριτι τῆς ἐκλαμψεστάτης ἀρχῆς τῆς ἐν τῇ, δωρηθείση πρὸς
 εἰρημώω ἱερεῖ δι' ἧς δέχα ἵνα μή τις ἐπεὶς πολμήση τυπω-
 σαι αὐτάς ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πόλει, μήτε ἄλλοδίως τυπωθεῖ-
 σαι πωλήσῃ ἐν τοῖς χερσίν τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀρχῆς. εἰ δὲ
 μὴ δώσῃ δίκην χερσίν τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀρχῆς, καὶ
 ἑτέρα ὡς ἐν τῇ χάριτι γέγραπται.

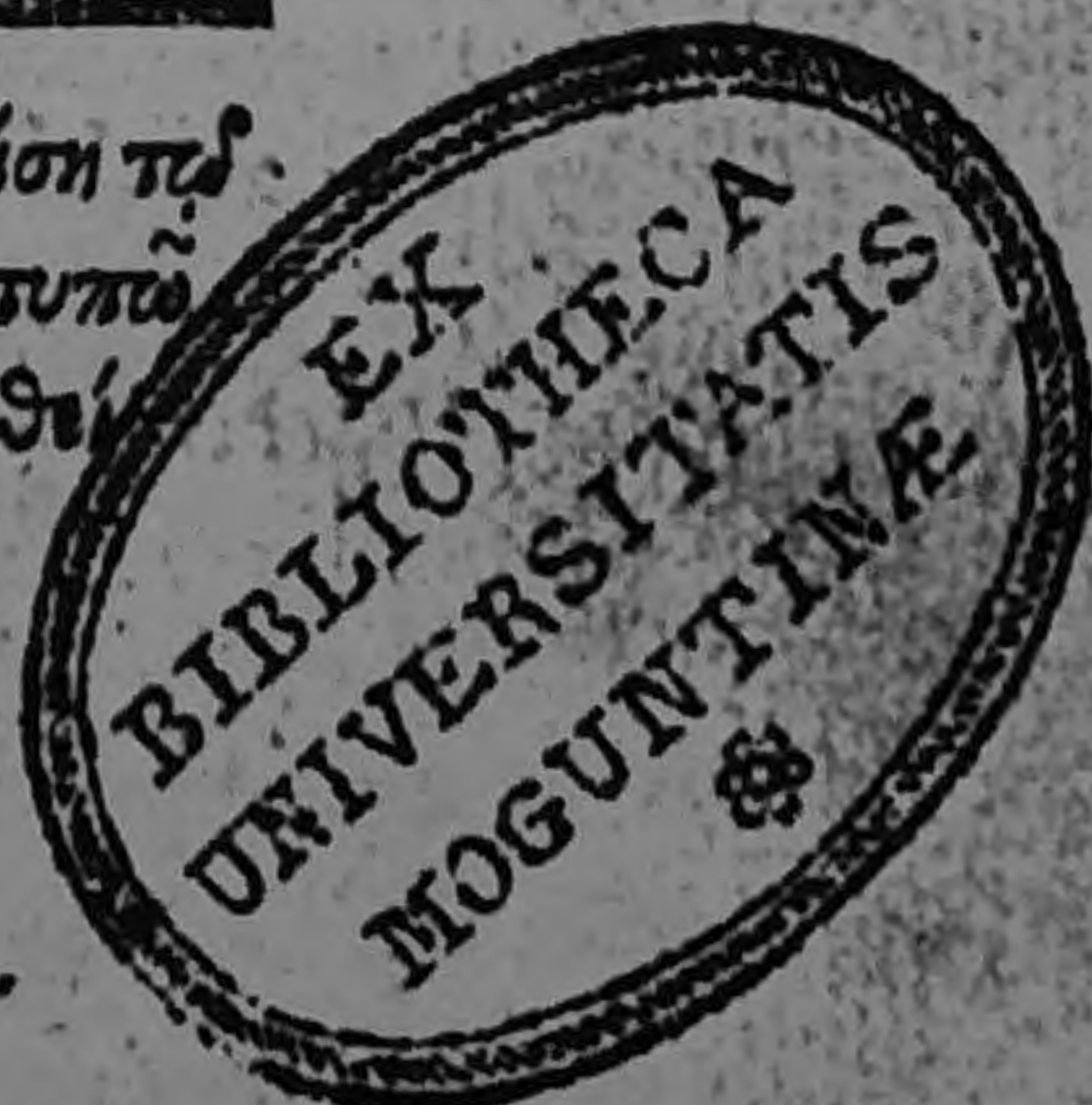


fig. 141a

Τὸ παρὸν βιβλίον ἐτυπώθη ἐνετίησιν, ἐν οἰκίᾳ ἀλεξίεως ἱερέως τοῦ
 εὐαγγελίου καὶ χαρτοφύλακος κερκύρας· ὧ καὶ ὡς δὲ τῆς ἐκ-
 λαμπροτάτης ἀρχῆς τῶν ἐνετῶν συνεχωρήθη ἡ χά-
 ρις ὡς εἴρηται ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ τοῦ βιβλίου. ἔπει τῆς
 ἐν σάρκου οἰκονομίας α, φ ξ.
 ἐν μὲν φροδραλείᾳ ε-

fig. 141b

Rendina. During the patriarchate of Metrophanes III (1565-1572), Damaskenos was sent to Poland as envoy, or exarch, of the Patriarch.¹¹⁴ Damaskenos was the preceptor of Hieremias Tranos, who later became the Patriarch of Constantinople Hieremias II (1572-1579). During the first patriarchate of Hieremias II, Damaskenos was made *τοποτηρητής* (vicar) of the patriarchate (between 19 October 1573 and July 1574) for the duration of Patriarch Hieremias's trip to the Peloponnese.¹¹⁵ In 1574, Damaskenos became Metropolitan of Naupaktos and Arta and Exarch of Aetolia. He died in 1577.¹¹⁶

The *Thesaurus* was the only work among Damaskenos Stoudites's writings to appear in print during the sixteenth century.¹¹⁷ As I have mentioned, the date of publication of the first edition is unknown. Some believe that the earliest known edition, that of 1557-58,¹¹⁸ could not have been the first because, as already mentioned above, by 1558 Damaskenos was already an hieromonachos. Indeed, the recently discovered edition of 1557-58 mentions in the colophon that it is newly corrected "νεωστὶ μετὰ πολλῆς ἐπιμελείας διορθωθέν." All editions copied the title page of the first edition and called Damaskenos Stoudites an hypodiakonos, the rank he held when the *Thesaurus* was first printed. It might very well be that the first edition of the *Thesaurus* was printed as early as the beginning of the 1550s by one of the Nicolini da Sabbio. This suggestion is based on the fact that the earliest extant editions examined, those of 1557-58, 1561, and 1562, all printed by Cristoforo Zanetti, have a title page border that belonged to and had been used previously by the Nicolini da Sabbio in several of their publications. In the *Thesaurus* editions of Zanetti, the border still bears the Nicolini da Sabbio printer's device, the cabbage with their name "Io. Anto. et Fratelli" (ESSLING no. 1175; SANDER no. 4416; VACCARO no. 417; fig. 106). There were other instances in which C. Zanetti tried to make his editions look identical to the earlier editions of the Nicolini da Sabbio. This tendency can clearly be seen in Zanetti's editions of a number of the modern Greek texts that he reprinted in 1553.¹¹⁹ He undoubtedly did this because this type of Greek book was extremely conservative and changed very little from edition to edition, especially during the first half of the sixteenth century. Two of the three early Zanetti editions of the *Thesaurus* employ two sets of type. The 1561 edition is printed with DS no. 3 (fig. 138) and a modified version of the type used by Demetrios Doukas in Rome (figs. 27, 139), while the edition of 1562 is printed with the *augustine grecque* of Pierre Hautin and the modified Doukas type.¹²⁰ I. Trifonov¹²¹ believed that the 1562 edition was made up of the unsold copies of the 1557-58 edition with a new title page. On the contrary, the use of two compositors and two sets of type suggests that the work was sufficiently popular to warrant three editions in four years. The known sixteenth century editions of the *Thesaurus* are:

- 1557-1558 (C. Zanetti)¹²²
 1561 (C. Zanetti) PAPADOPOULOS II no. 209; fig. 106
 1562 (C. Zanetti) LADAS no. 54
 1565? (G. Leoncini) PAPADOPOULOS II no. 1006¹²³
 1567 VRETOS I, 13 note
 1568 (G. Leoncini) BH IV no. 657
 1570 (G. Leoncini) BH II no. 151; fig. 140
 1580 (C. Zanetti) PAPADOPOULOS II no. 263
 1589 (P. Zanetti) BH IV no. 817¹²⁴
 1594 (Fr. Giuliani) PAPADOPOULOS II no. 302.

The *Thesaurus* of Damaskenos Stoudites was not only popular among the Greek people¹²⁵ but had a great following in the Balkans, especially in Bulgaria, and was also translated into Russian.¹²⁶



fig. 142

ΤΩ ΕΥΓΕΝΕΣΤΑΤΩ, ΚΑΙ ΕΝΤΙΜΟΤΑΤΩ
ἀδελφῷ ἐν χῶ, κυρίῳ Μάρκῳ τῷ Παπαδοπούλῳ,

Μάξιμος ταπεινὸς Ἐπίσκοπος Κυθήρων,
οὕτως πρέσβειν.



Ὁ μὲν Ἰσοκράτης ὁ Κῶος, φιλόλογος Μάρκε, μέθοδον πῶς πρὸς θερα-
πείαν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου συγγραψάμενος σώματος, προφυλακτικὰ πῶς
τῆς νοσημάτων παραγέματα, καὶ προγνωστικὰ, καὶ ἄλλ' ἅπαντα σωτη-
ρητικὰ τῆς υἱείας τοῖς ἰατρικῶς μετῆσιν ὅπως ἴμην, ἢ καὶ ἄλλως ἐκ
τούτων ἐν ἀφελείᾳ προελομήσιν, ἐπιστημονικώτατα παραδέδωκεν. οἷς καὶ ἀφο-
ρισμὸς πῶς σωσεν ἴσθι, οἷον εἶπεν βραχυτότους πῶς καὶ ὄνας πολλῶν πραγμάτων
σωτήριος θεωροῦντας ἰδιώματα, πρὸς τὴν αὐτὴν τῆς σώματος τείνοντας ἴασιν.
ὁ δὲ τῆς κατὰ νοῦν ἀναβάσεως σοφὸς ἀρχιτέκτων, ὁ νέος οὗτος Βεττελεὴλ, πῶς ἰα-
τρὸς θεῖον, καὶ σοφίας τῆς ὄντως ἐμπλεως ὢν, Κλίμακά πῶς νοερὰν τῆς δεινῆς ἀρε-
τῆς τεκτονικὸς μῦθος, πῶς ἂν τὸ σῶμα καταλιπόντες, καὶ ὅσα τοῦ σώματος πάθη,
ἅτε δὴ ὅτι προδοῦντα πρὸς τὴν τῆς οὐρανίων καθαράν ἐνατέωσιν, ὥσπερ μεταρσιν
τῶν πνεύματι πρὸς τὴν ἀνὴρ ζωὴν διὰ ταύτης διαβίβασιν, καὶ τὴν ἐκείνῃ ἀγίαν
σκληρὴν, ἢς τεχνίτης καὶ δημιουργὸς ὁ θεὸς, ταῖς νοερωτέραις ὁρμαῖς, ὅσον χωροῦ-
μεν καὶ κατοπιδόμεν, ταῖς θερμότερον τὸ πρὸς θεὸν φιλίᾳ ἀναψάσαις ψυχαῖς
ὥσπερ ὑπὸ ἑνὶ ὑποτίθεται. ἐπεὶ δὴ γὰρ ἡ κατὰ χριστὸν φιλοσοφία καθάρσει, καὶ τε-
λειότητι διορίζεται, δι' ἐκείνης μὲν τὴν τοῦ σώματος ὑλικὴν ἀλογίαν ἀποκαθαίρου-
σα, διὰ δὲ ταύτης πρὸς τὴν θεῖαν ὁμοίωσιν ἐπανέρχουσα, ταῦτα δὲ, ἢ, τετὶς πα-
θῶν ἀποχὴ, καὶ ἢ τῆς θεοτέρας ἀρετῆς ἀσκήσεις τῆς ἀνθρώπου ῥοπῆς προφθανούσης τὴν
σωσεως ἀποδομῆς ἡμῶν, πέφυκεν ἀπαραγὰς, καθόλου μὲν τὰ πρὸς τὴν ὁλὴν φι-
λοσοφίαν σωτεύοντα ἐν πρώτοις τὰ τῆς ἱερᾶς γραφῆς ἐμπερίληψε λόγια, ὧν δὴ πᾶς
τῇ ἐκ πληρώσει ὁ ἀληθὴς χριστιανὸς χαρακτηρίζεται. μερικῶς δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐξ αὐτῆς
παρὰ τῆς θεῖας ἀνδρῶν οἷον ἐξ ἡλίου πῦρ ἐρανίζόμενα ἀπαυγάσματα, δι' ὧν τὴν
μέλλουσιν ἡμᾶς καθάρους καὶ τελείους ποιῆν ἐπιστήμην ἐλαμπόμεθα. ἐν δὲ τού-
των καὶ οἱ κατὰ ταύτην τὴν ἱερὰν Κλίμακα διωρισμένοι κανόνες, καὶ οἱ ἐκ πῶς ἀφο-
ρισμοὶ τεχνικοὶ, τῆς τε κατὰ τὸ σῶμα παθῶν ἀφαρπάξοντες, καὶ πρὸς τὸ τῆς
ζωῆς τέλος ἀμερόδως ἡμᾶς ἐπανέρχοντες. ἔγω γ' οὖν τὸ φιλόθεόν σου τῆς πρὸς
σαφῆς ὅπως ἀμῶς, καὶ ἂς ἐν πάμῃ διηνεκῶς ἀναβάσεις ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ διαπυρρῶς,
κατὰ σκοπὸν διώκων εἰς τὸ βραβεῖον ἡς ἀνακλήσεως, οὐκ ἀπάδυσάν σου τῇ
προσφέρει ἀφομῶν, τὴν τῆς Κλίμακος ταύτης σωεργὸν παρέξει προήρημα.
αὐτὸς δ' ἄρα τὸ πρὸς σέμου ἀμῶς ἀποδιδάσκων φίλτρων, τῆς ὑπὸ τὴν ὁπλῶν ἀν-
δρῶν, τοῖς ἐμπερίληψε καὶ διὰ ταύτης προσεπεκτείνοντο ἀνδρῶν μοι προσφιλέστατε, καὶ
κατὰ τὸ λόγιον τοῦ κυρίου τὰ διαβήματα κατευθύνω, ἐξυπορῶν μέχρι τελου-
σιν τὴν τοῦ ὁρους τοῦ κυρίου ἀνάβασιν.

Ἐντεπὶ τῇ, πνευματικῶς τετάρτην δὲ δεκάτην, κατὰ τὸ α φ η.

ἔτος τὸ σωτήριον.

3

ΤΟΥ ΤΑΞΕΩΣ
ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΙΤΟΥ

φιλαδελφείας Γαβριήλ,

Επιτρόπου καὶ ἑξάρχου πατριαρχικοῦ
Συνταγματίου περὶ τῶν ἁγίων
καὶ ἰδρῶν μυστερίων.

CON PRIVILEGIO.



Ετυπώθη ἐν Βενετίαις παρὰ Γεωργίου Αἰνίου
ρίω τῷ Πιρέλῳ. α, χ.
Con licentia de' Superiori.

In 1560 another cleric, Alexios Rartouros of Corfu (1504-1574), printed in Venice a collection of his sermons entitled *Διδαχαί* (BH I no. 138; fig. 88). The volume consists of fifteen sermons by Rartouros written in modern Greek, preceded by a preface written by Theonas, exarch to the Patriarch of Constantinople. Until recently, very little was known about Alexios Rartouros, who has been at times confused with his father, Aloisios Rartouros, Protopapas of Corfu.¹²⁷ In 1539, Alexios Rartouros was chosen to represent the Orthodox of Corfu in Rome. He went to Rome to attempt to persuade the papal authorities to let the Orthodox clergy of the island settle all matters concerning ecclesiastical and canon law without interference from the Catholic clergy there. Rartouros appears to have succeeded in his mission, for in 1540, Pope Paul III issued a Bull on this matter. This new papal Bull was actually a reaffirmation of privileges granted to the Greeks by Pope Leo X in 1514.¹²⁸

Alexios Rartouros was in Venice in 1559, where he applied for and received a ten-year copyright to print his sermons.¹²⁹ In 1561, Rartouros gave fifty copies of his book to a businessman from Corfu, Demos Rizikaris, who was going to try to sell them along with other goods on his trip to and from Venice. Unfortunately, details of the itinerary were not mentioned in the document.¹³⁰ The Rartouros *Didachai* were not reprinted. On the title page, Rartouros calls himself "χαρτοφύλαξ Κερκύρας" (chartularius of Corfu). The author's portrait is on the title page (fig. 88). Instead of the usual phrase, "con gratia et privilegio," the title page has a partial rendition in Greek of the terms of the copyright granted. The terms state that Rartouros had obtained a ten-year copyright, and that no one else could print or sell the work either in Venice or elsewhere in the Venetian dominions without paying a fine of two hundred ducats and all other penalties stipulated in the "privilegio." The colophon states that the work was printed in Venice at the house of Rartouros "ἐν οἰκίᾳ ἀλεξίου τοῦ ἱερέως τοῦ ῥαρτούρου καὶ χαρτοφύλακος κερκύρας" (fig. 141a, b). The font used to print the *Didachai* was Pierre Haultin's *augustine grecque*. Several printers in Venice had acquired typefaces of this font around this time. Among them Paolo Manuzio. Other printers who used the Haultin *augustine grecque* were Giordano Ziletti and Cristoforo and Francesco Zanetti.¹³¹ It was most probably one of the Zanetti who printed the Rartouros book.

Zacharias Skordylis, called Marapharas, brought out in 1564 a compilation, *Περὶ τῶν τῆς συγγενείας βαθμῶν* (BH II no. 142; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 1005), based on the work of hieromonachos Manouel, chartularius of the Great Church. The Manouel in question has been identified by scholars as Manouel Xanthinos, the grand chartularius of Patriarch Hieremias II, of Constantinople.¹³² The Skordylis work was published in 1564 both by Andrea Spinelli (PAPADOPOULOS II no. 1005) and by Giacomo Leoncini (BH II no. 142). Except for the different names of the publishers, both editions have exactly the same colophon. The colophons mention that a ten-year copyright was obtained, presumably by the compiler. The Spinelli edition displays the same woodcut portrait of Z. Skordylis minus the name of the painter Markos Bathas, found on the verso of the title page of the 1563 edition of a work edited and financed by Skordylis entitled *Νικήτα Φιλοσόφου τοῦ καὶ Δαβὶβ, Ἑρμηνεία εἰς τὰ τετράστιχα τοῦ μεγάλου πατρὸς Γρηγορίου Ναζιανζηνοῦ* (BH I no. 140; fig. 89). The Leoncini edition also displays a woodcut portrait of Skordylis (fig. 90a) that is a very close copy of the original woodcut. Another edition, that of c. 1581, has another, different, yet close copy of the Skordylis portrait (fig. 90b). The 1588 edition does not include a portrait of the author.¹³³ The known sixteenth century editions are:

- 1564 (A. Spinelli) PAPADOPOULOS II no. 1005
 1564 (G. Leoncini) BH II no. 142; FINAZZI no. 93
 1569 VRETOS I no. 16¹³⁴
 1575 (G. Leoncini) PAPADOPOULOS II no. 257
 c.1581 (Z. B. Tauroceni) BH II no. 199=[1593 sic]; STC, 752=[1580?]¹³⁵
 1588 (P. Zanetti) BH II no. 178; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 1040; fig. 142.

A translation into modern Greek of the *Heavenly Ladder* (Κλίμαξ τοῦ Παραδείσου) of Saint Joannes Climacus came out in 1590 (BH II no. 185=IV no. 824). The translator was Maximos Margounios, Bishop of Kythera (1549-1602), who also defrayed half of the expenses of publication, the other half being paid by the publisher Emmanouel Glyzounis.¹³⁶ The book is dedicated to Hieremias II, Patriarch of Constantinople. In his dedication to Patriarch Hieremias, Margounios praises the publisher, Emmanouel Glyzounis, for his efforts and his services in promoting education among his fellow Greeks. After the dedication, there are some verses addressed to the patriarch by Margounios and by Konstantinos Loukaris, later successively Patriarch of Alexandria and Constantinople under the name of Kyrillos Loukaris. This is followed by an address by Maximos Margounios to the pious Christians: "Τοὺς κατὰ Θεὸν πολιτευομένοις, καὶ εὐσεβέσι Χριστιανοῖς." There also exist copies that have a different address, to Markos Papadopoulos, also written by Margounios: "Τῷ εὐγενεστάτῳ, καὶ ἐντιμοτάτῳ ἀδελφῷ ἐν Χρῷ, κυρίῳ Μάρκῳ τῷ Παπαδοπούλῳ" (fig. 143).¹³⁷ The remainder of the text is the same. The work was never reprinted in the Margounios translation. A hundred years later, in 1690, a new version by Athanasios Varouchas was printed in Venice by Nikolaos Saros (BH XVIIIs. V no. 237).

The last work included in this section is Gabriel Severos's treatise on the sacraments, entitled *Συνταγματίον περὶ τῶν ἁγίων καὶ ἱερῶν μυστηρίων*, printed in 1600 by G. A. Pinelli (BH II no. 235 [sic=234]; fig. 144). Gabriel Severos (c. 1540-1616) was born in Monemvasia. Shortly after his birth, his family moved to Crete, where Gabriel was educated and later received orders, becoming an hieromonachos.¹³⁸ He then went to study at the University of Padua, as did many other Greek clerics of his time. On 29 July 1573, he was elected curate of San Giorgio dei Greci in Venice, and on 18 July 1577, while he was on a visit to Constantinople, he was consecrated Metropolitan of Philadelphia in Lydia in Asia Minor.¹³⁹ However, Severos never served in Asia Minor but returned instead to Venice and his duties as curate of San Giorgio dei Greci.¹⁴⁰ Thus Gabriel Severos became the first Archbishop of Philadelphia to serve in Venice. He was made Exarch of the Patriarch of Constantinople not only for the Greek community in Venice but also for the Greeks of Dalmatia.¹⁴¹

Gabriel Severos was one of the Orthodox theologians who favored the change from the Julian to the Gregorian calendar proposed by Pope Gregory XIII to Patriarch Hieremias II of Constantinople in 1583. However, after much deliberation, Patriarch Hieremias II rejected the pope's proposal.¹⁴² In 1583, Gabriel Severos came into conflict with his old friend Maximos Margounios, Bishop of Kythera, about the latter's treatise on the Procession of the Holy Spirit. For some years, there was animosity and angry correspondence exchanged between them. It took the efforts of Patriarch Hieremias II and of Meletios Pegas, Patriarch of Alexandria, to bridge the rift between the two men.¹⁴³ Gabriel Severos was in correspondence with George Abbot (1562-1633), Archbishop of Canterbury, and with Sir Henry Savile (1549-1622), the editor of the Eton Chrysostom.¹⁴⁴

Severos's treatise on the sacraments came out in Venice in a second edition in 1691 (BH XVIIIs. III no. 642). It was also included in R. Simon, *Fides Ecclesiae Orientalis seu Gabrielis Metropolitae*

Philadelphiensis Opuscula, 1671, and in the work of Chrysanthos Notaras, patriarch of Jerusalem, *Συνταγμάτων περὶ τῶν ὁφικίων*, 1715 (BH XVIII. I no. 101).¹⁴⁵

NOTES

¹ The Aldine *Horae* were reprinted in 1505 (RENOUARD, 49 no. 3) and again in 1521 (RENOUARD, 92 no. 10). In 1516, Zacharias Kallierges printed the *Horae* in Rome (BH III no. 175). In 1520, the Giunti of Florence also printed a Greek edition of the *Horae* (ANNALI (Giunta) I no. 10; ESSLING no. 485), which, according to W. A. PETTAS, *The Giunti of Florence*. San Francisco, 1980, 63, "were probably intended for distribution by Lucantonio [Giunta] to the Greek Uniate churches in Venice's territories."

² On the Greek liturgical books see L. ALLATIUS, *De libris et rebus ecclesiasticis Graecorum*. Paris, 1646. H.-G. BECK, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich*. München, 1959, especially the section entitled: Die liturgischen Bücher des byzantinischen Ritus, 246-53, which contains the principal references on the subject. See also M. ΓΕΔΕΩΝ, Πατριαρχική μέριμνα περὶ ἐκδόσεως βιβλίων λειτουργικῶν, *Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Ἀλήθεια*, 29(1909)404-05, 413-14, 30(1910)13-14, 39-40, 42-44. P. de MEESTER, *Liturgia bizantina*. Roma, 1930 and his *Grecques (liturgies)*, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*. Paris, n.d., VI, cols. 1591-1662; C. NORBERT, L'histoire des livres liturgiques grecs, *Studi bizantini e neoellenici*, 6(1940)470-73; E. Γ. ΠΑΝΤΕΛΑΚΗΣ, Τὰ λειτουργικὰ βιβλία τῆς ἡμετέρας ἐκκλησίας, *Νέα Σιών*, 26(1931)209-23, 274-88 and his *Les livres ecclésiastiques de l'Orthodoxie, Irénikon*, 13(1936)521-57. A. RAES, Les livres liturgiques grecs publiés à Venise, *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant*. Città del Vaticano, 1964, III, 209-22 (Studi e testi, 233). S. SALAVILLE, *An Introduction to the Study of the Eastern Liturgies*. London, 1938, especially chapter IV: The Liturgical Books, 185-207. N. B. ΤΩΜΑΔΑΚΗΣ, Ἡ ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ ἔκδοσις ἐλληνικῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν βιβλίων (κυρίως λειτουργικῶν) γενομένη ἐπιμελείᾳ Ἑλλήνων Ὀρθοδόξων κληρικῶν κατὰ τοὺς 15-16 αἰῶνας, *Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν*, 37(1969-70)3-33=*La chiesa greca in Italia dall' VIII al XVI secolo. Atti del Convegno storico interecclesiale* (Bari, 30 apr.- 4 magg. 1969). Padova, 1973, II, 685-721 (Italia sacra, 21).

³ A. HELLADIUS, *Status praesens Ecclesiae Graecae*. Altdorf, 1724, 27. M. CRUSIUS, *Turcograeciae*, 205. B. Γ. ΣΚΟΡΔΕΛΗΣ, Ἡ Ὀκτώηχος καὶ ἡ Φυλλάδα τοῦ Μεγάλου Ἀλεξάνδρου ἢ τὸ σχολεῖον καὶ ὁ λαός, *Παρνασσός*, 7(1883)197-211. Φ. ΗΛΙΟΥ, Σημειώσεις γὰρ τὰ "τραβήγματα" τῶν ἐλληνικῶν βιβλίων τὸν 16^ο αἰῶνα, *Ἑλληνικά*, 28(1975)102-41.

⁴ The very first edition of the Psalter, *Δαυὶδ προφήτου καὶ βασιλέως μέλος*. Milan [Bonus Accursius], 20 Sept. 1481 (BH III no. 27; BMC VI, 756), edited by Joannes Crastonus, was clearly not printed for Greek consumption. On the other hand, the Aldine Psalter contains a preface by its editor, Ioustinos Dekadios of Corfu, which is addressed to the Greeks.

⁵ LADAS no. 89. The only copy in existence today, now at the Gennadius Library, is imperfect. Part of the colophon where the date should have been, is torn. LADAS dated it 1587. However, this is impossible as the printer Cristoforo Zanetti died not in 1588, as the compilers maintain, but in 1582. After 1582, his name is replaced by the name of his son, Pietro, or by the "Heirs of Cristoforo Zanetti." Also, this *Psalterion* seems to be an earlier edition of the 1577 *Psalterion*. The woodcut of David on the title page is the same in both editions, but the cut in the 1577 edition shows marked deterioration and breaks.

⁶ A. RAES, Les notices historiques de l'Horloge grec, *Analecta Bollandiana*, 68(1950)475-80. E. FOLLIERI and I. DUJCEV, Il calendario in sticheri di Cristoforo di Mitilene, *Byzantinoslavica*, 25(1964)1-36. E. FOLLIERI, Il libro greco per i Greci nelle imprese editoriali romane e veneziane della prima metà del Cinquecento, *Venezia, centro di mediazione tra Oriente e Occidente (secoli XV-XVI). Aspetti e problemi*. Firenze, 1977, II, 498 note 74.

⁷ According to PH. MEYER, *Die theologische Litteratur des griechischen Kirche im sechzehnten Jahrhundert*. Leipzig, 1879, 144 no. 8, there is a 1553 edition of the *Horologion* listed in the *Katalog des Bibliothek A. J. Fabricius*. Hamburg, 1739, 127.

⁸ SATHAS, 142 note 2.

⁹ See Φ. ΗΛΙΟΥ, Σημειώσεις, 137. See also under E. Glyzounis in Part II.

¹⁰ N. B. ΤΩΜΑΔΑΚΗΣ, Ἡ ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ ἔκδοσις, 12-13; PH. MEYER, *Die theologische Litteratur*, 118, 142. M. I. ΓΕΔΕΩΝ, Πατριαρχικαὶ ἐφημερίδες. Ἐν Ἀθήναις, 1936-38, 20.

¹¹ Γ. ΣΚΟΡΔΕΛΗΣ, Ἡ Ὀκτώηχος, 197-211; Φ. ΗΛΙΟΥ, Σημειώσεις, 113.

¹² Legrand listed this *Oktoechos* twice, once dated c. 1543 (BH III no. 109A) and again under 1558 (BH I no. 135). C. Zanetti's name did not appear in print before 1546. Furthermore, the type used for the printing of this work was cut for him in 1548 by Guillaume I Le Bé. See also LAYTON no. 45.

- ¹³ The only copy known today is the imperfect copy lacking the title page, now at the British Library, dated 1560? (STC, 379). This appears to be a later edition of the edition of [1558]. The type used is that cut for C. Zanetti by Guillaume I Le Bé in 1548 except for quire Π¹⁻⁸ which is printed with K no. 1. Between 1560 and 1584, K no. 1 was used by Giacomo Leoncini and by the partnership of 1584-85. For further details on these types, see also under Giacomo Leoncini and Cristoforo Zanetti in Part II.
- ¹⁴ Edition not extant. It is known only from the colophon in the 1639 edition of the *Oktoechos* printed by G. P. Pinelli see ILIOU nos. 9 and 36.
- ¹⁵ Edition not extant.
- ¹⁶ Some believe that the date for the 1523 edition of the *Parakletike* (ILIOU no. 2) is actually a misprint for 1522. See LADAS no. 13. No copy of this edition has yet been found.
- ¹⁷ The 1569 edition is only known through the composite edition of 1569-1580. In the colophon the date is given as 1569, and on the title page, 1580. See PAPADOPOULOS, II, no. 239: "[...] ἐν οἰκίᾳ [Ἰππολίτου Βαλέριδος, διορθώσει] κυρίου [...] λαχίστου [ιερέως Ἰωάννου Ναθαναήλου τοῦ καὶ κήρυ[κος] [...]] ἐ[ν]σάρκου οἰκονομ[ίας] ἀφ' ἑ[σ]θ'." However, the publisher of this *Parakletike* is more likely G. Leoncini. See the preface of the *Menaion* of March 1569 (BH IV, 155-56), where the editor, I. Nathanael, mentions that H. Valeris published the *Anthologion* and the *Menaia* for Spring and Summer, and that G. Leoncini had projected the printing of the *Menaia* for Spring as well as an *Apostolos* (LADAS no. 64; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 236) and a *Parakletike* all printed in 1569.
- ¹⁸ Edition not extant.
- ¹⁹ This edition consists of a *Triodion* and a *Pentekostarion* printed together. This is the only time that two liturgical books were printed in one volume during the sixteenth century.
- ²⁰ ILIOU no. 12 and no. 15, known only from the composite edition of 1574-1580.
- ²¹ Reprint with a new colophon of the unsold copies of the 1580 Tauroceni edition, see BH IV no. 739.
- ²² LAZAROU no. 91 lists an imperfect copy of a 1532 edition of an *Apostolos* printed by Stefano Nicolini da Sabbio in Verona. However, the work cited in LAZAROU no. 91 is actually a very imperfect copy of the *Ἐξηγήσεις παλαιαὶ... ὑπὲρ Οἰκουμενίου καὶ Ἀρέθα*. Verona, 1532 (DROULIA no. 76; STC, 103) which contains commentaries on the Acts of the Apostles, Epistles and Revelation.
- ²³ The imperfect edition of the *Apostolos* recorded by PHOSKOLOS A no. 67, which he thought might be a fifteenth century incunabulum corresponds to the edition printed by Cristoforo Zanetti in 1550 (BH I no. 126).
- ²⁴ This edition is only known from the 1578 edition, which is made up of sheets from the 1573 edition. See ILIOU no. 14.
- ²⁵ See note 19 above.
- ²⁶ Edition not extant.
- ²⁷ Μ. ΓΕΔΕΩΝ, Πατριαρχικὴ μέριμνα, *Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Ἀλήθεια*, 29(1909)404-05, 413-14, 30(1910)13-14, 39-40, 42-44.
- ²⁸ See W. CAVE II, 28 where he lists an *Euchologion* of 1526. Cave also mentions three more editions, 1544, 1550, and 1600, which have yet to be recorded. See also Μ. ΓΕΔΕΩΝ, Πατριαρχικὴ μέριμνα, 13 taken from Cave. See also ILIOU, 318 nos. 5 and 9 and 319 no. 36. The imperfect copy of the *Euchologion* assigned to 1526 by DELIALES I no. 339, is actually an undated edition printed by Cr. Zanetti with the Guillaume I Le Bé type.
- ²⁹ See Μ. ΓΕΔΕΩΝ, Πατριαρχικὴ μέριμνα, 13 taken from W. CAVE II, 28.
- ³⁰ Μ. ΓΕΔΕΩΝ, Πατριαρχικὴ μέριμνα, 13.
- ³¹ Ν. Β. ΤΩΜΑΔΑΚΗΣ, *Ἡ ἐν Ἱταλίᾳ ἔκδοσις*, 15 note 4 cites an edition of 1555 that he examined in Kozani.
- ³² LADAS no. 50 lists an *Euchologion* of 1559 printed by Pietro Zanetti. The information was taken from N. YEMENIZ, *Catalogue de la bibliothèque de m. N. Yemeniz*. Paris, 1867, 9 no. 50. However, the date given for this work is a misprint. It should actually be 1589, the date of the *Euchologion* printed by P. Zanetti. See N. YEMENIZ, *Catalogue de mes livres*. Lyon, 1865-66, I, 7 no. 50: *Eucologion. Rituale Graecum. Venetiis, Petr. Zanetti, 1859* [sic, read 1589]. Pietro Zanetti's name does not appear in print before 1586.
- ³³ See note 32 above.
- ³⁴ Imperfect copy at Cambridge University Library (ADAMS L no. 828). The type of this work is the one cut for Cr. Zanetti by Guillaume I Le Bé and which passed to Antonio Pinelli in 1600. See also ILIOU, 65 and 319 no. 36 and CAVE II, 28.
- ³⁵ The 1528 edition consists only of the liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom. Because it is the only Greek-Latin edition, it is believed that it might have been printed primarily for Western use. L. POLITIS, Venezia, 465; E. FOLLIERI, *Il libro*, 499.

- 36 Φ. ΗΛΙΟΥ, Σημειώσεις, 136 note 3.
- 37 Α. ΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ, "Εντυπο περγαμηνὸ εἰλητάριο ἀπὸ τὸ τυπογραφεῖο τοῦ Ν. Σοφianoῦ, *Μνημόσυνον Σοφίας Ἀντωνιάδης*. Βενετία, 1974, 227-36. See also Φ. ΜΑΥΡΟΕΙΔΗΣ, *Εἰδήσεις*, 244. Another copy of the *Eiletarion* has been found more recently. Indeed the year of publication is 1545 but the name of the printer is not given.
- 38 Α. ΠΑΠΑΔΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ-ΚΕΡΑΜΕΥΣ, Σχεδιάσμα περὶ τῶν λειτουργικῶν μηναίων, *Vizantiskii Vremennik*, 1(1894)341-88.
- 39 See also Φ. ΗΛΙΟΥ, Ἑλληνικὰ βιβλία στὴ Βουλγαρία, *Ὁ Ἑρανιστής*, 15(1978-79)323 no. 1.
- 40 STOYANOV no. 12 lists a *Menaion* for February dated 1535. The date is most likely a misprint for 1536 see BH III no. 351.
- 41 See also under Nikolaos Malaxos in Part II.
- 42 See also Ν. ΚΑΤΡΑΜΗΣ, *Φιλολογικὰ ἀνάλεκτα Ζακύνθου*. Ἐν Ζακύνθῳ, 1880, 212.
- 43 Β. ΚΟΥΤΛΟΥΜΟΥΣΙΑΝΟΣ, *Μηναῖον τοῦ Σεπτεμβρίου*. Ἐν Ἀθήναις, 1959, ιθ' note 7 mentions a *Menaion* of March 1551 which has not yet been cited.
- 44 Beginning with the *Menaion* of September 1551, the name of the printer is no longer given, only that of the publisher.
- 45 Φ. ΗΛΙΟΥ, Ἑλληνικὰ βιβλία, 323 no. 2.
- 46 The date of this *Menaion* is problematic. Legrand lists it under two different dates: 1588 (BH II no. 176) and 1590 (BH IV no. 823). The date given on the title page is difficult to interpret. PAPADOPOULOS II no. 281 believes that the last letter is actually a six and assigns 1586? to this *Menaion* because the *Menaion* of April printed immediately after it, is dated 1587/88 (BH IV no. 808). See fig. 67.
- 47 A *Menaion* of April, 1587 is listed in Ε. ΙΩΑΝΝΙΔΗΣ, Περὶ τινῶν ἐκδόσεων, 48 no. Η'. The citation is brief and confusing and was interpreted in different ways by PH. MEYER, *Die theologische Litteratur*, 149 no. 22=editor Gregorios Malaxos; LADAS no. 88 maintains that Ioannides misread the year of publication, that the *Menaion* was published in 1590 and is the same as the one cited in BH IV no. 823. However, BH IV no. 823 lists a *Menaion* of March, 1590 and not of April.
- 48 See Π. Δ. ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΑΚΗΣ, Ἡ Λαϊκὴ Βιβλιοθήκη Καλαμῶν, *Μεσσηνιακὰ Γράμματα*, 1(1956)402.
- 49 For I. Nathanael see under his name in Part II.
- 50 Until recently, Z. B. Tauroceni was known to bibliographers as Richeni or Rikenius. For the variant forms of his name, see under Tauroceni in Part II.
- 51 STOYANOV no. 56 lists a *Menaion* of December, 1581. The date is possibly a misprint for the year 1582.
- 52 For information about the partnership see under Giovanni Aliprandi in Part II.
- 53 See also Φ. ΗΛΙΟΥ, Σημειώσεις, 138 note 3.
- 54 See also Φ. ΗΛΙΟΥ, Σημειώσεις, 138 note 3.
- 55 Μ. Ι. ΓΕΔΕΩΝ, *Πατριαρχικαὶ ἐφημερίδες*, 35 lists a *Menaion* of June, 1593 which he describes thus: "1593 ἐκδίδεται ἐν Βενετίᾳ Μηναῖον τοῦ ἰουνίου παρὰ Ἰωάννου Ἀλεξάνδρου [sic, read Ἀλιπράνδου] ὡς ἐστὶν ἐκ τοῦ χαρακτῆρος τοῦ ἰδίου γράμματος τῶν Σπινέλλων."
- 56 Edition not extant. Information taken from ΒΑΡΘΟΛΟΜΑΙΟΣ ΚΟΥΤΛΟΥΜΟΥΣΙΑΝΟΣ, *Μηναῖον τοῦ Σεπτεμβρίου*. Ἐν Ἀθήναις, 1959, κ'.
- 57 Φ. ΗΛΙΟΥ, Σημειώσεις, 138 note 3. See also under Giovanni Aliprandi in Part II.
- 58 SATHAS, 201.
- 59 A *Menaion* of February, 1597 (PAPADOPOULOS I no. 3878) attributed to the press of E. Glyzounis and edited by Georgios Vlastos Pounialetos was never published. Georgios Vlastos Pounialetos never edited anything for E. Glyzounis. By 1597 both Fr. Giuliani and E. Glyzounis had died and their operations ceased.
- 60 See also under Domenico de Poloni in Part II.
- 61 BH II, 157-58.
- 62 Τ. ΧΑΝΘΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, Traductions de l'écriture sainte en néo-grec avant le XIX^e siècle, *Échos d'Orient*, 5(1902)321-32; J. IRMSCHER, Der Kampf um die neugriechischen Bibelübersetzungen, *Studia evangelica*, 5(1968)188-97.
- 63 LADAS no. 53 and Γ. Γ. ΛΑΔΑΣ, Προσθήκαι καὶ σημειώσεις εἰς τοὺς ἐκδοθέντας τόμους τῆς *Bibliographie hellénique* τοῦ Ém. Legrand καὶ τῶν συνεχισάντων ταύτην L. Petit καὶ H. Pernot. Σειρὰ πρώτη (1522-1790), *Συλλέκτης. Παράρτημα*, 1(1947-1951) no. 7. This is a slightly different description from that given by BH IV no. 599. See also ILIOU, 66 and PAPADOPOULOS I nos. 1107-1108.
- 64 LADAS no. 83 lists an *Evangelion* of 1584 without a title page that he once saw in the library of the then Archbishop of Athens, Iakovos.

- 65 An *Evangelion*, 1599 (VRETOS I no. 25; CAVE II, 27) attributed to the press of E. Glyzounis was never published. After 1596, the time of Glyzounis's death, there were no more books published under his name.
- 66 Venice. Archivio di Stato. Senato Terra. Filza 106. Placed between 1 February 1587 and 8 May 1588. See also under E. Glyzounis in Part II.
- 67 Κ. Δ. ΜΕΡΤΖΙΟΣ, 'Οκτὼ ἄδεια διὰ τὴν ἐκτύπωσιν βιβλίων ἐν Βενετίᾳ (1559-1572), *Ἀθηνᾶ*, 69(1966-67)175-76.
- 68 See note 65 above.
- 69 Venice. Archivio di Stato. Senato Terra. Registro. 20 February, 1544.
- 70 Ν. Β. ΤΩΜΑΔΑΚΗΣ, 'Η ἐν Ἱταλίᾳ ἔκδοσις, 16-17, mentions a *Typikon* of 1525, which he claims to have examined at the Vatican Library. However, it seems that he must have misread the date in the colophon of the 1545 edition, since the Vatican Library does not possess and never had a *Typikon* of 1525 in its collections. See fig. 130.
- 71 The *Gesamtkatalog der preussischen Bibliotheken*. Berlin, 1932, II, 527, lists an "Ἀκολουθία τοῦ ἀναγνώστου, ἡγουν τὰ συλλειτουργικά.- Ἐνετίησιν: Πινέλλος 1526." This must be a misprint for either 1626 or another date in the seventeenth century since the Pinelli did not begin printing before 1600.
- 72 Venice. San Giorgio dei Greci. Archivio. Commissaria Emanuele Glinzoni. 11 April, 1600. See also Φ. ΗΛΙΟΥ, Σημειώσεις, 137. See also under Emmanouel Glyzounis in Part II.
- 73 See *Gesamtkatalog der preussischen Bibliotheken*, II, 527.
- 74 See under E. Glyzounis in Part II. See also Φ. ΗΛΙΟΥ, Σημειώσεις, 137 and PAPADOPOULOS I no. 78.
- 75 Τρεῖς πρῶτες ἐκδόσεις (1548-1549) ἀπὸ τὸ τυπογραφεῖο τοῦ Βασιλείου Βάρελη καὶ ὁ Μητροφάνης Καισαρείας, *Θησαυρίσματα*, 20(1990)227-32, 240-44. See also Φ. Δ. ΜΑΥΡΟΕΙΔΗ, Εἰδήσεις, 242-43.
- 76 Σ. ΚΑΚΛΑΜΑΝΗΣ, Τρεῖς πρῶτες ἐκδόσεις, 243.
- 77 Φ. Δ. ΜΑΥΡΟΕΙΔΗ, Εἰδήσεις, 242-43, 251-52; Σ. ΚΑΚΛΑΜΑΝΗΣ, Τρεῖς πρῶτες ἐκδόσεις, 231. See also under Vasileios and Hippolitos Valeris in Part II.
- 78 Nikolaos Malaxos was in Crete between 1548 or 1549-52 and again between 1554-72 see Φ. Δ. ΜΑΥΡΟΕΙΔΗ, Εἰδήσεις, 242.
- 79 E. LEGRAND, Notice biographique sur Jean et Theodose Zygomalas, *Rucueil de textes et de traductions publié par les professeurs de l'École des langues orientales vivantes*. Paris, 1889, II, 214. See also Σ. ΚΑΚΛΑΜΑΝΗΣ, Τρεῖς πρῶτες ἐκδόσεις, 232.
- 80 SALAVILLE, *An Introduction*, 201-03. C. KOROLEVSKIJ, La codification de l' Office byzantin, *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, 19(1953)25-58.
- 81 Σ. ΚΑΚΛΑΜΑΝΗΣ, Τρεῖς πρῶτες ἐκδόσεις, 231-32, 243.
- 82 Listed in STOYANOV, no. 52: 'Ανθολόγιον... Ἐνετίησιν, Α. Σπινέλου, 1579. In the only copy in existence today, now at the Cyril and Methodius National Library of Bulgaria, there is no indication of date, and printer for it lacks both the title page and the leaves at the end. This *Anthologion* could not have been printed by A. Spinelli, whose firm ceased operations in 1564. The type used, K no. 1, had never been used by Spinelli. On the other hand, both the type and the ornaments found in this *Anthologion* were used by Giacomo Leoncini who was active publishing between 1560 and 1580. In 1584-85, the type and ornaments were also used by a group who formed a partnership to print a specific number of Greek liturgical works. One of the partners was G. Leoncini. The partners used the designation "Ek ton typon tou Kounadou." In a document describing the agreement of the partnership and the books projected for publication there is an *Anthologion*, to be printed in 600 copies. This might very well be the missing *Anthologion* from that list. See Κ. Δ. ΜΕΡΤΖΙΟΣ, Λουκᾶς Σουγδουρή, 7. See also under Giacomo Leoncini in Part II and Φ. ΗΛΙΟΥ, Σημειώσεις, 106-10. I wish to express my thanks to Dr. Loukia Droulia, who on her visit to the National Library of Bulgaria, examined the *Anthologion* on my behalf and sent me a description and photocopies.
- 83 This *Anthologion* is only known from the dedicatory epistle of Emmanouel Glyzounis to the archbishop of Philadelphia, Gabriel Severos. See BH II no. 175. See also Ν. ΚΑΤΡΑΜΗΣ, Φιλολογικὰ ἀνάλεκτα, 212 and SATHAS, 205.
- 84 See also Φ. ΗΛΙΟΥ, Ἑλληνικὰ βιβλία στὴ Βουλγαρία, 323 no. 8.
- 85 C. KOROLEVSKIJ, La codification, 28-31.
- 86 Σ. ΚΑΚΛΑΜΑΝΗΣ, Τρεῖς πρῶτες ἐκδόσεις, 234, 245.
- 87 Γ. Ι. ΖΑΒΙΠΑΣ, Νέα Ἑλλὰς ἢ ἑλληνικὸν θέατρον. Ἀθῆναι, 1872, 382 mentions an *Heirmologion* of 1553 that is not extant.
- 88 The imperfect copy of an *Heirmologion* in the Library of Kozani (DELIALES no. 286), which was ascribed to the press of Giacomo Leoncini, 1568 is actually that of 1549.
- 89 Glyzounis's preface is reproduced in BH II, 113-14.

- ⁹⁰ S. G. ENGBERG, *The Greek Old Testament Lectionary as a Liturgical Book*, *Cahiers de l'Institut du moyen-âge grec et latin de l'Université de Copenhague*, 54(1987)39-47, her *Greek Literacy and Liturgical Books*: Manolis Glynzounis' Edition of the "Profetie," Venice 1595/96, *Epsilon*, 2(1988)31-41, and her *Greek Literacy During the Tourkokratia* and Manolis Glynzounis' Edition of the "Prophetie," Venice 1595/96, *Proceedings of the First International Congress on The Hellenic Diaspora, from Antiquity to Modern Times* (Montréal, 17-22. iv. 1988; Athens, 26-30.iv.1988). Amsterdam, 1991, II, 41-46.
- ⁹¹ For the quotation of the entire colophon see S. G. ENGBERG, An Unnoticed Printed Edition of the Old Testament Lectionary in Greek (Venice 1545), *Epsilon*, no. 1(1987)59 and her 'Αγία Μαύρα τῆς Πελοποννήσου. An Addendum, *Epsilon*, 2(1988)42-44. See also V. GARDTHAUSEN, *Catalogus Codicum Graecorum Sinaiticorum*. Oxford, 1886, 6 no. 19 and Φ. ΗΛΙΟΥ, *Σημειώσεις*, 123 note 3.
- ⁹² Venice. A. S. Capi del Consiglio dei Dieci. Notatorio. 16 December 1535 and Senato Terra. Registro. 30 December 1535.
- ⁹³ E. LAYTON, Notes on Some Printers, 127.
- ⁹⁴ E. FOLLIERI, *Il libro*, 504-506.
- ⁹⁵ Σ. ΚΑΚΛΑΜΑΝΗΣ, *Τρεῖς πρώτες ἐκδόσεις*, 244 no. 3.
- ⁹⁶ Σ. ΚΑΚΛΑΜΑΝΗΣ, *Τρεῖς πρώτες ἐκδόσεις*, 232-33; see also Δ. Γ. ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, *Τὸ Μέγα Νόμιμον. Συμβολὴ στὴν ἔρευνα τοῦ μεταβυζαντινοῦ δικαίου*. Ἀθήνα, 1978, 13-14. For information on Ioannis and Theodosios Zygomalas see E. LEGRAND, Notice biographique sur Jean et Theodose Zygomalas, II, 67-264.
- ⁹⁷ See X. Γ. ΠΑΤΡΙΝΕΛΗΣ, *Ἐπιστολὲς τοῦ Ἰππόλυτου Βάρελη*, 293-301; see also under Vasileios Valeris in Part II.
- ⁹⁸ For details on the life and activities of Kartanos see E. ΚΑΚΟΥΛΙΔΗ-ΠΑΝΟΥ, Ἰωαννίκιος Καρτάνος. Συμβολὴ στὴ δημόδιη πεζογραφία τοῦ 16^{ου} αἰώνα, *Θησαυρίσματα*, 12(1975)218-56 where all the earlier bibliography is cited. See also P. MEYER, Die Anfänge der kirchlichen Volkslitteratur bei den Griechen nach dem Untergang des byzantinischen Reichs, *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, 17(1898) 321-30. X. ΦΙΛΗΤΑΣ, *Περὶ Ἰωαννικίου Καρτάνου, Δαμασκηνοῦ τοῦ Στουδίτου καὶ Παχωμίου Ρουζάνου*. Ἐν Κερκύρα, 1847, 5-18. For the altercation between A. Apostolis and I. Kartanos see also A. ΠΑΠΑΔΙΑ, Ὁ Ἀρσένιος Μονεμβασίας ὁ Ἀποστόλης καὶ ἡ Ἑλληνικὴ Ἀδελφότητα Βενετίας (1534-1535), *Θησαυρίσματα*, 14(1977)110-26, especially 114 note 14. See also K. ΖΑΡΙΔΗ, Ἀγνωστα στοιχεῖα γιὰ τὸν Κερκυραῖο ἱερομόναχο Ἰωαννίκιο Καρτάνο, 57-77. For a modern edition of Kartanos's work see I. KAPTANOS, *Παλαιὰ τε καὶ Νέα Διαθήκη. Βενετία 1536*. Ἐπιμ. E. Κακουλίδη-Πάνου. Ἀθήνα, 1988.
- ⁹⁹ For the application for a copyright and the permission granted, see E. LAYTON, Notes on Some Printers, 139 note 50.
- ¹⁰⁰ Α. ΜΟΥΣΤΟΞΥΔΗΣ, *Περὶ Καταρνιτῶν [sic] αἰρετικῶν*, *Ἑλληνομνήμων*, 8(1845)449-52. See also E. ΚΑΚΟΥΛΙΔΗ-ΠΑΝΟΥ, Ἰωαννίκιος Καρτάνος, 223-26. Μ. ΓΕΔΕΩΝ, Ἑτεροδιδασκαλίας ἐν τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως μετὰ τὴν ἄλωσιν, *Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Ἀλήθεια*, 3(1882-83)718-19.
- ¹⁰¹ For a listing of the contents of the *Anthos* see E. ΚΑΚΟΥΛΙΔΗ-ΠΑΝΟΥ, Ἰωαννίκιος Καρτάνος, 221-23. See also PH. MEYER, Die Anfänge, 323-30 and his *Die theologische Litteratur*, 120-23.
- ¹⁰² *Turcograeciae*. Basel, 1584, 48, 63, 195-96, 199.
- ¹⁰³ E. LAYTON, Notes on Some Printers, 140-44.
- ¹⁰⁴ E. LAYTON, Notes on Some Printers, 143.
- ¹⁰⁵ E. LAYTON, Notes on Some Printers, 140 note 52.
- ¹⁰⁶ The full citation reads: *Βιβλίον ὀνομαζόμενον Θησαυρὸς ὅπερ συνεγράψατο, ὁ ἐν μοναχοῖς Δαμασκηνὸς ὁ ὑποδιάκονος καὶ στουδίτης*. For information on Damaskenos Stoudites, see X. ΦΙΛΗΤΑΣ, *Περὶ Ἰωαννικίου*, 18-27; T. Φ. ΧΡΙΣΤΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, Δαμασκηνὸς ὁ Στουδίτης, *ΘΗΕ*, 4(1964)907-08; Μ. Ι. ΓΕΔΕΩΝ, Δαμασκηνὸς ὁ Στουδίτης, *Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Ἀλήθεια*, 3(1882-83)85-91; 649-51; E. ΔΕΛΗΔΗΜΟΣ, Δαμασκηνὸς ὁ Στουδίτης, *Γρηγόριος ὁ Παλαμᾶς*, 53(1970)438-48; E. ΚΑΚΟΥΛΙΔΗ-ΠΑΝΟΥ, Δαμασκηνοῦ Στουδίτη "Διάλογος," *Δωδώνη*, 3(1974)443-46; BH II, 12-13; P. MEYER, *Die theologische Litteratur*, 128-32 and his *Die Anfänge der kirchlichen Volkslitteratur*, 330-43. Φ. Α. ΔΗΜΗΤΡΑΚΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, Ἀρσένιος Ἐλασσόνος, 39, 42-45. E. ΛΙΤΣΑΣ, Προβλήματα τῆς ζωῆς καὶ τοῦ ἔργου τοῦ Δαμασκηνοῦ Στουδίτη (in press).
- ¹⁰⁷ A. ASKEW, *Bibliotheca askeviana*. London, 1774, 49 no. 1357. See also X. ΦΙΛΗΤΑΣ, *Περὶ Ἰωαννικίου Καρτάνου*, 18; VRETOS I no. 9.
- ¹⁰⁸ See BH II, 12.
- ¹⁰⁹ Some scholars believe that he was actually born in Thessaly and not Thessaloniki because in some of his letters he calls himself Θεσσαλός. Φ. Α. ΔΗΜΗΤΡΑΚΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, Ἀρσένιος Ἐλασσόνος, 39, 42-45. E. ΛΙΤΣΑΣ, Προβλήματα τῆς ζωῆς καὶ τοῦ ἔργου τοῦ Δαμασκηνοῦ Στουδίτη (in press).
- ¹¹⁰ On Eleavoukos see T. Α. ΓΡΙΤΣΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, *Πατριαρχικὴ Μεγάλη τοῦ Γένους Σχολή*. Ἐν Ἀθήναις, 1966, I, 91-94 where he cites all earlier sources. See also Μ. Ι. ΓΕΔΕΩΝ, *Χρονικὰ τῆς Πατριαρχικῆς Ἀκαδημίας*. Ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, 1883, 45-50.

- 111 See E. X. ΔΕΛΗΔΗΜΟΣ, *Θησαυρός Δαμασκηνοῦ τοῦ ὑποδιακόνου καὶ Στουδίτου τοῦ Θεσσαλονικέως*. Θεσσαλονίκη, 1971, 5 note 1, 14. Mr. Euthymios Litsas of the Patriarchal Institute for Patristic Studies in Thessaloniki, who is preparing a study on Damaskenos Stoudites, informed me that "Stoudites" came to mean "ἱεροκήρυκας," preacher. Besides Damaskenos there are others who bore the title "Stoudites" after the date of the closing of the monastery.
- 112 I. M. ΓΕΔΕΩΝ, *Δαμασκηνὸς ὁ Στουδίτης*, 89.
- 113 The work in question is the *Ἀκολουθία εἰς τὸν νεομάρτυρα Νικόλαον* which is signed as "ποίημα Δαμασκηνοῦ Ἱερομονάχου τοῦ Θεσσαλονικέως ... ἐν ἔτει ΖΞΣΤ" i.e. 1558. See E. ΔΕΛΗΔΗΜΟΣ, *Θησαυρός*, 10.
- 114 BH IV, 165. W. K. MEDLIN and C. G. PATRINELIS, *Renaissance Influences and Religious Reforms in Russia*. Geneva, 1971, 83 and note 7. E. ΔΕΛΗΔΗΜΟΣ, *Δαμασκηνὸς ὁ Στουδίτης*, 441 and his *Θησαυρός*, 6-7.
- 115 S. GERLACH, *Tagebuch*. Franckfurth am Mayn, 1674, 60.
- 116 BH IV, 165.
- 117 For his other writings see T. Φ. ΧΡΙΣΤΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, *Δαμασκηνὸς ὁ Στουδίτης*, *ΘΗΕ*, 4(1964)907-908; E. ΔΕΛΗΔΗΜΟΣ, *Θησαυρός*, 8-13 and his *Δαμασκηνὸς ὁ Στουδίτης*, 442-48; X. ΦΙΛΗΤΑΣ, *Περὶ Ἰωαννικίου Καρτάνου*, 24-27; PH. MEYER, *Die theologische Litteratur*, 130-32; SATHAS, 152-53.
- 118 For a description of the 1557-58 edition printed by Cristoforo Zanetti, see I. TRIFONOV, *Ritor Teofan i ipodiakon Damaskin Studit, Spisanie na Bulgarskata Akademiia na naukite*, 71(1950)10-12. See also D. PETKANOV-TOTEVA, *Damaskinite v bulgarskata literatura*. Sofia, 1965, 12. Permission to print the *Thesaurus* was granted to C. Zanetti on May 30, 1557. See A. S. V. Riformatori dello Studio di Padova. Filza 284, 30 May, 1557 in Γ. ΚΕΧΑΓΙΟΓΛΟΥ, *Τρεῖς ἀβιβλιογράφητες ἐκδόσεις τοῦ 16ου αἰώνα, Τετράδια Ἐργασίας*, 10(1988)464-65.
- 119 For example, the title pages of the 1543 and 1553 *Imberios*, the former printed by the Nicolini da Sabbio for Damiano di Santa Maria and the latter by Cristoforo Zanetti, are identical in appearance except for the different printer's marks. The same holds true for the title pages of the 1534 and 1553 *Apokopos*.
- 120 See also under Demetrios Doukas and Cristoforo Zanetti in Part II.
- 121 Ritor Teofan, 11 note 1.
- 122 I. TRIFONOV, *Ritor Teofan*, 10-11.
- 123 Another request was made by C. Zanetti on 24 May 1564 to obtain a fifteen-year copyright for the "il libro intitolato Thesauro della vita de santi composto in greco vulgar del venerabile Damaschino." See Venice. A. S. Senato Terra. Filza 40. 25 May 1564. However, despite the fact that C. Zanetti obtained the fifteen-year copyright, there are no further editions surviving printed by C. Zanetti after 1562 until 1580. Instead, there are at least three editions of the *Thesaurus* published by G. Leoncini (1565?, 1568, 1570) that display the phrase "con gratia et privilegio" on their title pages. The only copy of the 1565 edition, at the Bodleian Library, lacks the colophon, which presumably would have given the date of publication.
- 124 For a description of the 1589 edition see PH. MEYER, *Bibliographische Notizen, Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 2(1893)358-59.
- 125 For the Greek editions of the *Thesaurus* see also E. ΔΕΛΗΔΗΜΟΣ, *Θησαυρός*, 8, 13 and PAPADOPOULOS, I, nos. 1848-1888, II, nos. 209, 263, 302, 661^a, 1006.
- 126 For its influence in the Slavic world see I. TRIFONOV, *Ritor Teofan*, 1-27 and D. PETKANOV-TOTEVA, *Damaskinite*, 6-13. See also, P. A. LAVROV, *Damaskin Studit i sborniki ego imeni 'Damaskiny' v iugoslavijskoi literature*. Odessa, 1899 and his "Sokrovishche" *Damaskina Studita v novom russkom perevode, Letopic' istoriko-filologicheskogo obshchestva imperatorskogo novorossiiskogo universiteta* 11(1901)373-98.
- 127 BH I, 312, 13 and II, 356-59. Γ. I. ΖΑΒΙΡΑΣ, *Νέα Ἑλλάς*, 110-11, 347, 367. SATHAS, 229. PH. MEYER, *Die theologische Litteratur*, 127 and his *Die Anfänge*, 330-31. See also A. ΔΗΜΗΤΡΑΚΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, *Προσθήκαι καὶ διορθώσεις εἰς τὴν Νεοελληνικὴν φιλολογίαν Κωνσταντίνου Σάθα*. Λειψία, 1871, 36. M. CRUSIUS, *Turcograeciae*, 250. But now see K. Φ. ΖΑΡΙΔΗ, *Ἀλέξιος Παρτουῖρος, ἕνας Κερκυραῖος λόγιος καὶ Πρωτοπαπᾶς τοῦ 16ου αἰ.*, 45-112.
- 128 G. FEDALTO, *Ricerche storiche sulla posizione giuridica ed ecclesiastica dei Greci a Venezia nei secoli XV e XVI*. Firenze, 1967, 76-77. A. X. ΤΣΙΤΣΑΣ, *Ἡ ἐκκλησία τῆς Κερκύρας κατὰ τὴν Λατινοκρατίαν, 1267-1797*. Κέρκυρα, 1969, 45-57.
- 129 H. F. BROWN, *The Venetian Printing Press, 1469-1800*. Amsterdam, 1969, 97; K. Δ. ΜΕΡΤΖΙΟΣ, *Ὁκτὼ ἄδεια*, 175. Mertzios transcribed the name Rartouros as Barbaro, however, in the document it is given as "Alexio Rarturo da Corfù," see A. S. V. Senato Terra. Filza no. 30, 25 November 1559, where the application of Rartouros and the permission granted him are given.
- 130 I wish to thank Katerina Zaridi for furnishing me with the above information and an outline of Alexios Rartouros's life before her dissertation was completed and for subsequently sending me a copy of her dissertation.

¹³¹ See also under Cristoforo Zanetti in Part II.

¹³² BH II, 1 note 1; M. ΓΕΔΕΩΝ, *Πατριαρχικαὶ ἐφημερίδες*, 27; see also his *Μνεία τῶν πρὸ ἐμοῦ*. Ἐν Ἀθήναις, 1934-36, 41-43. T. A. ΓΡΙΤΣΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, *Πατριαρχική*, I, 90 and note 3. See also Γ. I. ZABIPAS, *Νέα Ἑλλάς*, 382, who maintains that Xanthinos's *Περὶ τῶν τῆς συγγενείας βαθμῶν* was printed in 1563. However, A. Moustoxydes in his study, *Ζαχαρίας Σκορδύλιος, Ἑλληνομνήμων*, 5(1843)311-14 believes that the hieromonachos Manouel is not Manouel Xanthinos but Manouel Rhetor of Peloponnesos (Μανουὴλ Ρήτωρ ὁ Πελοποννήσιος). For further information on Zacharias Skordylis, who was also an editor of several books, see under his name in Part II.

¹³³ See also under Zacharias Skordylis in Part II.

¹³⁴ M. Crusius, *Turcograeciae*, 200 speaks of an edition of 1569 incorporated in VRETOS I no. 16 which is not extant today. Legrand, BH II, 3 note 2, doubts its existence.

¹³⁵ Edition without place, printer or date. It was assigned by Legrand (BH II no. 199) to the year 1593. However, it is more likely that it was printed by Z. B. Tauroceni c. 1581. See under Tauroceni in Part II.

¹³⁶ See also under Maximos Margounios and Emmanouel Glyzounis in Part II.

¹³⁷ BH IV, 300.

¹³⁸ BH II, 144-51; I. ΒΕΛΟΥΔΗΣ, *Ἑλλήνων Ὀρθοδόξων ἀποικία ἐν Βενετία*. Ἐν Βενετία, 1893, 68-75. SATHAS, 218-19. Γ. ZABIPAS, *Νέα Ἑλλάς*, 216-18. PH. MEYER, *Die theologische Litteratur*, 78-85. M. JUGIE in *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, 6(1924)977-84. M. JUGIE, *Un théologien grec du XVI^e siècle. Gabriel Sévère et les divergences entre les deux églises*, *Échos d'Orient*, 16(1913)97-108. X. Γ. ΠΑΤΡΙΝΕΛΗΣ, *Γαβριὴλ ὁ Σεβήρος*, *ΘΗΕ*, 4(1964)117-19. X. ΤΣΙΤΕΡ, *Λόγιοι Ἑλληνες μετὰ τὴν ἄλωσιν*. Ἐν Ἀθήναις, 1930, 25-48. ΑΡΙΣΤΑΡΧΗΣ, ἀρχ. Διοκαιοσσαρίας, *Γαβριὴλ ὁ Σεβήρος, Μητροπολίτης Φιλαδελφείας*, *Νέα Σιών*, 21(1926)467-81; 529-37; 593-609; 719-34; 22(1927)3-18; 210-22; 338-45; 493-99; 611-24; 658-78; 705-15. M. I. ΜΑΝΟΥΣΑΚΑΣ, *Ἀνεκδότα πατριαρχικὰ γράμματα (1547-1806) πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Βενετία μητροπολίτας Φιλαδελφείας καὶ τὴν Ὀρθόδοξον Ἑλληνικὴν Ἀδελφότητα*. Βενετία, 1968, 20 and note 3 where the earlier bibliography is given; see also his *Ἡ ἐν Βενετία Ἑλληνικὴ Κοινότης καὶ οἱ μητροπολίται Φιλαδελφείας*, *Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν*, 37(1969-70)198-210 and his *La comunità greca di Venezia e gli arcivescovi di Filadelfia, La Chiesa greca in Italia dall'VIII al XVI secolo. Aspetti e problemi. Atti del Convegno storico interecclesiale (Bari, 30 aprile-4 maggio 1969)*. Padova, 1973, I, 68-87. See also M. CRUSIUS, *Turcograeciae*, 206, 220, 275, 522-25, 533-35.

¹³⁹ For his consecration see B. ΜΥΣΤΑΚΙΔΗΣ, *Ἡ χειροτονία Γαβριὴλ τοῦ Φιλαδελφείας κατὰ τὴν 18 Ἰουλίου τοῦ 1577 ἐν τῇ Παμμακαρίστῳ*, *Νέος Ποιμὴν*, 5(1923)183-90. A description of the ceremony can be found in S. GERLACH, *Tagebuch*, 366-67. See also BH II, 145.

¹⁴⁰ M. I. ΜΑΝΟΥΣΑΚΑΣ, *Ἡ ἐν Βενετία Ἑλληνικὴ Κοινότης*, 198-210; I. ΒΕΛΟΥΔΗΣ, *Ἑλλήνων Ὀρθοδόξων*, 69-72; G. FEDALTO, *Ricerche storiche*, 99-107.

¹⁴¹ I. ΒΕΛΟΥΔΗΣ, *Ἑλλήνων Ὀρθοδόξων*, 70-71; M. I. ΜΑΝΟΥΣΑΚΑΣ, *Συλλογὴ ἀνεκδότων ἐγγράφων (1578-1685) ἀναφερομένων εἰς τοὺς ἐν Βενετία μητροπολίτας Φιλαδελφείας*, *Θησαυρίσματα*, 6(1969)16-32; see also his *Ἡ ἐν Βενετία Ἑλληνικὴ Κοινότης*, 187 and notes 5, 6; and his *Ἀνεκδότα πατριαρχικὰ γράμματα*, 17-57, letters nos. 5-17.

¹⁴² V. PERI, *Due date un' unica Pasqua*. Milano, 1967, 218-28, 240-53. Z. N. ΤΣΙΡΠΙΑΝΛΗΣ, *Ἀπὸ τὴ φιλορθόδοξη πολιτικὴ τῆς Βενετίας στὴν Ἑλληνικὴ Ἀνατολή*, *Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν*, 39-40(1972-73)299-300. A. TILLYRIDES, *Jeremias II Tranos, Patriarch of Constantinople (1536-1595)*, *Ἐκκλησιαστικὸς Φάρος*, 59(1977)242-64.

¹⁴³ See also under Maximos Margounios in Part II.

¹⁴⁴ A. ΤΗΛΛΥΡΙΔΗΣ, *Ὁ Γαβριὴλ Σεβήρος καὶ οἱ Ἄγγλοι*, *Ἐκκλησιαστικὸς Φάρος*, 61(1979)402-16. Some of Severos's correspondence can be found in G. LAMI, *Gabrielis Severi et aliorum Graecorum recentiorum epistolae*. Florentiae, 1754, XV. G. HOFFMANN, *Briefwechsel zwischen Gabriel Severos und Anton Possevino*, S. I., *Orientalia christiana periodica*, 15(1949)416-34.

¹⁴⁵ For his other writings as well as the fate of his manuscripts see X. Γ. ΠΑΤΡΙΝΕΛΗΣ, *Γαβριὴλ ὁ Σεβήρος*, 118.

IV

Texts in Modern Greek

AFTER the liturgical books, the most important set of publications to come out of the Venetian presses were the chapbooks, known as *phyllades* or *rimades*. These works were written in modern Greek and constituted the earliest printed examples of modern Greek literature. They were aimed at a broader section of the Greek public and were not addressed to the intellectual élite, who were more involved with the classical literature published in Italy and elsewhere at this time. Since the *phyllades* were not exactly collector's items, a large percentage of them have been lost. Some of the editions of these popular works are known today only from indirect sources. Most of the chapbooks to be discussed here were in verse — hence the name *rimades* assigned to them.¹

This type of publication and its printers came under attack by a contemporary theologian, Pachomios Rousanos (1508-1553), who had also objected to the Kartanos rendition of the Bible stories. In his *Πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Βενετία χαλκογραφεῖς*,² Pachomios Rousanos attacked the printers of Venice not only for their many typographical errors but also for the type of literature they published: works he found offensive and harmful to the young. Singled out by name were the story of *Apollonios* of Tyre and the *Imberios* romance. Other works alluded to were *Penthos thanatou*, *Spanos*, and possibly Iakovos Trivolis's *Ἱστορία τοῦ ῥὲ τῆς Σκότζιας* and the Greek version of the *Theseid* of Boccaccio. Even the illustrations accompanying the texts were criticized by Rousanos.³

The first modern Greek work to appear in print is the *Ἀπόκοπος* of Bergadis. Until recently, the first edition of this work was known only from an entry in M. Maityaire.⁴ The compilers of the Maityaire catalogue had listed the date of the *Apokopos* as 1519. However, the recent discovery of a copy of the first edition of this most rare work has revealed that the book was actually printed in Venice in 1509 (figs. 145, 146).⁵ Very little is known about the author, Bergadis, not even his first name. Most of our information about him is conjectural. The name Bergadis is thought to be a Greek version of the Venetian Bragadin.⁶ Members of the Bragadin family settled in Rethymnon, Crete. Scholars used to place the composition of the work toward the end of the fifteenth or the very beginning of the sixteenth century. More recently, it has been suggested that the work was probably written before the Fall of Constantinople (1453), during the first part of the fifteenth century.⁷ Besides the several editions printed in the sixteenth century and later, the work is preserved in two manuscripts, one in Vienna (Vindobonensis theol. gr. 244), and the other at the Vatican Library (Vaticanus gr. 1139), the latter being a transcript from a printed edition.⁸

The *Apokopos* is considered to be the finest example of early Cretan literature. The central theme of the work is that life is ephemeral. The plot centers upon the poet's descent to Hades as experienced in a dream.⁹ The known editions of the *Apokopos* in the sixteenth century are:

- 1509 (Nikolaos Kallierges) BH III no. 217=1519[sic]¹⁰
- 1534 (S. Nicolini da Sabbio for Damiano di Santa Maria) BH I no. 90; EISS II no. 1617; fig. 147
- 1543 (Per Damian di Santa Maria) BH I no. 104
- 1553 (C. Zanetti) BH IV no. 557; EISS II no. 1618
- 1565 or 1595 (Grässe, I, 161)¹¹
- 1594 (Fr. Giuliani for E. Glyzounis).¹²

The first edition of the next work, *Πένθος θανάτου, ζωῆς μάταιον καὶ πρὸς Θεὸν ἐπιστροφή* (BH I no. 69), is not extant. It is known from M. Maître,¹³ but this time, both the name of the printer and the publisher are given. The name of the author, Giustos Glykos, or Glykys, from Koroni in the Peloponnese, is given at the beginning, in the verse prologue by Demetrios Zenos, the editor of the work.¹⁴ Other information contained in the verse prologue is that Giustos was the son of Ioannes and that the author had died in 1522, two years before the publication of his work.¹⁵ The work consists of 632 verses and deals with the ephemeral quality of life on earth and the value of piety and prayer for man's salvation, a theme popular during the Middle Ages and Renaissance. All of the sixteenth century editions of the *Penthos* are illustrated with a woodcut of Death (a2^v) that, in the editions of 1528 and 1543, graphically depicts the poem's description of Death and must have been made specifically to illustrate this work (fig. 92a). The later editions have woodcuts of Death obviously borrowed from other books (figs. 92b, 92c).¹⁶ The known editions are:

- 1524 (S. Nicolini da Sabbio for Petros Kounadis) BH I no. 69
- 1528 (G. A. and the brothers Nicolini da Sabio for Damiano di Santa Maria) LAYTON no. 12
- 1543 (Per Damian di Santa Maria) BH I no. 102
- 1564 (G. Leoncini) BH IV no. 623
- 1600 (A. Pinelli) PAPADOPOULOS II no. 1046; fig. 148.¹⁷

The work also survives in one manuscript in the Naples National Library, the Neapolitanus gr. III.B.27.¹⁸

The story of Apollonios of Tyre, *Διήγησις ὡραιότατη, Ἀπολωνίου τοῦ ἐν Τύρῳ ῥιμάδα* (EISS I no. 1933/2133),¹⁹ was first printed in 1524 (figs. 149, 150). The rhymed version of the story of Apollonios also survives in three manuscripts from the beginning of the sixteenth century: the Codex Ambrosianus gr. Y 89 sup.; the Codex Vindobonensis theol. gr. 244; and the Codex Neapolitanus gr. III. B. 27. Two of the manuscripts, the Ambrosianus and the Vindobonensis, mention the author of this version, one Gabriel Akontianos of Chania in Crete.²⁰ His name does not appear in the Naples manuscript, which is incomplete.

All known printed editions of the Apollonios story consist of 1894 verses, and relate the adventures and trials of Apollonios, prince of Tyre, his wife, Archistrata, and his daughter, Tarsia, their separation from one another, and their joyous reunion.²¹ In the printed version of the work, there is no mention of Gabriel Akontianos. Instead, at the end of the work, another Cretan

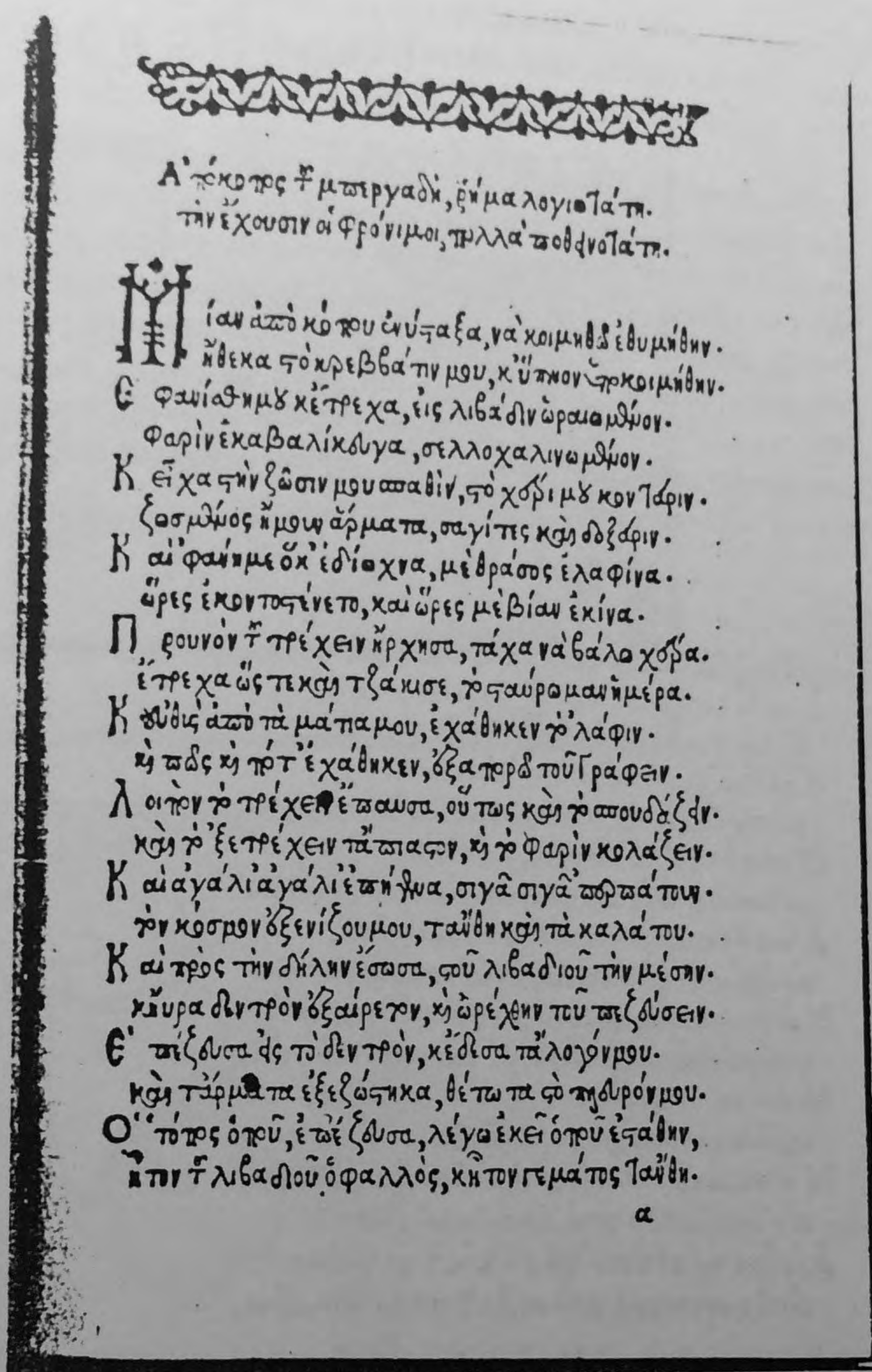


fig. 145

from Chania, Konstantinos Temenos, states that he finished the poem in January of 1500.²² Both names are unknown and thus far have not been identified. Some believe that perhaps Konstantinos Temenos was the editor of the printed version. This is a remote possibility, as at the time of the first printed edition in 1524, the sole editor working for Damiano di Santa Maria was Demetrios Zenos of Zakynthos.²³ The known sixteenth century editions of the Apollonios story are:

- 1524 (S. Nicolini da Sabbio for Damiano di Santa Maria) EISS I no. 1933/2133²⁴
- 1534 (S. Nicolini da Sabbio for Damiano di Santa Maria) BH I no. 91
- 1553 (Cr. Zanetti) BH I no. 130; fig. 151
- 1564 (G. Leoncini) BH IV no. 622

1579 (Cr. Zanetti) BH IV no. 734; fig. 152

1594 (Fr. Giuliani for E. Glyzounis)²⁵1600 (P. Zanetti) BH XVIIIs. V no. 2.²⁶

The story of Apollonios of Tyre was very popular throughout Europe during the Middle Ages. The version of this *rimada* re-introduced to Greece was based on Antonio Pucci's (c. 1309-88) *Istoria d'Apollonio di Tiro*, which was extremely popular in Italy for a long time. However, as G. Morgan observes, "the Cretan poem is far from being a translation, or even a close copy, of Pucci's romance. The plot remains, often in close detail; but the treatment, the weight given to different episodes, the whole psychology of the piece is changed."²⁷ The story of Apollonios was very popular in Greece. It survived in print for some three hundred years and remained alive even longer in the oral tradition.²⁸ A critical edition of the *rimada* version of the Apollonios story has not yet been published.²⁹

νὰ μὲ ξηλῆσῃ τὴ προπὰς, νὰ νὰ χασκίσητόμα.
 Διὰ τὴ κατέχασιν καλὰ, τὴν εἶδον τὴν εἶχα,
 δὲν ἐσημῶνασιν προτὶ, οὐδ' ὄρεξιν δὲν εἶχα.
 Ἀ' μὲ κράτου κ' ἡμάζονα, κ' ἡύμησιν δὲν εἶχα,
 διὰ τὴν ψυχὴν τὴν παπεινήν νὰ δώσω λίγην ψίχα.
 Ὁ' πρὶος ἐλπίζει ὁ πῶσά του, γιὰ τὴν διάταξίν του.
 νὰ δώσουσιν πνὲς πῶχων, κομπώνει τὴν ψυχὴν του.
 Διότι δὲν κουράφουσιν, οὐδὲ προσδὲς ψιφούσιν,
 ἀμὲ νὰ τρῶν νὰ πίνουσιν, γόν διόντος νὰ κρατοῦσιν.
 Νὰ γόν κρατοῦσι σφαλιχόν, μὲ δ' ὅ μὲ τρεῖς καπίνες.
 φλουριά διένερα κ' ἡ πῆρα, μὲ ταῖς χρυσὲς κουρπίνες.
 Μόνον νὰ λογαριάζουσιν, ὅ κ' νὰ πὰ πηλύνου,
 κ' ἡ ἡύμησιν δὲν ἔχουσιν, αὐτῶν ὁ ποῦτ' ἀφίνου.
 Νὰ πῆς οὐκ εἶδον πρὶος προτὶ, οὐδὲ μὲ αὐτοῖς ἐφάσιν,
 οὐδ' ἐγευτήκασιν προτὶ, ἀμὰ δὲν κείχων φάβαν.
 Δὲν ἔχω πῆσον νὰ σου πῶ, νὰ πῆς τ' ἡ γονεμῶν,
 εἰ μὴ χαρεπρὸς πολλοῖς, ἐκ τ' πολλὰ βλαμῶν.
 Δόξα πατρί κ' ἡ τῶν ἡδ, κ' ἡ πηδύμα π' ἀγίος,
 τῶν πρὶος μου κ' ἡ θείδ, κ' ἡ πῆσιν π' αἰματία. Ἀμὲν.
 Νικόλαος ὁ καησιόργης ὁ ὅς κ' ὕζα χαρίου,
 ὁ τῶν γραμματ' σῶθε τῆς, γούτου τ' ἡ παρίδ.
 Ἐ' κόπασιν γι' αὐτὴν, τ' μ' ὡργαδὴ τὴν ἡῖμα,
 νὰ μὴν τῆς εὐρη οὐδὲ εἶς, διαβάζοντ' αὐτὴν κρίμα.
 Ὅσα δ' ἡρίσκονται πνὲς, πολλὰ καπ' σφαλιχῶν,
 οἱ ὁ πρὶος τ' ὁ δὲ κ' ἡ ἡθελεν, νὰ σὰν κατὰ ἡ ἡμῶν.
 Εἰς χίλια πεντακόσια, κ' ἡ ἡτὰ ὅξεν τῶν πῶν,
 εἰς μὴν γόν διέμβριον, κ' ἡ ἡτὰ ὅξεν τῶν πῶν.



fig. 147

Unlike the *Apokopos* and *Penthos thanatou*, both of which were works of contemporary authors, and the story of *Apollonios*, which was based on a folk epic of the past, the next modern Greek work, printed in 1526, was a paraphrase of Homer's *Iliad* by Nikolaos Loukanis (BH I no. 75). The edition was based on an earlier paraphrase made by Konstantinos Hermoniakos, who lived under the Despot of Epirus, Ioannes II Komnenos Angelos Doukas (1323-35). Loukanis's version followed the Byzantine Homeric tradition of adding to the end of the *Iliad* the story of the Fall of Troy, which was taken from the Byzantine *Achilleid*.³⁰ Nikolaos Loukanis from Zakynthos was one of the first students to attend the Greek Gymnasium founded by Pope Leo X in Rome in 1514.³¹ The Loukanis *Iliad* is the earliest vernacular translation of Homer in a modern language. The work was lavishly illustrated with 138 woodcuts — 133 different woodcuts and five

repetitions — that later served to illustrate other modern Greek texts in the series of chapbooks brought out by Damiano di Santa Maria and printed by the Nicolini da Sabbio (figs. 29, 93a-f, 192a-d).³² Perhaps because of its length, the work was not reprinted during the sixteenth century, although it did appear in two, or possibly three, editions during the first half of the seventeenth century.³³

A youthful work of a contemporary author, Iakovos Trivolis, was printed in 1528. The *Ἱστορία τοῦ Ταγιαπιέρρα* (BH I no. 81) chronicles in 312 verses the brave deed of Giovanni Antonio Tagliapietra, or Tajapiera (d. 1553), who, as a captain in the Venetian navy, defeated successfully in 1520 a Turkish pirate ship off the shore of Corfu.³⁴ Iakovos Trivolis (d. 1547 or 1548) belonged to a prominent Corfu family that also produced another distinguished member, Michael-Maximos Trivolis, known as Maxim Grek.³⁵

None of the sixteenth century editions of the *Historia tou Tagiapiera* are extant, and there are also no manuscripts of this work. The earliest edition available today is that of 1626 (BH XVIIIs. I no. 161).³⁶ There has been some confusion over how many editions were published in the sixteenth century. E. Legrand believed that he had produced a modern edition based on a unique copy of a (non existent) 1521 edition that he found out later was none other than the 1782 edition with the date of publication skillfully altered.³⁷ A. Moustoxydes³⁸ says that the *Historia tou*

Tagiapiera and Trivolis's other work, the *Historia tou re tes Skotzias*, were both printed in 1523, the first by Savioni and the second by the Pinelli. This is, of course, impossible since both these printers began printing in the seventeenth century.³⁹ Spyridon Veloudis⁴⁰ speaks of a 1523 and a 1546 edition both printed by Savioni. The listing in LADAS no. 11 (1523) is based on a manuscript note found among the papers of Christophoros Phileas. J. Irmischer,⁴¹ in his edition of the works of Iakovos Trivolis, is also skeptical about the edition of 1523 as is Linos Politis⁴² who dismissed the idea of a 1523 edition and who believes that the work was not printed before 1528. Likewise, M. I. Manousakas⁴³ is skeptical about the 1523 edition. Thus far, the only scholar who accepts the existence of an 1523 edition is Stephanos Kaklamanis⁴⁴ who believes that because of the popularity of the event described in the story of Tagiapieras, Trivolis had sent his work to Venice immediately after it was written, and that it was printed in 1523 by the Nicolini da Sabbio for Damiano di

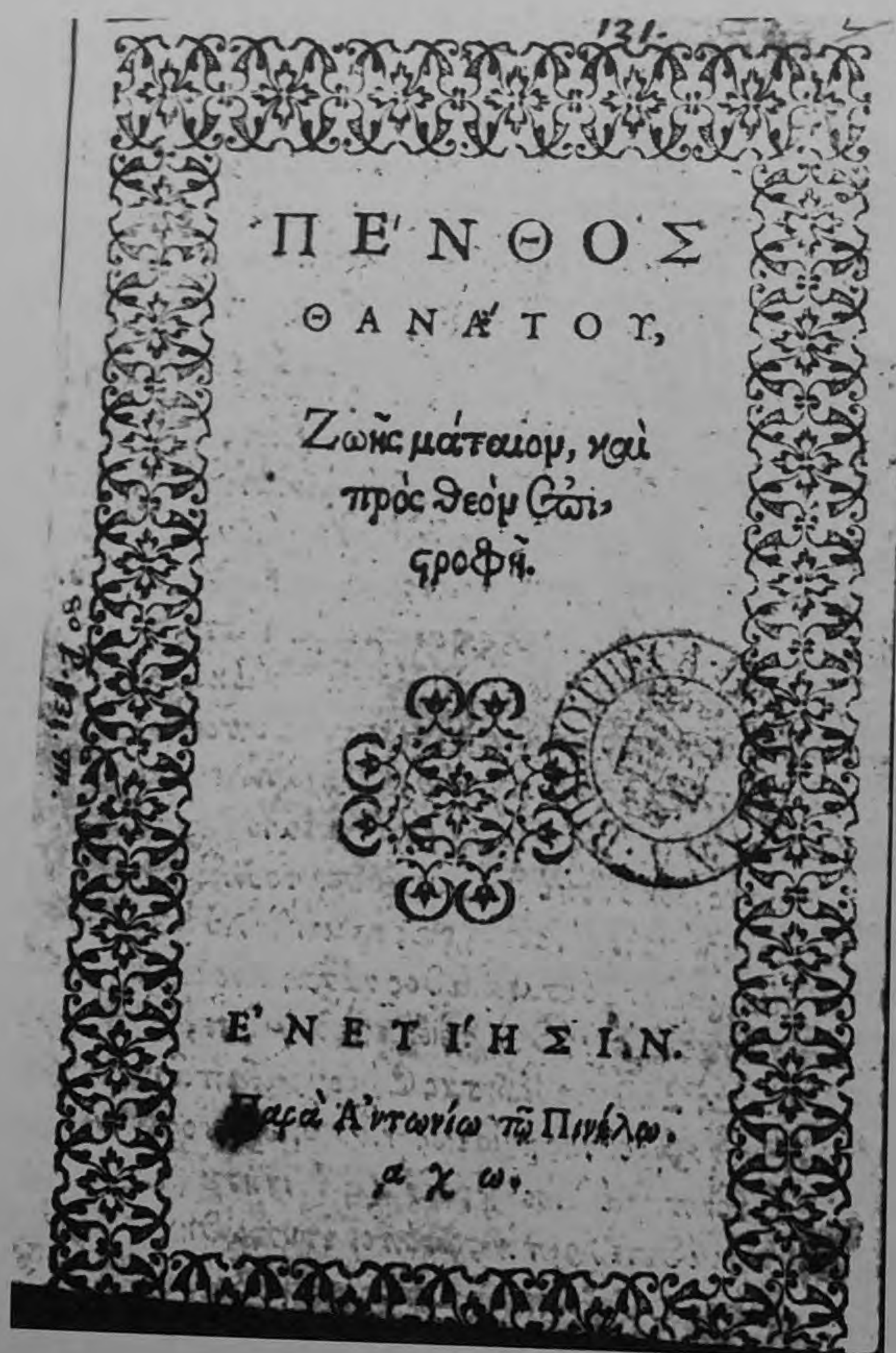


fig. 148

Auctor huius Poëmatis pseudonymus est Con-
stantinus quidam, qui id scripsit anno dñi. 12.
mense Ianuario, ut ipse se se in fine testatur

~A'ΠO TΩ'NIOT~



em. Bigot

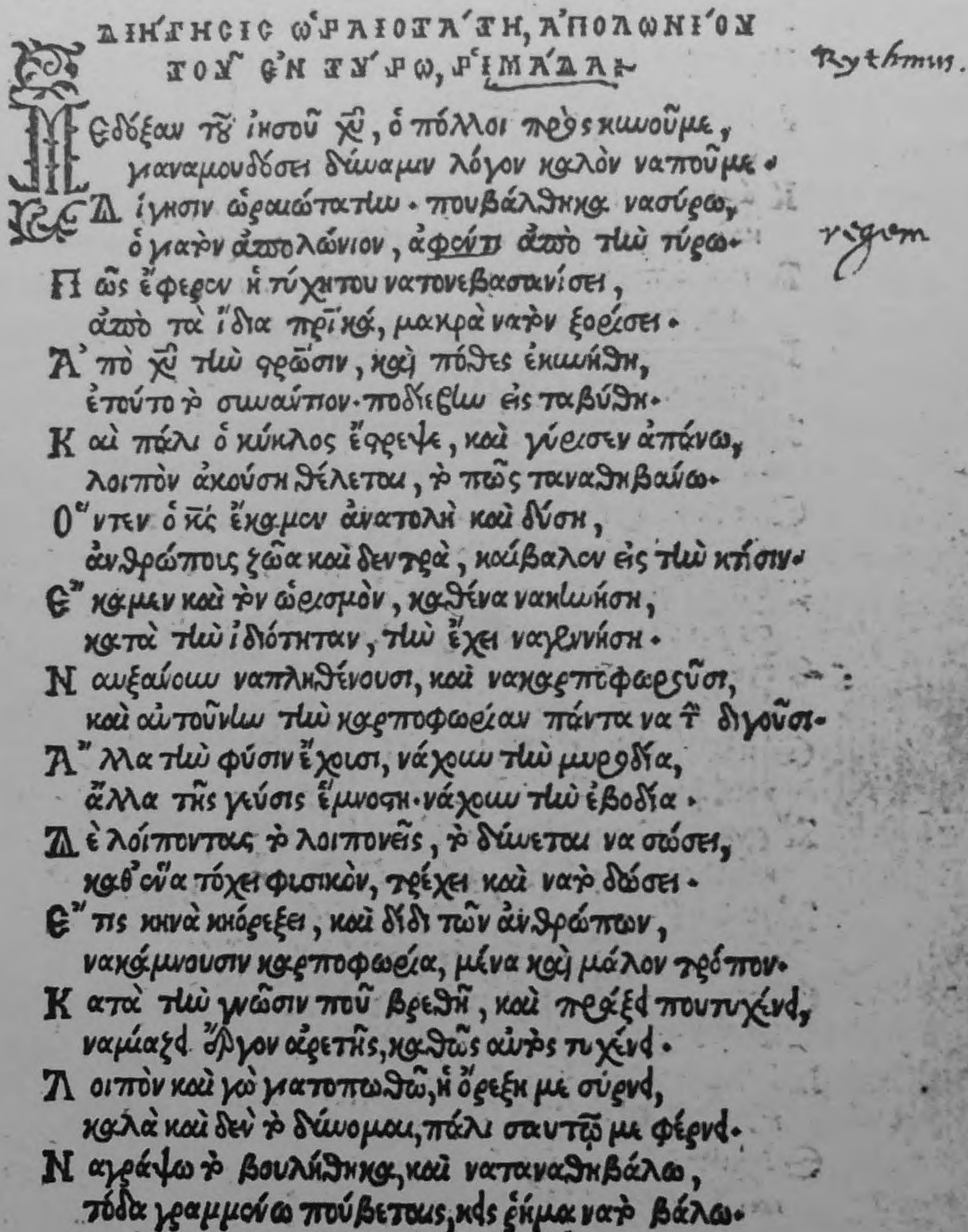
Sum Rugeri Resoi, et amicitia.

Ex dono Adriani Branti.

~~2~~ ~~10~~ ~~11~~ ~~12~~ ~~13~~ ~~14~~ ~~15~~ ~~16~~ ~~17~~ ~~18~~ ~~19~~ ~~20~~ ~~21~~ ~~22~~ ~~23~~ ~~24~~ ~~25~~ ~~26~~ ~~27~~ ~~28~~ ~~29~~ ~~30~~ ~~31~~ ~~32~~ ~~33~~ ~~34~~ ~~35~~ ~~36~~ ~~37~~ ~~38~~ ~~39~~ ~~40~~ ~~41~~ ~~42~~ ~~43~~ ~~44~~ ~~45~~ ~~46~~ ~~47~~ ~~48~~ ~~49~~ ~~50~~ ~~51~~ ~~52~~ ~~53~~ ~~54~~ ~~55~~ ~~56~~ ~~57~~ ~~58~~ ~~59~~ ~~60~~ ~~61~~ ~~62~~ ~~63~~ ~~64~~ ~~65~~ ~~66~~ ~~67~~ ~~68~~ ~~69~~ ~~70~~ ~~71~~ ~~72~~ ~~73~~ ~~74~~ ~~75~~ ~~76~~ ~~77~~ ~~78~~ ~~79~~ ~~80~~ ~~81~~ ~~82~~ ~~83~~ ~~84~~ ~~85~~ ~~86~~ ~~87~~ ~~88~~ ~~89~~ ~~90~~ ~~91~~ ~~92~~ ~~93~~ ~~94~~ ~~95~~ ~~96~~ ~~97~~ ~~98~~ ~~99~~ ~~100~~ ~~101~~ ~~102~~ ~~103~~ ~~104~~ ~~105~~ ~~106~~ ~~107~~ ~~108~~ ~~109~~ ~~110~~ ~~111~~ ~~112~~ ~~113~~ ~~114~~ ~~115~~ ~~116~~ ~~117~~ ~~118~~ ~~119~~ ~~120~~ ~~121~~ ~~122~~ ~~123~~ ~~124~~ ~~125~~ ~~126~~ ~~127~~ ~~128~~ ~~129~~ ~~130~~ ~~131~~ ~~132~~ ~~133~~ ~~134~~ ~~135~~ ~~136~~ ~~137~~ ~~138~~ ~~139~~ ~~140~~ ~~141~~ ~~142~~ ~~143~~ ~~144~~ ~~145~~ ~~146~~ ~~147~~ ~~148~~ ~~149~~ ~~150~~ ~~151~~ ~~152~~ ~~153~~ ~~154~~ ~~155~~ ~~156~~ ~~157~~ ~~158~~ ~~159~~ ~~160~~ ~~161~~ ~~162~~ ~~163~~ ~~164~~ ~~165~~ ~~166~~ ~~167~~ ~~168~~ ~~169~~ ~~170~~ ~~171~~ ~~172~~ ~~173~~ ~~174~~ ~~175~~ ~~176~~ ~~177~~ ~~178~~ ~~179~~ ~~180~~ ~~181~~ ~~182~~ ~~183~~ ~~184~~ ~~185~~ ~~186~~ ~~187~~ ~~188~~ ~~189~~ ~~190~~ ~~191~~ ~~192~~ ~~193~~ ~~194~~ ~~195~~ ~~196~~ ~~197~~ ~~198~~ ~~199~~ ~~200~~ ~~201~~ ~~202~~ ~~203~~ ~~204~~ ~~205~~ ~~206~~ ~~207~~ ~~208~~ ~~209~~ ~~210~~ ~~211~~ ~~212~~ ~~213~~ ~~214~~ ~~215~~ ~~216~~ ~~217~~ ~~218~~ ~~219~~ ~~220~~ ~~221~~ ~~222~~ ~~223~~ ~~224~~ ~~225~~ ~~226~~ ~~227~~ ~~228~~ ~~229~~ ~~230~~ ~~231~~ ~~232~~ ~~233~~ ~~234~~ ~~235~~ ~~236~~ ~~237~~ ~~238~~ ~~239~~ ~~240~~ ~~241~~ ~~242~~ ~~243~~ ~~244~~ ~~245~~ ~~246~~ ~~247~~ ~~248~~ ~~249~~ ~~250~~ ~~251~~ ~~252~~ ~~253~~ ~~254~~ ~~255~~ ~~256~~ ~~257~~ ~~258~~ ~~259~~ ~~260~~ ~~261~~ ~~262~~ ~~263~~ ~~264~~ ~~265~~ ~~266~~ ~~267~~ ~~268~~ ~~269~~ ~~270~~ ~~271~~ ~~272~~ ~~273~~ ~~274~~ ~~275~~ ~~276~~ ~~277~~ ~~278~~ ~~279~~ ~~280~~ ~~281~~ ~~282~~ ~~283~~ ~~284~~ ~~285~~ ~~286~~ ~~287~~ ~~288~~ ~~289~~ ~~290~~ ~~291~~ ~~292~~ ~~293~~ ~~294~~ ~~295~~ ~~296~~ ~~297~~ ~~298~~ ~~299~~ ~~300~~ ~~301~~ ~~302~~ ~~303~~ ~~304~~ ~~305~~ ~~306~~ ~~307~~ ~~308~~ ~~309~~ ~~310~~ ~~311~~ ~~312~~ ~~313~~ ~~314~~ ~~315~~ ~~316~~ ~~317~~ ~~318~~ ~~319~~ ~~320~~ ~~321~~ ~~322~~ ~~323~~ ~~324~~ ~~325~~ ~~326~~ ~~327~~ ~~328~~ ~~329~~ ~~330~~ ~~331~~ ~~332~~ ~~333~~ ~~334~~ ~~335~~ ~~336~~ ~~337~~ ~~338~~ ~~339~~ ~~340~~ ~~341~~ ~~342~~ ~~343~~ ~~344~~ ~~345~~ ~~346~~ ~~347~~ ~~348~~ ~~349~~ ~~350~~ ~~351~~ ~~352~~ ~~353~~ ~~354~~ ~~355~~ ~~356~~ ~~357~~ ~~358~~ ~~359~~ ~~360~~ ~~361~~ ~~362~~ ~~363~~ ~~364~~ ~~365~~ ~~366~~ ~~367~~ ~~368~~ ~~369~~ ~~370~~ ~~371~~ ~~372~~ ~~373~~ ~~374~~ ~~375~~ ~~376~~ ~~377~~ ~~378~~ ~~379~~ ~~380~~ ~~381~~ ~~382~~ ~~383~~ ~~384~~ ~~385~~ ~~386~~ ~~387~~ ~~388~~ ~~389~~ ~~390~~ ~~391~~ ~~392~~ ~~393~~ ~~394~~ ~~395~~ ~~396~~ ~~397~~ ~~398~~ ~~399~~ ~~400~~ ~~401~~ ~~402~~ ~~403~~ ~~404~~ ~~405~~ ~~406~~ ~~407~~ ~~408~~ ~~409~~ ~~410~~ ~~411~~ ~~412~~ ~~413~~ ~~414~~ ~~415~~ ~~416~~ ~~417~~ ~~418~~ ~~419~~ ~~420~~ ~~421~~ ~~422~~ ~~423~~ ~~424~~ ~~425~~ ~~426~~ ~~427~~ ~~428~~ ~~429~~ ~~430~~ ~~431~~ ~~432~~ ~~433~~ ~~434~~ ~~435~~ ~~436~~ ~~437~~ ~~438~~ ~~439~~ ~~440~~ ~~441~~ ~~442~~ ~~443~~ ~~444~~ ~~445~~ ~~446~~ ~~447~~ ~~448~~ ~~449~~ ~~450~~ ~~451~~ ~~452~~ ~~453~~ ~~454~~ ~~455~~ ~~456~~ ~~457~~ ~~458~~ ~~459~~ ~~460~~ ~~461~~ ~~462~~ ~~463~~ ~~464~~ ~~465~~ ~~466~~ ~~467~~ ~~468~~ ~~469~~ ~~470~~ ~~471~~ ~~472~~ ~~473~~

Joannis. Martij.

fig. 149



Santa Maria. He also believes that Demetrios Zenos, who was also from the Ionian Islands, brought the work to the attention of the publisher and supervised its printing. Moreover, he goes on to say that the *Historia tou Tagiapiera* should be considered the first modern Greek text which was printed by the Nicolini da Sabbio for Damiano di Santa Maria. The only justification given for this assumption is that both Moustoxydes and Veloudis confused the names of the da Sabbio with that of Savioni.

1528 (S. Nicolini da Sabbio) BH I no. 81=VRETOS II no. 31
1544 BH I no. 112⁴⁵

Three more vernacular texts came out in 1529, all three from the presses of the Nicolini da Sabbio for Damiano di Santa Maria. The first of these was the *rimada*, or rhymed version, of the Greek versions of the story of Alexander the Great have appeared in print since the sixteenth century. The rhymed version was first printed in 1529 and was reprinted at least fourteen times between 1529 and 1805.⁴⁶ Only the rhymed version was printed during the sixteenth century.



ΔΙΗΓΗΣΙΣ ΠΡΩΤΑΤΗ, ΑΠΟΛΩΝΙΟΥ
ΤΗΥ' ΕΝ ΤΥΡΩ, ΠΙΜΑΔΑ.

ΜΕΔΕΞΑΝ ΤΟ ΙΗΣΟΥ ΧΡΙΣΤΟ, Ο ΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ, ΠΕΘΚΙΩΜΕ,
ΓΙΝΑΜΕΘΟΣΙ ΔΙΩΑΜΜΛΟΓΟΝ ΚΑΛΟΝ ΝΑΠΟΥΜΕ,
ΔΙΓΗΣΙΝ ΩΡΑΙΩΤΑΤΗΝ, ΠΕΥΒΑΛΘΗΚΑ ΝΑΣΥΡΩ.
Ο ΓΙΑΤΟΝ ΑΡΛΩΝΙΟΝ, ΑΦΕΝΤΙ ΑΡ ΤΩ ΤΥΡΩ.
ΓΩΣ ΕΦΟΡΕΝ Η ΤΥΧΗΝ ΝΑΤΟΝΙΒΑΣΑΝΙΩ,
ΑΡ ΤΑ ΙΔΙΑ ΠΑΤΡΙΚΑ, ΜΑΚΡΑ ΝΑΤΟΝ ΦΟΡΙΩ.
ΑΠΟ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ ΤΩ ΣΑΥΡΩΣΙΝ, ΚΑΙ ΠΟΘΕΣ ΕΚΙΝΗΘΗ,
ΕΙΣ ΤΟ ΣΥΛΛΑΜΜΟΝ, ΠΟΔΙΕΒΛΩ ΕΙΣ ΤΑ ΒΥΘΗ.
ΚΑΙ ΠΑΛΙ Ο ΚΥΚΛΟΣ ΕΣΤΕΤΕ, ΚΑΙ ΓΥΡΙΣΕΝ ΑΠΑΝΩ,
ΛΟΙΠΟΝ ΑΝΕΥΣΗ ΘΕΛΕΤΟΙ, ΤΟ ΠΩΣ ΠΑΝΑΘΗΒΑΝΩ.
ΟΝΤΕΝ Ο ΚΥΚΛΟΣ ΕΚΑΜΕΝ ΑΝΑΤΟΛΗ ΚΑΙ ΔΥΣΗ,
ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΥΣ ΖΩΑ ΚΑΙ ΔΩΝΤΡΑ, ΚΕΒΑΛΕΝ ΕΙΣ ΤΩ ΚΤΙΣΗ.
ΕΚΑΜΕΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΝ ΩΡΙΣΜΟΝ, ΚΑΘΩΣ ΝΑΚΛΩΝΟΝ,
ΚΑΤΑ ΤΗΝ ΙΔΙΟΤΗΤΑΝ, ΤΗΝ ΕΧΕΙ ΝΑΓΓΕΙΝΟΝ.
ΝΑΥΦΑΝΟΥΝ ΝΑ ΠΛΗΘΕΝΟΥΣΙ, ΚΑΙ ΝΑΚΑΡΠΟΦΟΡΩΣΙ,
ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΥΝ ΤΗΝ ΚΑΡΠΟΦΟΡΙΑΝ ΠΑΝΤΑ ΝΑ ΤΗΝ ΔΙΓΟΥΣΙ.
ΑΛΛΑ ΤΗΝ ΦΥΣΙΝ ΕΧΟΥΣΙ, ΝΑΧΩΝ ΤΗΝ ΜΥΡΙΣΙΑ,
ΑΛΛΑ ΤΗΣ ΓΟΥΣΙΣ ΕΜΕΙΣ, ΝΑΧΩΝ ΤΗΝ ΕΒΟΔΙΑ.
ΔΕ ΛΟΙΠΟΝΤΑΣ ΤΟ ΛΙΠΕΚΙΣ, ΤΟ ΔΙΩΤΟΙ ΝΑ ΣΩΣΕΙ,
ΚΑΘΩΣ ΤΟΧΗ ΦΥΣΙΚΟΝ, ΤΡΕΧΕΙ ΚΑΙ ΝΑ ΤΟ ΔΙΩΣΕΙ.
ΕΤΙΣ ΚΛΩΑ ΚΗΟΡΕΞΕΙ, ΚΑΙ ΔΙΩΔΕ ΤΗΝ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΩΝ,
ΝΑΚΑΜΕΝ ΚΑΡΠΟΦΟΡΙΑ, ΜΕΛΙΑ ΚΑΙ ΜΑΛΕΝ ΤΡΟΠΟΝ.
ΚΑΤΑ ΤΩ ΓΝΩΣΗ ΠΟΥ ΒΡΕΘΗ, ΚΥ ΠΡΑΞΕΙ ΠΟΥΤΥΧΕΝΕ,
ΝΑΜΕΛΑ ΟΡΓΟΝ ΑΡΕΤΗΣ, ΚΑΘΩΣ ΑΥΤΟΣ ΤΥΧΕΝΕ,
ΛΟΙΠΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΓΩ ΓΙΑΤΟΠΩΘΩ, Η ΟΡΕΞΗΜΕ ΣΥΡΕΙ,
ΚΑΛΑ ΚΑΙ ΔΕΝ ΤΟ ΔΙΩΜΑΙ, ΠΑΛΙ ΣΑΥΤΩΜΕ ΦΕΡΕΙ.
ΝΑΓΓΕΤΩ ΤΟ ΒΟΛΗΘΗΚΑ, ΚΑΙ ΝΑΤΑΝΑΘΗΒΑΛΩ,
ΤΟΔΙΑ ΓΡΑΜΜΕΛΩ ΠΟΥΒΕΤΟΙΣ, ΚΕΙΣ ΕΝΗΜΑ ΝΑ ΤΟ ΒΑΛΩ.
ΑΡΛΩ.

fig. 151

[Jennas, Constant]
 Α' Η Ο Λ Ω' Η Ι Ο Σ. Α'



M. Martini Crispi. Tybinge. Accep. 6. sept. 1580. à P. Hieronymus Visker. et inde
 ventra. 1. Bacio.



1580. 16

fig. 152

- 1529 (Nicolini da Sabbio for Damiano di Santa Maria) BH I no. 83; ILIOU no. 3
 1553 (Fr. Rampazetto for Damiano di Santa Maria) BH I no. 129
 1600 (D. de Poloni) ILIOU no. 25.⁴⁷

The 1529 edition of the tale of Alexander was illustrated with fourteen woodcuts, thirteen of which were taken from the modern Greek *Iliad* of Nikolaos Loukanis (BH I no. 75). These include numbers 44, 51, 12, 117, 126, 25, 33, 53, 49, 103, 60, 62, and 6 in the order they appear in the Alexander edition. The fourteenth woodcut, no. 4, was taken from the 1521 edition of *Alexandreida in rima* (ESSLING no. 1752). This woodcut depicts Alexander riding Bucephalus (fig. 153). The woodcut from *Alexandreida in rima* did not appear in later Greek editions of the Alexander romance. The 1553 edition (BH I no. 129) used the same *Iliad* illustrations and also

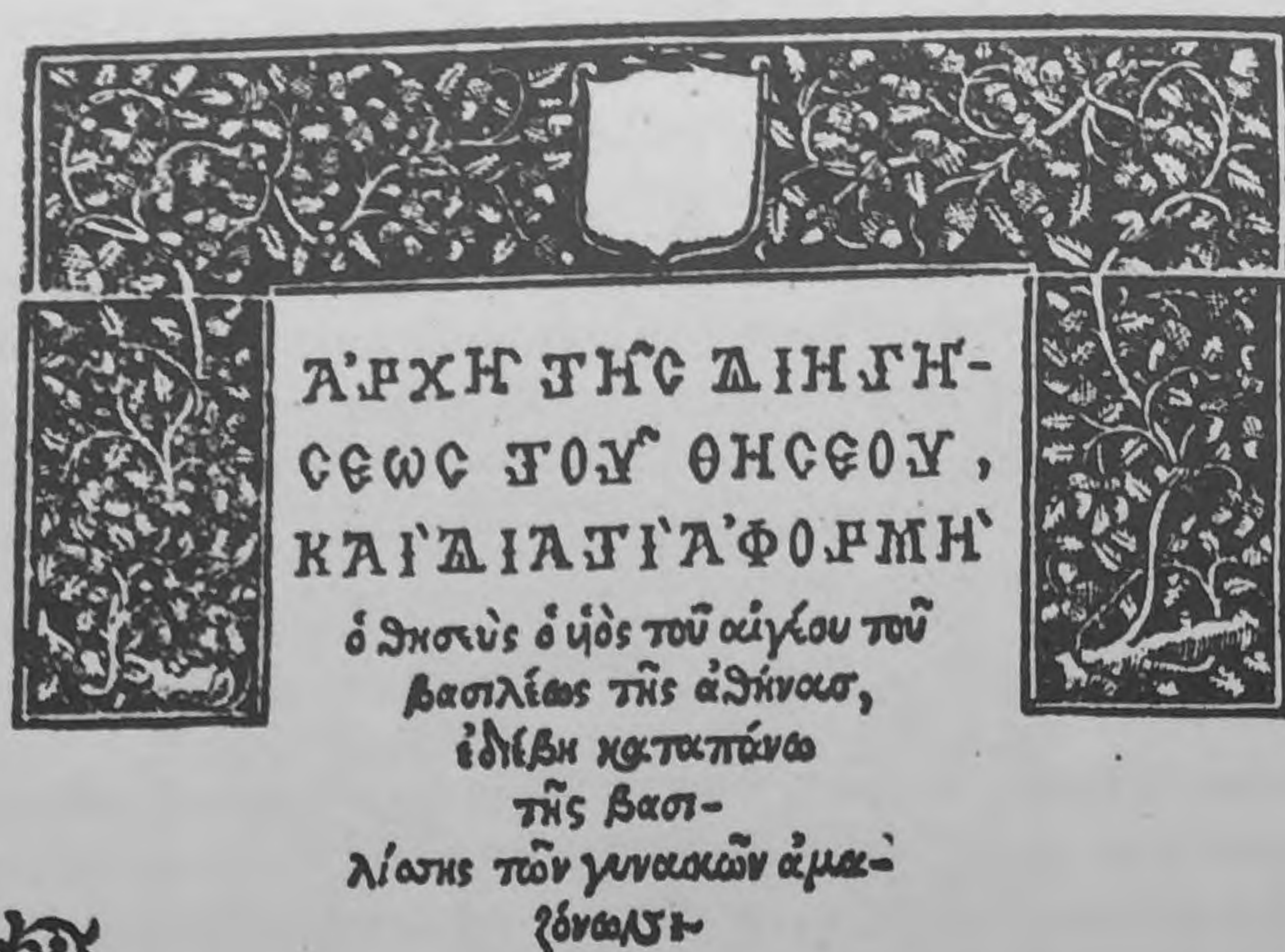
added no. 16 to replace the woodcut borrowed from the *Alexandreida in rima*. The 1600 edition (ILIOU no. 25) used only nine illustrations all from the *Iliad* group: numbers 12, 13, 33, 51, 53, 54, 117, and 126. No. 117 was used twice, while numbers 13 and 54 had not been used in the earlier editions of the Alexander work.⁴⁸

The story of Alexander and his exploits also survives in a series of manuscripts.⁴⁹ The version of the *rimada* found in the printed editions, however, must have been based on a manuscript of the pseudo-Callisthenes that was in existence in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries but no longer survives.⁵⁰ There is only one sixteenth century manuscript, the Cod. Met. 445 at the monastery of Metamorphosis at Meteora in Thessaly. However, because the manuscript closely follows the 1529 printed edition, even leaving blank spaces where there were illustrations in the printed edition, it is believed that it is a copy of the first printed edition of the *rimada* or of a later edition dependent on it.⁵¹

With the exception of Émile Legrand,⁵² many of the early scholars writing about the *rimada* attributed its authorship to Demetrios Zenos of Zakynthos. This assumption was based on some verses found in the epilogue of the early printed editions, which state that the work was produced "κόπος [sic] καὶ δεξιότητι Ζήνου τοῦ Δημητρίου."⁵³ In contrast, Legrand assumed that Demetrios Zenos was only the editor, i.e., the man who prepared the text for publication and corrected the proofs. D. Zenos was the editor/corrector of most of the modern Greek texts



fig. 153



Η τίς ἐλλιάων βασιλῆς, ἀγενικὸς ἀνδρείος,
 πλούσιος καὶ πανάτυχής, τῆς πόλεως Ἀθήνας.
 Οὗτος ὑπῆρχεν ὁ λαμπρὸς, καὶ βασιλῆς αἵματος
 εἶχεν υἱὸν πανέμνοτον, φρακτὸν εἰς τιῷ ἀνδρείαν.
 Θητίος ὀνομάζετον, ἀμορφος ὑπὸ μέτρον.
 εἶχε μεγάλῃ δύναμιν, εἶχε μεγάλην γῶσιν,
 Καὶ εἰς πολλὰ βασίλεια, ἔδειξε τιῷ ἀνδρείαν του.
 εἰς φήμιον δόξαν καὶ τιμίῳ, ἦλθε κτιῷ περ θυμῶν του.

Εἰς τὴν καὶ τὸν ἐκῆνον δὲ, ἦσαν τινὲς γυναικες,
 αὐτῷ σύθειαν βελκόντεσαν, ταῖς λέγαν ἀμαζόνες.
 Ἀχρὶες ἀλαζονικαῖς, οὐδὲν τοὺς ἐφονέτον,
 δουλομένους νὰ βέλσκοντο, τοὺς αὐδρες ἀποκράτω.
 Εἰς τοῦτο ἐσιμᾶχοντο, μ' ἀλαζονία μεγάλη,
 καὶ χάμασιν εἰς ποταγὴν, πινὸς νὰ μηδὲν εἶναι.
 Μόνον αὐταῖς νὰ ἔχουσι, ὅλῳ τιῷ αὐθεντίαν,
 καὶ ἦβραν γέρον καὶ πρῶτον, τήντε ἐπεθυμῶν.

fig. 154

printed for Damiano di Santa Maria between 1523 and 1539, although his name does not even appear in many of the works printed during this period, especially the *phyllades*. Legrand also advanced the idea that perhaps the author of the *rimada* was Markos Depharanas of Zakynthos. This assumption was based on an interpretation of the verses composed by D. Zenos in the epilogue of the work. In these verses, Zenos mentioned his attempt to find an appropriate manuscript because the one he had at hand was badly written, damaged, and full of errors, by sending a message to the author, who was in Zakynthos, to prepare a new copy. However, since he did not receive a response from the author, he had to use the manuscript he had.⁵⁴ Regarding Legrand's assumption that the unidentified author was Markos Depharanas, G. Veloudis accepted that it was possible that either Depharanas or someone else from Zakynthos wrote the

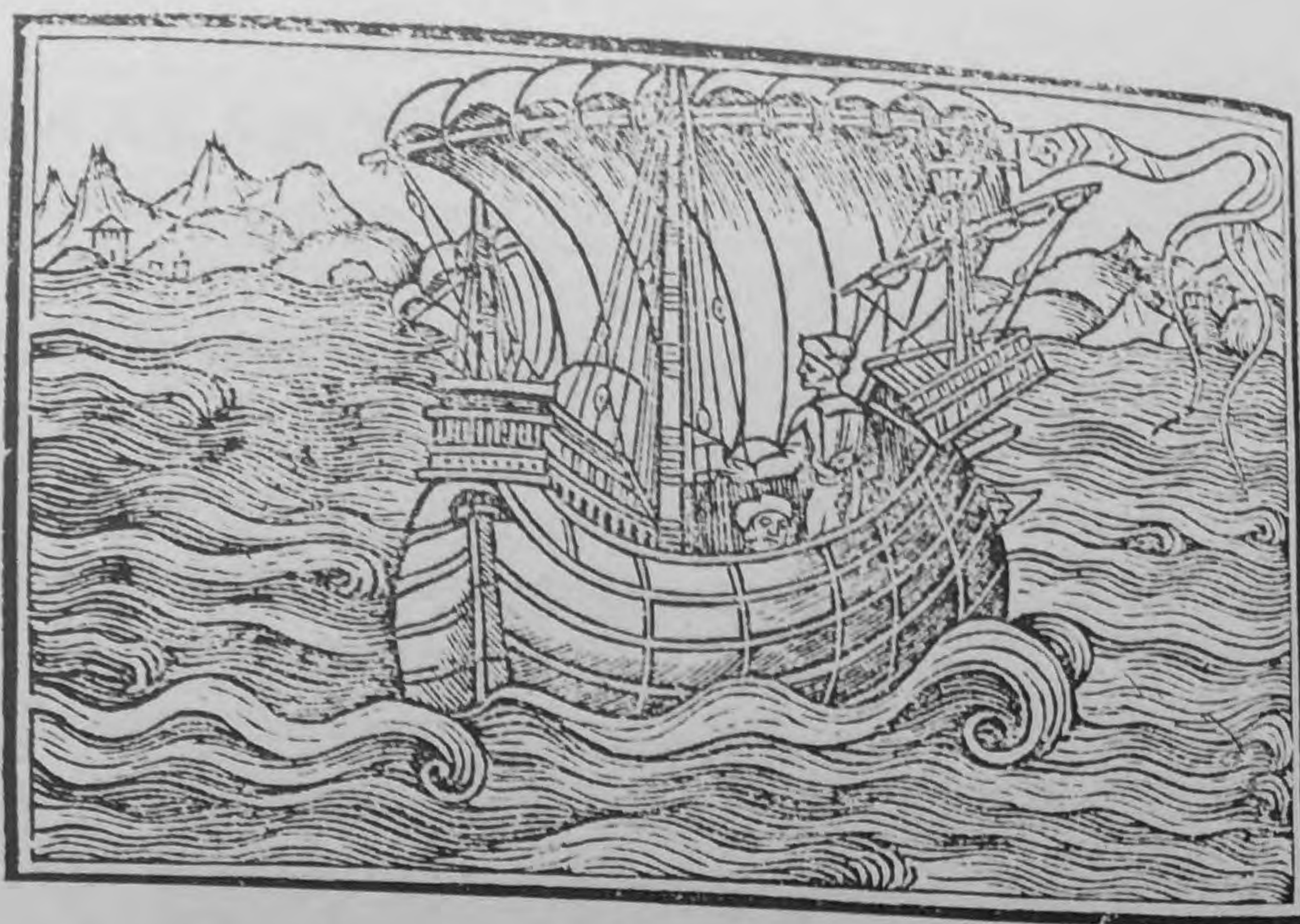


fig. 155

rimada during the first half of the sixteenth century.⁵⁵ Other scholars disagreed that Markos Depharanas was the author on the basis of linguistic and stylistic differences between Markos Depharanas's work and the *rimada*.⁵⁶ Most scholars today believe that the *rimada* was written by an anonymous author from Zakynthos who was roughly contemporary with Demetrios Zenos.

The second work to appear in 1529 was the *Ἀνθος τῶν Χαρίτων* (BH III no. 305).⁵⁷ This was a translation of the popular Italian work, *Fior di virtù*, which was one of the best-loved books of the late Middle Ages and Renaissance and was translated into a great many languages, including Arabic and Armenian. Before 1501, the *Fior di virtù* had gone through fifty-seven editions in Italy alone.⁵⁸ The Greek edition of 1529 was the first prose work to be printed in modern Greek, and it represents the first surviving printed example of the spoken language of the period.⁵⁹ Unlike the *Theseid*, also published for the first time in 1529 and apparently not a success, the *Anthos Chariton* became very popular and was printed in many editions between the sixteenth and mid-nineteenth centuries.⁶⁰ There were five known editions in the sixteenth century:

1529 (G. A. Nicolini da Sabbio and brothers for Damiano di Santa Maria) BH III no. 305

1537 (S. Nicolini da Sabbio for Damiano di Santa Maria) BH III no. 366

1546 (G. A. & Pietro Nicolini da Sabbio for Damiano di Santa Maria) BH I no. 119

1564 (G. Leoncini) BH IV no. 624

1594 (Fr. Giuliani) ILIOU no. 23.⁶¹

The *Anthos Chariton* is an anthology that consists of thirty-five sections, which enumerate and describe the various virtues and their corresponding vices. Each virtue and vice is compared to an animal or a bird that seems to have similar characteristics in shape or behavior. The translator of the Greek version is unknown. There are indications in the sources that the work was used in schools under Turkish rule. However, it is not clear if the work's use as a schoolbook began as early as the sixteenth century.⁶²

Among the books that Martinus Crusius collected in order to study the modern Greek language was the 1546 edition of the *Anthos Chariton*, which is still among the books in his

ΕΨΗΓΗΣΙΣ ΤΟΥ ΘΑΥΜΑΣΤΟΥ
ΗΜΠΕΡΙΟΥ.

Αρχίζω πρῶτον μὲ δεισμόν, καὶ με Βουλῶν κυρίου,
Η γὰρ διηγεῖται φήγηται, αὐτοῦ τῷ ἡμπερίου.
Καὶ διὰ τὴν σάφειν αἶρετον, ὡραία μὰρ γὰρ ὦμα,
 ὅπολα μὲν συγγραμμὰς ὡς ἀμ χρυσὴ κορῶμα.
Τὸ πῶς ὅξινι πύθουσι, ἀπὸ τὰ γορικάτοις,
 καὶ πάλιν ἔς τὸ ὕσιν, ἢ λθάνειν ἀφ᾽ ἐμπάτοις.
Τὸ ποῖον ἀκούσι θέλειται, ἔς τὴν δὴ γήσιμον,
 ὅσα μὲν δίδεται τὴν ἀρχὴν, καὶ τὴν ξεπὶ λιοσίμον.
Τὸ μὲν χαρὴ καὶ μὲν τύχη, ἀπλά διερῶμα μίμον,
 Βούλομαι γὰρ τὸν βάλω γῶ, ἔς τὸ ρήμα εὐσμέμον.
Αὐτὸ καὶ λάθω πούπεπε, ὅποιος τὸν ἀγαγῶσι,
 ζυτῶ τὸν συμπάθιον, διὰ γὰρ μουτοδόσι.



fig. 156

collection at the Tübingen University Library.⁶³ The work has also survived in six manuscripts, at least three of which are considered to antedate the printed editions. These are: the Bibliothèque Saint Geneviève ms. 3409, which is dated 1497 and was signed by a calligrapher named Aristoteles; the Vienna Vindob. Theol. gr. 218, c. 1500; and the Escorial Ψ IV 22, from around the end of the fifteenth century. Three other manuscripts are dated later than the first printed edition. These are at the Vatican (Archivio di San Pietro), C 152; at the monastery of Iveron on Mount Athos, 402 (Λ 4522); and at Vienna, the Vindob. Theol. gr. 244. E. Kakoulide, who studied the three manuscripts which antedate the printed editions, has come to the conclusion that these

manuscripts represent three independent translations from the Italian and that the manuscript of Saint Geneviève is closest to the 1529 edition.⁶⁴

The last work printed in 1529 was the modern Greek *Theseid*, *Θησέος καὶ γάμοι τῆς Ἑμήλιας* (BH I no. 84; fig. 154). The work is an anonymous translation of Giovanni Boccaccio's *Teseida*, which first appeared in Ferrara in 1475 and which was popular during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, being translated into several languages.⁶⁵ The modern Greek *Theseid* was one of the few sixteenth century vernacular texts that did not come out in a second edition, perhaps because of its length. Beside the 1529 printed edition, the work also survived in two manuscripts, both mutilated, which date from earlier than the printed edition. The earliest of the two manuscripts is the Codex Parisinus gr. 2898. The later manuscript, the Codex Palatinus gr. 426, constitutes a



ΔΙΗΓΗΣΙΣ ὨΡΑΙΟΤΑΤΗ
ΤΟΥ ἩΜΒΕΡΙΟΥ.

Ἄνθρωπος μέγας θαυμαστός, ἔηναι πέπλημνός,
εἰς τὴν περὶ βύτην ἦτονε, μυρὶ χαρτωμένῃ,
Εἶχεν φασάτα πέρι λαμπρά, πλῆθος τὸ περὶ κόντον,
καὶ ἄλλα πανυπέρι λαμπρά, τὸ καβαλαρχόντου.
Ἀγάπα δὲ περὶ πολλοῦ, νέους χαρτωμένους,
χαρίσματα δὲ διδοὺς πολλὰ, νάχη δὲ ἀνδρῶν μύνης.
Δουκάτα εἶχεν πάμπολλα, δόξα μὲν αὐτὸς του,
ἄλλος οὐδὲν εἰς βερίσκετον, τὸ πλῆθος ὁμοίος του.
Ἦτον πολλὰ βεργετικὸς, καὶ ξακουστός ὡς ἄλλος,
φεχουστός καὶ φρόνημος, εἰς χαρτίους μεγάλους.
Μόνον νὰ εἴβλεπεν τιναῖ, καλλὸν εἰς τὴν καβάλα,
δουκάτα τὸ δόκον πολλὰ, χρυσάτα καὶ μεγάλα.
Ἦτον δὲ πάνυ θαυμαστός, μέγας ἀνδρῶν μύνης,
καὶ πόδας ἀνέμορφος, τὸ κονταρεῖς ξιομνός.
Οὐδεὶς ἐκτὸς παραταγῆς, ἀπὸ τοῦ τὸ φασάτω,
τύτον οὐδὲν εἰς βερίσκετον, νὰ τὸν νεβάλη κάτω.
Εἴβλεπεν τὰ φασάτα του, καὶ τὰς παραταγὰς του,
τὴν παρῆσιαν τὴν πολλὴν, πλῆθος καὶ τὰς τιμὰς του.
Εὐφραίνοντο κιαγάλετον πᾶς εἶχεν φορτωμένα,
τὰ παλικάρια τὰ μορφα καὶ τὰ χαρτωμένα.
Καὶ ἡ λαμπρά καὶ θαυμαστὴ, αὐτὴ ἡ σύζυγός του,
κάστροι καὶ χώραι εἶχασιν, γαυτὴν τὸ ἄδελφός του.
Ἀλλὰ οὐκ ἦτον σὰν αὐτὴν, εἰς θυγερῶν κτισμένη,
εἰς κάλλος καὶ εἰς ἀρχοντίαν, ἦτονε τιμημένη.
Ἀνδρόγαυον ὠραεπικόν, τὸν κόσμον ἠγαπημένον,
τὴν κρίσιν του, ἐκάμασιν, σὰν ἦτον τὸ γραμμένον,
ἡμπέ.

α 2

fig. 157

reworking of the story as found in the Codex Parisinus and is actually the manuscript that served as copy for the printed edition.⁶⁶ The modern Greek version of the *Theseid* as it appears in the Codex Parisinus is very faithful to the Boccaccio story, while the version contained in the Codex Vaticanus is modified, reworked, and corrected. Follieri believes that the anonymous translation of the Greek *Theseid* in the Codex Parisinus was probably made between the middle of the fifteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth century, while Olsen narrows it down to c. 1500.⁶⁷ G. Morgan, who also examined the two codices, came to the conclusion that the Parisinus graecus was written c. 1480 by a Cretan and that it later went through a reworking in the Ionian Islands.⁶⁸

As mentioned above, the Codex Palatinus gr. 426 at the Vatican Library was the actual manuscript used for the printed text, as is evident from traces of the compositor's ink on the



-ΛΟΓΟΙ ΔΙΔΑΚΤΙΚΟΙ ΤΟΥ

πατρὸς πρὸς τὸν υἱόν.

Πῶσα ἀγαθὴ διδασκαλίᾳ καὶ ἀρχῇ καλοῦ περχιμάπν,
 πορεύεται ἀπὸ πατρὸς υἱοῦ καὶ ἀγίου πνῦμά του.
Δὲν ἔναι νὰ κράζω τὸ λοιπὸν τοῖς μουζέες τῶν ἐλλήνων.
 μαστὴν τεῖ ἀδὰ τῷ ἀγίῳ τῷ κεφαλῷ μου κλίσω.
Διὶ νὰ μοῦ δώκει χεῖρταν εἰς νοῦν καὶ εἰς κοιδήλη.
 νὰ γράψω καὶ νὰ δηγηθῶ μετ' ἀδική μου χεῖλη.
Ὅτι τὸν μοναχὸν υἱὸν καὶ ἀκριβὸν τὸν ἔχω.
 νὰ βάλω φράταν καὶ ἀρετῇ βούλομαι καὶ ξετρέχω.
Διατί ὁ νέος τὰ μέλλοντα καὶ κῆνα τὰ δὲν περᾶξει.
 σὰν ὄνειρς τῇ φύνονται ἄλος νὰ τὰ δῶταί ξει.
Διὶ αὖτ' ἐγὼ ὁ πολυπαθὴς τέκνον μου ἡγαπημένον,
 τὰ ἔμαθα μετὰ πολλὴν πυκρέα εἰς καιρὸν ἀπρασμούον.
Νὰ σὲ διδάξω βούλωμαι καὶ ὀλπίζω νὰ πιτεύσης,
 τοῦ λόγου σου σοῦ δέλω εἰπεῖ καὶ νὰ μὴ δὲν ὀκνέψης.
Καθ' ἡμέραν νὰ μελετᾷς καὶ νὰ κρατῇς ἀλήθεια,
 καὶ τῇ τοῖς ἡ διδασκαλίαις δὲν εἶναι παραμύθια.
Ποιπὸν ἡ πρώτῃ διδασκαλίᾳ εἰς τὸν θεὸν τὸν κτίστη,
 καὶ τῇ παντὸς δημιουργὸς νὰ σὲ βεσιμὲ πίστη.
Καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ ὀρίζει ἡ ἐκκλησία ὅλλα νὰ τὰ προσέχεις.
 καὶ τῷ καλῷ βουλῷ καὶ λόγον μὴν ἀπέχεις.
Διὰ τί εἰς αὐτὰ ἔσποτάσωνται οἱ νόμοι καὶ οἱ προφῆταις.
 καὶ ὅσοι δὲν τὰ προσέχονται κρίζονται ἀρωβήτες.
Μαλήθεια ὁ νόμος τῶν ἀρχῶν ἡ τὸν αἰὲρ τῆς φύσης.
 καὶ λέγει, τὸ δὲν θῆς ἐσὺ, μὴ δὲ ἀλουντοῦ τὸ πῆσης.
Καὶ μετ' αὐτὰ οἱ αὐθραποὶ πολλὰ ἐζήσαν.
 εἰς τὸν καιρὸν τῇ μαῦσῃ ὁ ποῦ τῇ ἀκολουθοῦσαν.
Μὲ τὸν λαὸν τῇ ἰσραήλ· δώδεκα σκύπτρα ὁμάδν,
 ἐπέρασαν τῷ ὄρημον, καὶ ὁ θς δῶταί σημάδν.

Λ 2

fig.158

margins. The printed text faithfully follows the text of the manuscript. Furthermore, written on the margins of the Palatinus graecus are directions indicating where the illustrations should appear in the printed version.⁶⁹ Although the name of Demetrios Zenos does not appear either in the printed edition of the modern Greek *Theseid* or in the manuscript that served as copy, it has recently been established that the Codex Palatinus gr. 426 was written in his hand.⁷⁰

The 1529 *Theseid* is illustrated with eleven woodcuts, ten of which are borrowed from the modern Greek *Iliad* of N. Loukanis (BH I no. 75). In order of appearance these are numbers 63, 7 (fig. 155), 64, 60, 65(modified), 127(modified), 33, 34, 48, and 36. The last illustration in the *Theseid*, no. 11, is not from the *Iliad* group and differs stylistically from that set. It was either made for the modern Greek *Theseid* or, more likely, borrowed from an Italian original.⁷¹

In 1539, two short works, both satires about the animal kingdom, were printed together. These works were a modern Greek, rhymed paraphrase of the *Batrachomyomachia* made by Demetrios Zenos (BH I no. 100) and a modern Greek version of the story of the donkey and the fox, *Γαδάρου, λύκου κι' αλουποῦς διήγησις ὡραία* (BH I no. 98), popularly known as the *Φυλλάδα τοῦ γαδάρου*. Although surviving copies are separated, it is most probable that the two satires were issued together because the *Βατραχομυομαχία* is without a colophon and the story of the donkey is without a title page.⁷²



fig. 159

The original *Batrachomyomachia* was the earliest Greek text ever to be printed. It appeared c. 1474 at Brescia in a Greek and Latin edition.⁷³ It was also printed in Venice in 1486 by Laonikos of Crete (BH I no. 3). The many manuscripts of this text that have survived are proof of its popularity. During the Byzantine period, it was used as a schoolbook, and it continued to be used as such afterwards. During the fifteenth century, Theodorus of Gaza (c. 1400-1475) made a prose translation of the *Batrachomyomachia* in an archaic, learned language that remained in manuscript form until the nineteenth century.⁷⁴



ΔΙΔΑΣΚΑΛΙΑ ΠΑΡΑΙΝΕΤΙΚΗ
κυρῶ ἀλεξίς κομμηρῶ τῷ λεγοῦ
μῆνι, σπαφέα.

Γ ραφή καὶ γίχοι διδαχῆς, καὶ παραιμέσεως λόγαι,
δξ ἀλεξίς κομμηρῶ τῷ μακαρίῳ κέρνι,
τῷ θαυματῷ καὶ τῷ σοφῷ εἰς σωίεσιν καὶ γνῶσιν.
ῥῶ του τῷ ἀπείδειλε γάξενά πεθροσκέτο.
εἰς διάταξιν τῷ ἔγραψε κέρειλε πρὸς ἐκείνον.
πῶς γὰρ μαθαίνει παῖδάσιν γαβρῇ τιμῷ εἰς τέλος.
πρόλογος.

Εἰς τὴν
ἐκείνου

ἐκνον με ποθεινότατον παιδί με ἡγαπημῆρον,
ὁσοῦν ἐκ τῶν ὁρέων με καὶ σαρξ ἐκ τῆς σαρκός με,
ἡλπιζα γὰρ πικρίας με ταύτας τὰς ἀφορήτους,
καὶ τὴν πολλὰς με γυναικας καὶ τὴν ἀμέτρητον πόρνην,
ἐσὲν γὰρ ἔχω ἀφασασμόν, καὶ παρηγόρημά με.
καὶ κρητισμόν τῶν πόρων με τῶν ἀπαρηγορήτων.
καρδίας με θοράπασιν, τῷ σκοτῆς με λαμπάδα,
πῶς ἔχω εἰδῆς ἀπὲρ με δξ αἰφνης καὶ ἀφελώσεως.
καὶ τάφορ ὠρυξε βαθὺν ὁ χωρισμός ἐτῆτος.
καὶ ὡς μεκρὸς κείτομαι εἰς γλῶσσαν ὡς ἄψυχος παιδί με.
ὁ γὰρ μεκρὸς οὐδεὶς πορεῖ, ὅτι αἰσθησιν ἔκ ἔχει.
ἐγὼ δὲ ζῶ καὶ ἀσπύομαι, τὸ πάθος ἀπαικάζω.
ἔχω διπλῶν τῶν γόρῃσιν πλείον ἐκ τῷ θαμάρτου.
ὁ λογισμός με πάντοτε φέρει εἰς τὸν γοῦν με.
ὁρῶ με κήδιστοι ποτὶ ἐκ ἀλισμορῆς



Λ

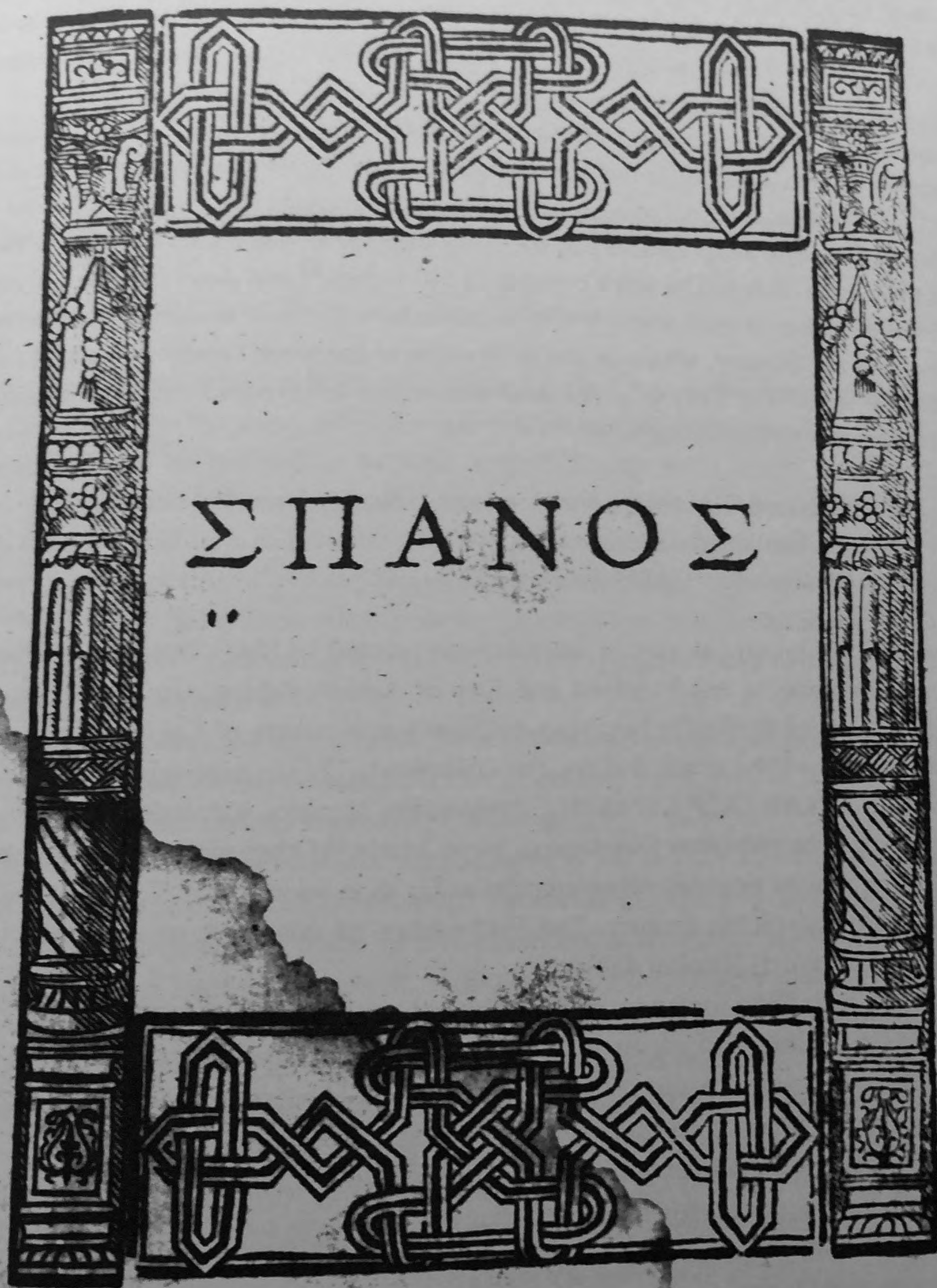


fig. 161

The rhymed, modern Greek version of the 1539 *Batrachomyomachia* was made by Demetrios Zenos, as is indicated in the dialogue between a lover of learning (φιλομαθής) and a bookseller (βιβλιοπώλης) that can be found on the verso of the title page.⁷⁵ The 1486 Venice edition by Laonikos of Crete (BH I no. 3), has glosses that lead one to believe that it was used as a reader to help those who were not very familiar with classical Greek. It is now believed that Demetrios Zenos used this 1486 edition of the *Batrachomyomachia* as the model for his translation and adaptation of 1539.⁷⁶ As far as is known, the Zenos adaptation of the *Batrachomyomachia* was not reprinted in the sixteenth century. However, M. Crusius included it in his *Turcograecia* in 1584.⁷⁷ The Zenos paraphrase found its way, usually taken from the Crusius transcription, into several eighteenth and nineteenth century anthologies.⁷⁸

The story of the donkey as found in the printed edition of 1539 (BH I no. 98) is based on an older, fifteenth century version (found in a manuscript now at Vienna, the Codex Vindobonensis theol. gr. 244) known as the *Συναξάριον τοῦ τιμημένου γαδάρου*.⁷⁹ It is believed that the anonymous person who adapted and put the story into verse was a Cretan because the work is written in the Cretan dialect. The work consists of 540 verses,⁸⁰ and describes the sea voyage and adventures of a donkey, a wolf and a fox. It recounts how the wolf and the fox try to outwit the donkey and how the donkey, although the most naive of the three, finally manages to outfox the other two. The work was very popular and was reprinted frequently, although few of the sixteenth century editions have survived.

1539 (S. Nicolini da Sabbio for Damiano di Santa Maria) BH I no. 98

1594 (Fr. Giuliani for E. Glyzounis)⁸¹

1600 (Antonio Pinelli) BH XVIIIs. V no. 3=1601 [sic].⁸²

Another book containing stories of animals was printed in 1543. This was the first modern Greek prose translation of one hundred and fifty of Aesop's fables, *Αἰσώπου, Μῦθοι* (BH I no. 103). The translator of this collection was Andronikos Noukios of Corfu, as is revealed in a passage at the end of the work before the colophon: "Τέλος τῶν τοῦ Αἰσώπου μύθων ὑπὸ AN[ΔΡΟΝΙΚΟΥ] ΝΟΥ[KIOY] ΚΕΡ[KYPAIOY]." Andronikos Noukios succeeded Demetrios Zenos as editor/corrector for the publisher Damiano di Santa Maria.⁸³ Other modern Greek translations of the Aesop fables became popular subsequently; as far as is known, the Noukios translation was not reprinted in the sixteenth century. The 1543 edition of this work was printed by Giovanni Antonio & Pietro fratelli di Nicolini da Sabbio.

Of the various Byzantine romances of chivalry, only the story of *Ἰμπέρριος καὶ Μαργαρόνα* was printed during the sixteenth century.⁸⁴ The poem is believed to be loosely based on the fourteenth century French romance of *Pierre de Provence et la belle Maguelonne*.⁸⁵ However, not all scholars agree on this provenance. In a series of articles, H. Schreiner⁸⁶ claimed that both works are based on an older Catalan version of the story, now lost, and that the Greek version is older than the French. Schreiner also tried to prove that the story was based on actual historical events. N. Bees was the first to point out the connection between the story and a Greek legend that says that the monastery of Daphni in Attica was founded by Margarona.⁸⁷

The story found in the Byzantine version is as follows: the King of Provence and his wife are childless until the age of forty, when finally they have a son, Imberios. Imberios is raised with all of the privileges of his rank and status and excels both in his studies and in the art of war, like a true knight of his time. One day a foreign knight arrives at the court and challenges whomever

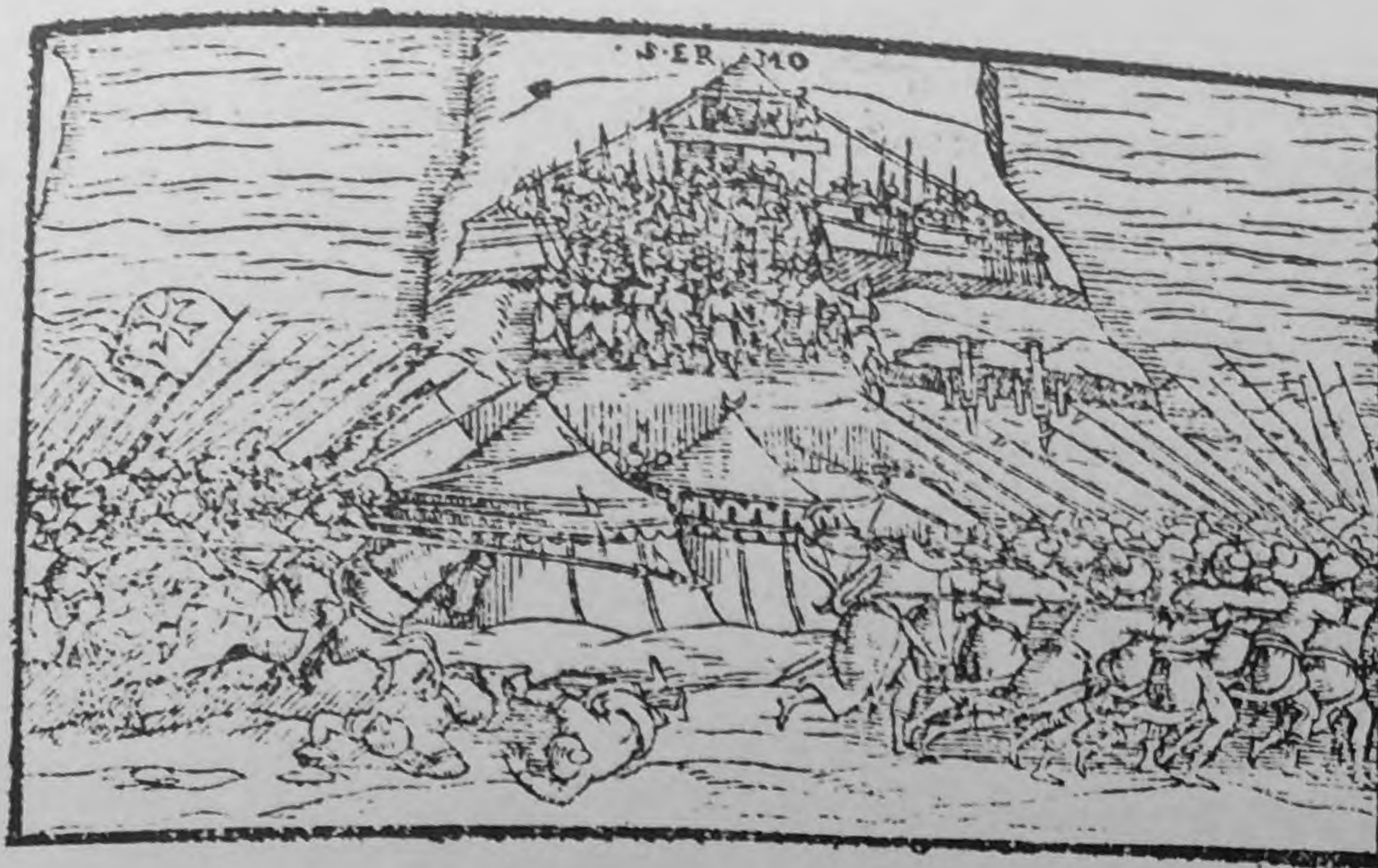


fig. 162

had the courage to fight with him. Imberios accepts the challenge without his father's knowledge. Although Imberios wins the joust, when his father finds out about the event, he forbids Imberios to fight again without his permission because he fears for his son's safety. Imberios takes issue with this and, despite his father's entreaties, decides to leave home. After many travels, he arrives in Anapoli (Naples) and falls in love with the King's daughter, Margarona. In order to win her hand, Imberios takes part in a tournament, which he wins. After their marriage, they leave for Provence. On the way, Imberios is taken prisoner by Saracens. Margarona alone finally manages to reach Provence. After years of captivity, Imberios escapes, reaches Provence, and is reunited with Margarona and his parents.⁸⁸

In its unrhymed version, the romance survives in five manuscripts, all from the early sixteenth century.⁸⁹ The text in the Vienna manuscript, Vindobonensis theol. gr. 244, has been published by W. Wagner.⁹⁰ That of the Oxford manuscript, Misc. gr. 287, was edited by Sp. Lambros,⁹¹ who also made some use in his edition of the Neapolitanus gr. III B. 27.⁹² The last two versions of the *Imberios* are found in the Vatican manuscript Palatinus gr. 426 and have been edited by E. Kriaras.⁹³ Mention has also been made of an illuminated manuscript of *Imberios*, now lost, that once belonged to Prince Ioannis Soutsos (fl. 16th cent.). Scholars believe that the Palatinus gr. 426 might have some connection with the lost manuscript, as it is the only manuscript which has spaces left blank for illustrations.⁹⁴ The rhymed text, as found in the printed editions, has been published by E. Legrand from the 1638 edition⁹⁵ and G. Meyer from the 1770 edition.⁹⁶

Until recently, scholars were aware of only three printed editions of the Imberios story produced in the sixteenth century, beginning with that of 1553 (BH IV no. 558). However, there were indications that an earlier edition existed because of Pachomios Rousanos's (d. 1553) letter against the printers of Venice, in which he mentions the *Imberios*.⁹⁷ Indeed, T. de Marinis had in his possession a 1543 edition (fig. 156) of the *Imberios*.⁹⁸ According to de Marinis, the work was illustrated with five woodcuts, all taken from the modern Greek *Iliad*. The three illustrations reproduced are nos. 7 (fig. 155), 9 and 13 of the *Iliad* group. The 1553 edition (BH IV no. 558) is also illustrated with five woodcuts. However, only one, no. 6 (fig. 93b), is taken from the *Iliad* group. One other is a copy of the *Iliad* no. 13 (fig. 95), and the remaining three are smaller cuts

borrowed or copied from illustrations used elsewhere (fig. 96a-c). The sixteenth century editions of the *Imberios* are now believed to be:

- 1543 (G. A. & P. fratelli di Nicolini da Sabbio for Damiano di Santa Maria; fig. 156)⁹⁹
- 1553 (C. Zanetti) BH IV no. 558; fig. 157
- 1562 BH I no. 139=BRUNET IV col 647¹⁰⁰
- 1594 (Fr. Giuliani for E. Glyzounis)¹⁰¹
- 1600 (A. Pinelli) BH XVIIIs. V no. 4=1601 [sic].¹⁰²

The *Imberios* story was the most popular and most widely read of the Byzantine romances. The printed version of the *Imberios* was reprinted regularly down to the first half of the nineteenth century. The story also survived in Greek folk tales.¹⁰³

The year 1543 was a fertile one for the publication of popular texts. In addition to the modern Greek Aesop and the *Imberios*, two works, the *Apokopos* and the *Penthos thanatou*, came out in new editions. In addition, two more chapbooks, both works of contemporary authors from the Ionian Islands, came out in first editions. The first chapbook we will discuss is the didactic poem by Markos Depharanas, *Λόγοι διδακτικοὶ τοῦ πατρὸς πρὸς τὸν υἱόν* (BH I no. 105; figs. 81, 158). Some scholars believe that this work was based on an earlier poem by the Cretan Marinos Phalieros, *Λόγοι διδακτικοί*, and that both works were based on the Byzantine poem *Σπινέας*.¹⁰⁴ However, other scholars believe that in fact the Phalieros work was based on the Depharanas.¹⁰⁵ On the other hand, W. F. Bakker and A. F. van Gemert¹⁰⁶ believe that both the Phalieros and Depharanas works were based on an earlier, common prototype.

It was not until recent years that scholars were able to say with certainty that Markos Depharanas was the pseudonym of Markos Dieredes from Zakynthos.¹⁰⁷ At the end of the *Logoi didaktikoi*, the author gives directions where to look to find his name which is formed by the first letters from verses 123 to 151. In another work, the *Ἱστορία τῆς Σωσάννης*, 1569 (BH IV no. 672), more information about the author is forthcoming. This time, in addition to the name Markos Depharanas his real name is also given as Dieredes (Δε-Ἡριέδης) and that he was from Zakynthos. The suggestion made by E. Legrand¹⁰⁸ that perhaps M. Depharanas was the author of the *rimada* of Alexander the Great (BH I no. 83; ILIOU no. 3) has been dismissed by more recent scholars¹⁰⁹ both on the basis of lack of evidence and, more importantly, linguistic differences between the Alexander romance and Depharanas's own work. Recently, S. E. Kaklamanis published a series of documents from the Venetian archives which concern the seafaring activities of Markos Depharanas. He was a sea captain who had moved from his native Zakynthos to Venice and was active in the affairs of the Greek Brotherhood between 1534 and 1574.¹¹⁰

The Depharanas *Logoi didaktikoi* (BH I no. 105), consisting of 788 rhymed political verses, is addressed to the author's son, Ioannis, giving him advice on the Christian virtues of family life and marriage, the church and society, as well as how to avoid vice, games of chance, and association with loose women. Prayer and close association with religion are considered by the author to be the only path to salvation. The work has not survived in manuscript form, and the only edition we have from the sixteenth century is that of 1543. The colophon reads: "In Vinegia, per M. Damian di Santa Maria, ne l'anno del Signore, MDXLIII."¹¹¹ There was another edition printed in 1644 with the title altered to *Νουθεσίαι διδακτικαί, τοῦ πατρὸς πρὸς τὸν υἱόν* (PHOSKOLOS A no. 23).

The last work to appear in 1543 is not extant today. We know of its existence from a copy listed in the catalogue of a library in Augsburg: *Ἱστορία τοῦ ῥέ τῆς σκότζιας*, Venetiis 1543 (BH I

no. 106=EHINGER, 129 no. XLII).¹¹² The work was written by Iakovos Trivolis, the author of the *Ἱστορία τοῦ Ταγιαπιέρα* discussed earlier. The story of the King of Scotland is based on one of Boccaccio's *Decameron* stories, the seventh story of the seventh day.¹¹³ E. Kriaras¹¹⁴ has pointed out that Trivolis came by the story through an imitation of the Boccaccio work in the *Historia de li doi nobilissimi amanti*, printed anonymously in Venice in 1524. Furthermore, Kriaras pointed out that Trivolis was also influenced by the romance of *Imberios and Margarona*, which was very popular during this period.¹¹⁵

The Trivolis story consists of 376 rhymed verses and relates how the King of Scotland sees a portrait of the beautiful Queen of England and falls in love with her. He goes to England and, in order to meet her, enters the service of the King. The story revolves around the plots and counterplots meant to dupe the King so that he will not suspect their love affair. The *Historia tou re tes Skotzias* has not survived in manuscript form. There is confusion over when it was first printed and how many editions there were in the sixteenth century. A. Moustoxydes mentions a 1523 edition printed by the Pinelli that is obviously non-existent, as the Pinelli did not begin printing before 1600.¹¹⁶ VRETOS II no. 32 and SATHAS¹¹⁷ list a 1528 edition that is equally non-existent. Some scholars, including Émile Legrand,¹¹⁸ consider 1540 as the date of publication of the first edition because of the following verses found at the end of the surviving printed editions:

Εἰς χίλιους πεντακόσιους καὶ ἀρχὴ μὲ τοὺς σαράντα,
στὴν Βενετία τὴν φουμιστὴν ὅπου νὰ στέκη πάντα,
σταῖς κθ' τοῦ ἀπρίλιου, μπαίνοντας τοῦ μαΐου,
καὶ ὅλοι νᾶχετε χαρὰν ἐκ Πνεύματος ἁγίου.¹¹⁹

Linos Politis¹²⁰, on the other hand, believes that this date is the date in which the poem was written and was recorded in the manuscript that served as copy for the first, i.e., 1543, edition. Thus, we are left with only two sixteenth century editions:

1543 BH I no. 106¹²¹

1577 (C. Zanetti) BH II no. 271=IV no. 722.

The only extant edition from the sixteenth century is that of 1577 (BH II no. 271=IV no. 722) which has survived in only one copy. The work had great popular appeal and went through several editions in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and beginning of the nineteenth centuries.¹²² E. Legrand brought out a critical edition from the printed editions of 1624 and 1646.¹²³ More recently, J. Irmscher brought out an edition based on the edition of 1577.¹²⁴

Another entry in the catalogue of the library in Augsburg reads as follows: "Σταύρωσις τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ: autore Marino Phaliero" (BH I no. 113).¹²⁵ The work is listed between the *Ἱστορία τοῦ ῥὲ τῆς Σκότζιας*, 1543 and the *Ἱστορία τοῦ Ταγιαπιέρα*, 1544. Unfortunately, these chapbooks are no longer in the Augsburg library, and, unlike the Trivolis stories which are known from other, later editions, there are no extant editions of the story of the Crucifixion. At the library of the University of Tübingen, there does exist a manuscript, Cod. Tübing. Mb 27, that contains the text considered to be a copy of the printed edition. It was copied by one of Martinus Crusius's pupils, who also copied the printed 1543 edition of the *Aesop Fables* (BH I no. 103) included in the same manuscript. From Crusius's notes, we learn that the work

was copied on 22 January 1585 by Daniel Schuhmaier. The full title given in the manuscript is Θρῆνος εἰς τὰ πάθη καὶ τὴν σταύρωσιν τοῦ κυρίου καὶ Θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.¹²⁶

The work, consisting of 404 rhymed verses, is based on a Western type of lament known as "Planctus Mariae." It is divided into two parts, the Crucifixion and the Descent from the Cross. It is one of the rare examples of religious drama in medieval Greek literature.¹²⁷ E. Legrand, in his description of the work thought that the poem was inspired by the Doge of Venice, Marino Faliero (c.1285-1355), and not by the Cretan poet Marinos Phalieros, of whose existence he was ignorant.¹²⁸ He even thought that it was doubtful that such a work existed at all. However, the author of the poem is actually a Cretan nobleman of Venetian descent, Marinos Phalieros (c. 1397-1474), who is often confused with his grandson of the same name.¹²⁹

Most scholars agree that the first edition of the story of Belisarios was printed in January 1525 (Venetian year). This first edition is not extant. The only indication anywhere in the sources that such an edition ever existed are the following verses, found at the end of a manuscript, the Cod. Mutin. gr. a G. 9. 19 at the Biblioteca Estense in Modena, that is considered to be a copy of the missing first printed edition:

Χίλιοι πεντακόσιοι ἐκ τῆς Θεογονίας
πόλευθερώθη ὁ Ἀδὰμ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀμαρτίας
πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι ὁμοῦ μηνὶ Ἰανουαρίῳ
ἐν Βενετίᾳ τὸ παρὸν ἐβάλθη στιπαρίῳ.¹³⁰

Belisarios was the celebrated general of Justinian, who lived in the sixth century A.D. The story relates that, during the age of Justinian, Belisarios was asked by the Emperor to extend the boundaries of Constantinople, an undertaking which he accomplished successfully. His efficiency and the faith the Emperor had in him incurred the envy of the noblemen, who began to spread rumours that Belisarios was trying to undermine Justinian's authority and seize power. The Emperor, hearing the rumours, imprisoned Belisarios. He spent three years incarcerated, with his eyes tied shut. During this period, the Byzantine Empire was attacked by a rival army that left much destruction. Justinian amassed an army and navy to counter the attack, and, as his



fig. 163

noblemen could not come up with the name of an able general to direct operations, Justinian asked Belisarios to do it. Belisarios was again successful in rebuffing the enemy and conquering their lands. Upon his return to Constantinople, he was received with great honors. The noblemen again began to slander him and convinced the Emperor to arrest him and, this time, give orders to blind him. When the Persians and Saracens attacked Byzantium, there was nobody to defend the Empire. The people, who had great affection for Belisarios, urged Justinian to consult him. Finally, the Emperor asked Alexis, Belisarios's son, to head the counter-attack. With his father's advice and direction, Alexis managed to win the battle. Although pleased to hear about Belisarios's misfortune, the enemies of the Byzantines spread the news about how Belisarios was treated at the hands of Justinian and his envious noblemen.¹³¹

The story of Belisarios has survived in four different versions,¹³² the oldest of which is preserved in two manuscripts, the Neap. gr. III B 27, dated c. 1450,¹³³ and the Vind. Theol. gr. 244, from the first half of the sixteenth century.¹³⁴ Another version, also unrhymed, the *Ἱστορικὴ ἐξήγησις περὶ Βελισσαρίου* by Emmanouel Georgillas Limenites of Rhodes, is preserved in the Paris. gr. 2909, written in the sixteenth century.¹³⁵ A newly discovered version, also from the sixteenth century, is preserved in the Neap. gr. III C 28 (N²).¹³⁶ The rhymed version, or *rimada*, survives in two manuscripts and in five printed editions. The manuscripts containing this version are the Paris. Suppl. gr. 1043¹³⁷ and the Mutin. gr. 241 (α. G. 9. 19), which is supposed to be a copy of the lost first edition of 1525/26. Both manuscripts are from the sixteenth century.

1525¹³⁸

1548 (Nicolini da Sabbio for Damiano di Santa Maria) BH I no. 122

1554 (Francesco Rampazetto) BH I no. 132¹³⁹

1562 (Francesco Rampazetto) BH II no. 260

1567 (Giacomo Leoncini) LAYTON no. 26; fig. 97

1577 (Cristoforo Zanetti) BH IV no. 721; fig. 159

1594 (Fr. Giuliani for E. Glyzounis).¹⁴⁰

All surviving editions of the story of Belisarios are illustrated with two woodcuts. In the 1548 edition, illustration no. 1 shows Justinian on his throne surrounded by his noblemen, and no. 2 shows Belisarios on horseback leading his troupes. Although woodcut no. 2 makes its first appearance in this story, no. 1 is borrowed from the first edition of the modern Greek *Iliad* of Nikolaos Loukanis, printed in 1526 (BH I no. 75).¹⁴¹ The same illustrations are also used for the edition of 1567. However, a copy of no. 1 is used in the editions of 1554, 1562 and 1577. Woodcut no. 2, Belisarios riding his horse, is also a copy in the editions of 1554, 1562 and 1577.

The *Ἱστορία τῶν γυναικῶν, τῶν καλῶν καὶ τῶν κακῶν* (BH I no. 123bis) was printed in 1549 by Pietro Nicolini da Sabbio for Damiano di Santa Maria. According to some verses at the end of the work, its author was one Tzanes Ventramos from Nauplia. This most rare work is known only from this edition, which survives in one copy only. The work is yet another didactic poem and consists of 296 verses urging good women to avoid associating with women of loose morals. It gives examples of loose women beginning with Eve and describes and enumerates the catastrophies that befell them. The author praises good and pious women and urges parents to spend extra care in the education of their daughters and in choosing a good husband for them.¹⁴² B. Knös pointed out that for verses 1-176, Ventramos took as his model the homily of pseudo-Chrysostom, "Εἰς τὴν ἀποτομὴν τοῦ Προδρόμου καὶ Βαπτιστοῦ Ἰωάννου."¹⁴³ However, A. B. A. M.

van der Ham¹⁴⁴ thinks that the author probably used a different homily of pseudo-Chrysostom that has yet to be identified. The work was never reprinted, and no manuscripts of it survive.

Tzanes Ventramos had a long career connected with the sea. First as a pilot in the Venetian navy and later in the merchant marine and finally as a captain.¹⁴⁵ In another of Ventramos's works, the *Ἱστορία φιλαργυρίας μετὰ τῆς περηφανίας* printed in 1567 by Francesco Rampazetto (LADAS no. 58), the author furnished information about his mother's family. She belonged to the Mourmouris family, which produced many members of distinction. His maternal grandfather was the well-known soldier adventurer Merkourios Bouas.¹⁴⁶

Around 1550, certainly not before 1548, the didactic Byzantine poem known as *Spaneas* was printed by Cristoforo Zanetti (BH I no. 128; FINAZZI no. 83; fig. 160). The title of the printed edition is *Διδασκαλία παραινετική κυροῦ Ἀλεξίου κομνηνοῦ τοῦ λεγομένου σπανέα*. The *Spaneas* is one of the oldest examples of medieval Greek literature in the vernacular. It dates from the twelfth century and was very popular throughout the Greek-speaking world. It has been preserved in a number of manuscripts dating from the fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries that differ from one another both in content and length.¹⁴⁷ Some believed that the work was written by Alexios Komnenos, the son of the Emperor Ioannes II Komnenos (1118-1143), and is addressed to his nephew Rogerios, the young son of his sister Maria.¹⁴⁸ The attribution to Alexios Komnenos has been disputed and now abandoned, and the authorship of the work is yet to be solved.¹⁴⁹ The author, obviously an older person, gives advice to a young member of a ruling family on how to behave in society, especially how to comport himself towards God and the Church, the Emperor, the army, his friends and relatives, and in general towards his fellow man.¹⁵⁰ The *Spaneas* was never reprinted. Linos Politis suggested that the reason it was not was because it was printed in its original Byzantine version instead of in a more popular *rimada* form.¹⁵¹

The first edition of a curious work entitled *Spanos* is not extant today. We only know of its existence from an *imprimatur* granted to Bartolomeo da Bressa i.e. Bartolomeo Zanetti, by the Capi del Consiglio dei Dieci on 11 August 1542 to print a work entitled *Spanos*.¹⁵² Further indications that the work did come out as early as 1542 are given by Pachomios Rousanos, who included the *Spanos* among the works he attacked in his letter to the printers of Venice.¹⁵³ Although the date of the letter to the Venetian printers is not known, it is obvious that Rousanos had seen an edition of the work before 1553, the year of his death.¹⁵⁴ The *Spanos*, or *Ἀκολουθία τοῦ ἀνοσίου τραγογένῃ σπανοῦ* was a parody in the form of a Greek liturgy of the Orthodox Church that poked fun at the beardless man, a figure of contempt and ridicule in Greek folklore.¹⁵⁵ The form of the *Akolouthia* with the *stichera*, *kanons*, *kontakia*, and other ecclesiastical forms shows that the unknown author was familiar with Byzantine hymnography. Different interpretations about the work and when it was written have been advanced. Alexander Helladius¹⁵⁶ believed that the work was written in the fourth century at the request of the Empress Eudokia, and that it was meant to ridicule Saint John Chrysostom, who is represented without a beard in Orthodox iconography. However, this assertion is undocumented and has been discarded by later scholars. E. Legrand¹⁵⁷ thought that the work was more likely written in the eleventh or twelfth century because the language resembled the idiom used by such authors as Theodoros Prodromos and Michael Glycas. K. Krumbacher,¹⁵⁸ H-G. Beck,¹⁵⁹ K. Mitsakis,¹⁶⁰ and H. Eideneier¹⁶¹ assign it to the fifteenth century. All scholars, with the exception of Mitsakis and Eideneier, believed that the *Spanos* was not directed at a specific individual but against all beardless men. Mitsakis believes that it was aimed at a specific person who held high

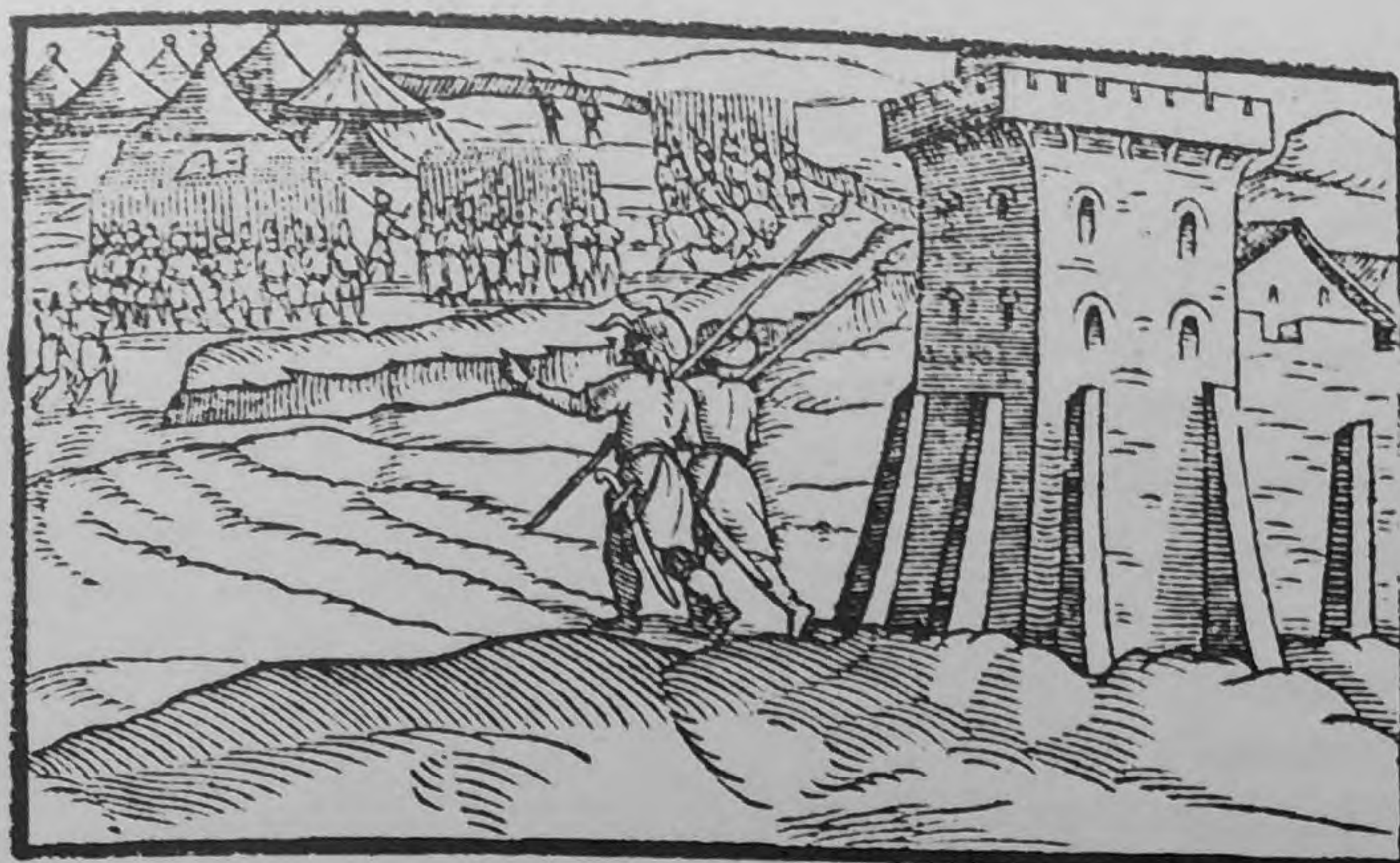


fig. 164

ecclesiastical office.¹⁶² Eideneier agrees with the premise that the work is aimed at a specific person holding high ecclesiastical office but suggests that it might also be aimed at a person holding high office in the court or even among the circle of litterati.¹⁶³

The *Spanos* survives in several editions. At least thirteen editions in all between 1553 and 1832.¹⁶⁴ The first extant edition of the *Spanos* (BH III no. 105) was printed without indication of place, printer, or date but Legrand correctly assigns it to the press of Cristoforo Zanetti around 1553. This was the year in which Zanetti printed editions of three other chapbooks, the *Apollonios* (BH I no. 130), the *Apokopos* (BH IV no. 557), and the *Imberios* (BH IV no. 558). The type with which all four works were printed, DS no. 3, was used by Zanetti for the first time that year.¹⁶⁵ The c. 1553 edition of the *Spanos* is printed in red and black, following the practice used for liturgical publications. On the verso of the title page there is a full-page woodcut of a beardless man standing facing a goat (fig. 103). Although it is obvious that this woodcut was expressly made to illustrate the story, by the editions of 1562 and 1579, the original cut must have been either lost or damaged, for they use a new cut that is a very close copy of the first (fig. 104). Both the 1562 and 1579 editions display the mark of Cristoforo Zanetti on the title page, and his name is given in the colophon. The 1562 edition is printed with a font exclusively associated with C. Zanetti, i.e., the font cut for him by Guillaume I Le Bé.¹⁶⁶ The 1579 edition, however, is printed with the same type as that of 1553. Only the 1553 edition is printed in red and black. The text of the *Spanos* has also been preserved in two manuscript versions, both dating from the first half of the sixteenth century, the Vind. theol. gr. 244 and the Vat. gr. 1139.¹⁶⁷ The known sixteenth century editions are:

1542 (B. Zanetti)¹⁶⁸

[1553] (C. Zanetti) BH III no. 105; figs. 103, 161

1562 (C. Zanetti) BH IV no. 613; fig. 104

1579 (C. Zanetti) BH IV no. 735.

Between 1554 and 1566, no new vernacular works appeared in print, although there were many new editions of the chapbooks published earlier. It was not until 1567 that a new work, the second *rimada* of Tzanes Ventramos, the *Ἱστορία φιλαργυρίας μετὰ τῆς περηφανίας* (LADAS no.

58), was printed. Although the work was known to Martinus Crusius,¹⁶⁹ who mentioned it without giving the name of the author, it was not until recently that a copy was found.¹⁷⁰ Like his previous work, the *Ἱστορία τῶν γυναικῶν*, 1549 (BH I no. 123bis), discussed above, this work is also of a didactic nature and is full of advice. Life is short, and mortal man should not be carried away by riches and ephemeral success because no one can predict what will happen to him subsequently. In order to illustrate his points, the poet names a succession of men from the past, such as Croesus, Cyrus, Ptolemy, and others, and describes the calamities that befell them. He also uses examples from his own time, naming people among his own acquaintances and even members of his family. The work, consisting of 396 verses, was written after the fall of Chios in 1566, which is mentioned in the poem. The work was brought out by Francesco Rampazetto and, as far as is known, was never reprinted.¹⁷¹

The earliest edition of the story of Susanna, *Ἱστορία τῆς Σωσάννης* (BH IV no. 672), is that of 1569. The author of the poem is Markos Depharanas, the author of the *Λόγοι διδακτικοί*, 1543 (BH I no. 105) mentioned earlier in this chapter. The story of Susanna is based on the story from the Old Testament. Although there exists a late fourteenth century manuscript of the poem, Marc. gr. ccccviii, at the Marciana in Venice, the story as reworked by Markos Depharanas is probably based on an Italian prototype as yet unidentified. Susanna's story was very popular in Europe during the sixteenth century.¹⁷² Recently, D. Michailidis¹⁷³ has suggested that the prototype of the story of Sosanne was the *Istoria di Susanna e Daniello* and specifically the undated Venetian edition by Francesco di Tomaso da Salò (fl. 1565-1573).¹⁷⁴ Susanna is accused of being unfaithful to her husband by two old men because she did not pay attention to their amorous overtures. She is going to be put to death, but is saved by the twelve-year-old Daniel.¹⁷⁵

The 1569 edition of the *Historia tes Sosannes* was printed by Giacomo Leoncini. The name of the author is revealed in an acrostic at the beginning of the poem. The 1569 edition of the Susanna story is the only sixteenth century one that survived, but there are indications that there was at least one other edition printed in 1594. At the time of his death in 1596, E. Glyzounis was in possession of one hundred and twenty copies of the story of Susanna. This edition was undoubtedly printed for him by Francesco Giuliani, the printer and partner of Emmanouel Glyzounis.¹⁷⁶ Eight editions have survived from the seventeenth century.¹⁷⁷

There are no sixteenth century extant editions of a *rimada* entitled *Βίος τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ μεγάλου Νικολάου*. However, there are strong indications that it came out in at least two editions, c. 1568 and again in 1594. Two documents in the Venetian Archives attest to the fact that Nikolaos Papadopoulos of Crete received permission to print two works of modern Greek in verse. One was to be a life of the Virgin Mary and the other the life of Saint Nicholas who, incidentally, was the patron saint of the Greeks in Venice.¹⁷⁸ The three Greek readers who passed judgement on the suitability of the works were Antonios Eparchos, Venediktos Episkopoulos and Hieronymos Litarchis or Litarchos, all three being well-known figures.¹⁷⁹ Mention of another edition of this work is also found in the list of books from the stock of the publisher E. Glyzounis. In the list, there is mention of one hundred copies of the story of Saint Nicholas, an edition which was most probably published by Glyzounis himself in 1594.¹⁸⁰ While there is no other mention anywhere about the poem on the life of the Virgin Mary, there are at least two editions of the life of Saint Nicholas from the seventeenth century, those of 1626 (BH XVIIIs. I no. 156; LAYTON no. 31) and 1648 (PHOSKOLOS A no. 28). The poem consists of 268 rhymed verses. Towards the end, in verses 263-266, the editor furnished the following information:

Θεολογήτου ποίημα Κρητὸς τοῦ Μοσχολέου,
καὶ ἐτυπώθη μ' ἔξοδον Κρητὸς ποιητοῦ τοῦ νέου,
ὡς δοῦλος καὶ συνώνυμος τοῦ ἁγίου Νικολάου,
ὡς βοηθὸς τῶν Χριστιανῶν τῆς γῆς καὶ τοῦ πελάου.¹⁸¹

On the basis of the information given in the above verses, that the poem was originally written by the Cretan Theologitos Moscholeos and was later reworked and published by another Cretan named Nikolaos, Legrand, who thought that the poem was first published in the seventeenth century, suggested that the Nikolaos in question was Nikolaos Drimytinos (fl. 17th cent.).¹⁸² However, since then Nikolaos has been correctly identified with Nikolaos Papadopoulos.¹⁸³ Recently, A. van Gemert¹⁸⁴ has observed that the original author's name was not Theologitos Moscholeos but actually Moscholeos Theologites. He has been able to trace two Cretans in the sources bearing this name: one who died in 1502, and his grandson of the same name, who was active c. 1562. Van Gemert suggests that it was probably the grandson who was the author of the poem, although he does not give any concrete evidence for this preference and concedes that more research needs to be done before the authorship can be established.¹⁸⁵

Antonios Achelis's long poem on the Siege of Malta, *Βιβλίον σὺν Θεῷ περιέχον τῆς Μάλτας πολιορκίαν* was printed in 1571 by Cristoforo Zanetti (BH IV no. 683).¹⁸⁶ The author, who was from Rethymnon in Crete, and his poem were first mentioned in another Cretan work printed some one hundred years later in 1681.¹⁸⁷ The Achelis work, consisting of 2541 rhymed verses, is divided into twenty chapters and preceded by a prologue. It is based on the events described in an Italian prose chronicle first printed in December, 1565, which recounts the successful defense during the Siege of Malta (May-September 1565) by the Knights of Saint John against the forces of Suleiman. The Italian prototype has been associated with two different authors, Marino Fracasso and Pietro Gentile di Vendôme. Except for the different dedicatory epistles and some very slight variants in the main text, the work is identical.¹⁸⁸ There are at least six editions dedicated to Hippolito d'Este, Cardinal of Ferrara, that are signed by Pietro Gentile di Vendôme, all dated Rome, 4 December 1565.¹⁸⁹ The P. Gentile di Vendôme version has also been included in Francesco Sansovino's *Historia universale dell'origine, guerre, et imperio de Turchi*.¹⁹⁰ Very little is known about Pietro Gentile except that he was a Frenchman from Vendôme who served as secretary to Giuseppe Cambiano, the ambassador of the Order of Malta in Rome. Since Gentile's work was originally written in Italian, this suggests a long residence in Italy.¹⁹¹

Even less is known about Marino Fracasso, who signed a different dedicatory epistle that appears in three editions of the chronicle. E. Picot mentions that Fracasso was an Italian living in Hungary.¹⁹² The editions that have the Fracasso dedication are addressed to Antonio Verantio, Bishop of Agria, and are not dated. Two of the editions (GÖLLNER nos. 1066-1067) have no indication of place, printer, or date of publication. The remaining edition, which was printed in Novara in 1566 (GÖLLNER no. 1123), is only a summary of no. 1066. Even though most scholars believe that Pietro Gentile is the true author of the work,¹⁹³ we know that Achelis based his poem on one of the Fracasso editions because he mentions him in the poem.¹⁹⁴ Although the Achelis work follows the events of the siege as described in the chronicle closely, he also inserts his own embellishments, and, at times, he also omits passages as he sees fit. He also added a prologue of forty lines that is quite independent of the original text.¹⁹⁵ Achelis obtained a twenty-year copyright granted by the Council of Ten on 22 May 1571.¹⁹⁶ The Achelis work was never reprinted.¹⁹⁷

ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ

ΠΡΟΧΕΙΡΟΝ ΤΟΙΣ ΠΑΣΙ.

ΠΕΡΙΕΧΟΝ ΤΗΝ ΤΕ ΠΡΑΚΤΙΚΗΝ

ἀριθμητικὴν, ἢ μάλλον εἰπεῖν τὴν λογαριαστικὴν.

Ἐπεὶ τὴν πῶς δίδασκει ἕκαστον τὸ ἅγιον πά-

χα, καὶ τέλειον παχάλιον αἰεὶ ἔσται.

τοτε. καὶ περὶ δρίσεως

συλλύης ἐν ποίᾳ ἡμέρᾳ

γίνεται ἡ γέννα

αὐτῆς.



CON PRIVILEGIO.



IN VENETIA, Appresso Francesco Zuliani,
Ad instantia di M. Manoli Glinzoni. 1596.

The last *phyllada* printed during the sixteenth century was an anonymous poem in the form of a dialogue between a young man and Death (Charos)¹⁹⁸ Διάλογος κατὰ ἀλφάβητον ἀνθρώπου καὶ τοῦ χάρου (BH IV no. 802). It was printed in 1586 without mention of printer or place of issue. On the basis of the font used, Legrand assigned the work to the press of Cristoforo Zanetti.¹⁹⁹ However, C. Zanetti had died in 1582, and the few books issued by his heirs were all reprints of liturgical books.²⁰⁰ Although the type bears a close resemblance to the font cut for Cristoforo Zanetti by Guillaume I Le Bé in 1548, the book actually was printed with the font originally cut by Andrea Spinelli that later passed to the printer Z. B. Tauroceni and, in 1584, to Giovanni Aliprandi. It is more likely therefore, that Aliprandi printed this work, probably at the expense of others, as was his custom.²⁰¹ The poem consists of 102 political, rhymed verses in the form of a dialogue between a young man and Death who has come to take him away. The young man tries to persuade Charos to give him a little more time to put his affairs in order but finally succumbs to the inevitable.²⁰² On the basis of dialectal elements in the poem, scholars have decided that the poem was probably written by a Cypriot.²⁰³

As mentioned earlier, besides liturgical books and the chapbooks only a handful of other types of books were produced for Greek consumption during this period. One of these was a practical manual, or pocket dictionary, entitled: *Introdvttorio nvovo intitolato Corona Preciosa, per imparare, legere, scriuere, parlare, & intendere la Lingua greca uolgare & literale...* compilato per lo ingenioso huomo Stefano da Sabbio stampatore da libri greci & latini nella inclita Città di Vineggia. This title was followed by an equally long title in Greek: *Εἰσαγωγή νέα ἐπιγραφομένη Στέφανος χρήσιμος...* (BH I no. 79). The work was printed by Giovanni Antonio Nicolini da Sabbio and his brothers at the expense of Andrea Torresano and was dedicated to the Doge Andrea Gritti. In his introductory remarks, Stefano mentions that he was helped in his compilation by Pietro Burrana of Bersago who was a disciple of Arsenios Apostolis. Some sources attribute the work to Pietro Burrana.²⁰⁴ At the beginning of the book, there is a brief listing of the Greek alphabet, the vowels, consonants, and diphthongs, and some of the ligatures and contractions, along with two short prayers given both in Greek and Latin. The main part of the work consists of a list of the most useful words, given first in Italian, then in modern Greek, Latin and ancient Greek both in the original and in transliteration, for example:

Argento	Asimi	Argentum	Argyros
Ἀργέντο	Ἀσήμι	Ἀργέντουμ	Ἀργυρος

This was the first attempt at a compilation of this type and was apparently popular, for it survived in several editions. Subsequent editions were printed under the title: *Corona pretiosa...*, and the name of Stefano Nicolini da Sabbio as compiler was no longer mentioned. The sixteenth century editions are:

- 1527 (Ioan. Antonium & fratres de Sabbio for Andrea Torresano) BH I no. 79
- 1543 (Apud haeredes Petri Rauani & Socios) BH III no. 439
- 1546 (Apud haeredes Petri Rauani & Socios) ILIOU no. 5
- 1549 (Per Pietro & Gio. Maria fratelli & Cornelio nepote di Nicolini da Sabbio)
- PAPADOPOULOS A no. 15
- 1567 (Appresso Francesco Rampazetto) BH IV no. 642.

It is interesting to note that the Greek title, *στέφανος χρήσιμος*, is a play on the hellenized version of Stefano da Sabbio's name. Stefano also used the Greek etymology of his name when he fashioned his individual printer's device, the main part of which consists of a crown, *στέφανος*.²⁰⁵

ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ

ΓΡΟΨΕΙΡΟΝ ΤΟΙΣ ΓΑΨΙ.

ΓΕΡΙΕΨΟΝ ΤΗΝ ΤΕΓΡΑΚΤΙΚΗΝ

αειθμηκω, ἢ μάλλον εἰπεῖν πλὴν λογαριαστικῶς
καὶ τοῦ πῶς αἰεῖται ἀναγορὸν τὸ ἄμωμ παρ
χα, καὶ τέλειον παχάλιον αἰεὶ καὶ
πάντοτε. καὶ τοῦ αἰετέως
σελιῶνς ἐν ποίᾳ ἡμέρᾳ
θα γίμεται ἡ γέμη
μα αὐτῆς.



ΕΝΕΤΙΗΣΙΝ;

Γαρά πέφρου, ὑοῦ τοῦ ποτέ, Χειροφόρου τῆς τζαφέτου.

Α Φ 4 ρ.

There are a number of other works printed during the sixteenth century that do not belong in the two categories discussed above. The first to appear was a long poem on the art of war by Leonardos Phortios, entitled *Ποίημα νέον, πάννυ ὥραϊον καὶ ὠφέλιμον, τοῖς ἀναγινωσκομένοις, περὶ στρατιωτικῆς πραγματίας*, 1531 (BH I no. 85).²⁰⁶

On the title page, Phortios calls himself count palatine, “παρὰ λεωνάρδου φορτίου ῥωμαίου, κόμητος παλατίνου” (BH I no. 85). E. Legrand, in his edition of the Phortios work, expressed doubts that Phortios was Greek. His information about him derived from P. D. Huet, who wrote that Phortios was a captain in the service of Venice.²⁰⁷ However, later research in the archives of Corfu brought out the following information about L. Phortios. He was born in Corfu at the beginning of the sixteenth century, the son of Hieronymos and Diamantina Phortios. He had four brothers, three of them physicians. One of his brothers was Angelo Forte, or Fortias, author of several medical works and a close friend of Nikolaos Sophianos.²⁰⁸ Leonardos himself was a lawyer by profession and was a notary in Corfu. In 1544, his name appears as a member of the council of one hundred and fifty nobles of Corfu. He was elected “zudese latin” conjointly with Antonellos Damodos. He died in 1570 or shortly thereafter. His poem on the art of war is his only known work and was never reprinted.²⁰⁹

On 2 January 1544, Nikolaos Sophianos, the most interesting and versatile of the Greeks residing in Italy, published his modern Greek translation of Plutarch’s *Παιδαγωγός* (BH I no. 107). In an eloquent and poignant introduction addressed to Dionisio Zanettini, bishop of Mylopotamos and Cherronessos, Sophianos says that because of their long and bitter enslavement, the Greek people cannot even remember the achievements and glories of their ancestors. He goes on to add that he had discussed the matter with as many Greek intellectuals as he could find, and that they all had agreed that it was through the translation of the ancient authors into the vernacular that the amelioration and education of the masses could be achieved. He proposes to make further translations from Plutarch and Lucian and some of the theological writings.²¹⁰ No other translations by Sophianos are extant, but a grammar of modern Greek, the first of its kind, remained in manuscript form until E. Legrand published it in 1870.²¹¹ The *Paidagogos* was printed in Venice by “Βαρθολομαῖος ὁ καλλιγράφος,” i.e., Bartolomeo Zanetti, who at that time was working as a scribe in the scriptorium of Guillaume Pellicier, the French ambassador in Venice.²¹² It was printed with Greek 1, also known as Cervini no. 1, the type designed by N. Sophianos for cardinal Marcello Cervini.²¹³

Emmanouel Glyzounis published in Venice the first edition of his arithmetic manual in 1568.²¹⁴ The work is popularly called the *Λογαριαστική*, but its full title is *Βιβλίον πρόχειρον τοῖς πᾶσι περιέχον τὴν τε πρακτικὴν ἀριθμητικὴν ἢ μᾶλλον εἰπεῖν τὴν λογαριαστικὴν* (PAPADOPOULOS II no. 235).²¹⁵ After the section on arithmetic, there is also a part which provides instruction of how to calculate Easter. The Glyzounis *Logariastike* was the only Greek manual on arithmetic for nearly three centuries and came out in a great many editions, many of which, because of the nature of the work, were lost.²¹⁶ Only four editions have survived from the sixteenth century:

1568 (C. Zanetti) PAPADOPOULOS II no. 235.

1569 (Fr. Rampazetto for M. Glyzounis) BH IV no. 673

1596 (Fr. Giuliani for M. Glyzounis) PAPADOPOULOS II no. 305^a; fig. 165

1596 (P. Zanetti) BH II no. 219; fig. 166.

On 29 November 1561, the bookseller (librar) Augustin Zemelli, or Gemelli, was granted a ten year copyright to print a portulan in modern Greek. In his application to the Council of Ten, Augustin claims to have compiled the portulan himself and at great expense.²¹⁷ For unknown reasons, it appears that the portulan was not printed at that time, and, in 1572, Augustin Gemelli re-applied for a copyright to print the portulan. This time he received a fifteen-year copyright, and the portulan was finally printed in June 1573 (BH II no. 152).²¹⁸ Under the title, *Πορτολάνος*, there is an elaborate coat of arms, twin putti with one hand resting on a table separated by two crosses. Over them there is the word ΓΕΜΕΛΟΣ and the whole is enclosed within an elaborate frame (fig. 173). This is obviously the device of Augustin Gemelli.²¹⁹ There is no indication of printer on the book, but the type is unmistakably that of Cristoforo Zanetti, the one cut for him by Guillaume I Le Bé. Some verses in the introduction provide more information, mainly that on 15 April 1559, Demetrios Tagias, originally from Parga in Epirus, came across a manuscript of a Greek portulan and thought about publishing it.²²⁰ He apparently then persuaded Augustin Gemelli to defray the cost of publication. No other edition of this portulan exists from the sixteenth century. There are at least three editions from the seventeenth — 1618, 1641, and 1671 — and three more from the eighteenth century.²²¹

NOTES

¹ J. IRMSCHER, *Bemerkungen zu den Venezianer Volksbüchern, Probleme der neugriechischen Literatur*. Berlin, 1960, III, 144-79. ΣΠ. ΛΑΜΠΡΟΣ, *Τὰ ἀναγνώσματα τῶν πάππων μας*, 237-71. L. POLITIS, *Venezia*, 443-82; E. FOLLIERI, *Il libro*, 483-508. Λ. ΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ, 'Ἡ λογοτεχνία τῆς Ἀναγέννησης στὴν Ἑλλάδα, *Πνευματικὴ Κύπρος*, 2 no. 13(1961-62)59-69; H. EIDENEIER, 'Αναζητώντας τὶς ἀρχὲς τῆς νεοελληνικῆς γραμματείας, 42-49.

² *Ἑλληνομνήμων*, 11(1852)648-53 and ΣΠ. ΛΑΜΠΡΟΣ, Αἱ κατὰ τῶν τυπογράφων τῆς Βενετίας αἰτιάσεις τοῦ Καίσαρος Δαπόντε καὶ τοῦ Παχωμίου Ρουσάνου, *Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων*, 2(1905)346-51.

³ ΣΠ. ΛΑΜΠΡΟΣ, Αἱ κατὰ τῶν τυπογράφων, 349-51.

⁴ *A Catalogue of the Large and Valuable Library of the Late, Learned and Ingenious Mr. Michael Maittaire*. London, 1748-49, part II, 141, no. 83: 'Απόκοπος τοῦ μπεργαδῆ etc. ἐκοπίασεν Νικόλαος ὁ Καλλιέργης 1519.

⁵ E. LAYTON, Zacharias and Nikolaos Kallierges and the First Edition of the *Apokopos* of Bergadis, *Θησαυρίσματα*, 20(1990)206-17. For the earlier speculations on the dating and place of publication of the first edition of the *Apokopos* see L. POLITIS, *Venezia*, 452-54; E. FOLLIERI, *Il libro greco*, 484; E. LAYTON, *Notes on Some Printers*, 120-23; C. LUCIANI, L' 'Απόκοπος del 1519 e il suo editore, *Ἑλληνικά*, 38(1987)159-63. Κ. Σ. ΣΤΑΙΚΟΣ, *Χάρτα τῆς ἐλληνικῆς τυπογραφίας*. Ἀθήνα, 1989, 412-17.

⁶ M. I. ΜΑΝΟΥΣΑΚΑΣ, 'Ἡ παρὰ Trivan ἀπογραφή τῆς Κρήτης (1644) καὶ ὁ δῆθεν Κατάλογος τῶν Κρητικῶν οἰκῶν Κερκύρας, *Κρητικὰ Χρονικά*, 3(1949)46. See also BH I, 244 where mention is made of the Bergadis family as being among the prominent families of Crete; A. F. VAN GEMERT, *Μερικὲς παρατηρήσεις στὸν "Ἀπόκοπο" τοῦ Μπεργαδῆ*, *Ἀφιέρωμα στὸν καθηγητὴ Λίνο Πολίτη*. Θεσσαλονίκη, 1979, 29 note 1.

⁷ Γ. ΚΕΧΑΓΙΟΓΛΟΥ, *Ἀπόκοπος*, *Ἀπολώνιος*, *Ἱστορία τῆς Σωσάννης*. Ἀθήνα, 1982, 27-33. See also A. F. VAN GEMERT, *Μερικὲς παρατηρήσεις*, 32; ΣΤ. ΑΛΕΞΙΟΥ, 'Ἡ Κρητικὴ λογοτεχνία κατὰ τὴ Βενετοκρατία, *Κρήτη. Ἱστορία καὶ πολιτισμός*. Ἐπιστημονικὴ ἐπιμ. Ν. Μ. Παναγιωτάκης. Κρήτη, 1988, II, 201-04; ΣΤ. ΛΑΜΠΑΚΗΣ, *Οἱ καταβάσεις στὸν Κάτω Κόσμο στὴ βυζαντινὴ καὶ μεταβυζαντινὴ λογοτεχνία*. Ἀθήνα, 1982, 163-71, 181-86.

⁸ ΣΤ. ΑΛΕΞΙΟΥ, *Ἀπόκοπος*, *Κρητικὰ Χρονικά*, 17(1963)184; Λ. ΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ, *Παρατηρήσεις στὸν "Ἀπόκοπο" τοῦ Μπεργαδῆ*, *Προσφορὰ εἰς Στίλπωνα Κυριακίδη*. Θεσσαλονίκη, 1953, 546-60; ΣΤ. ΑΛΕΞΙΟΥ, *Μπεργαδῆς Ἀπόκοπος. Ἡ βοσκοπούλα*. Ἀθήνα, 1971, 15-16. Editions of the *Apokopos* can be found in E. LEGRAND, *Collection de monuments pour servir a l'étude de la langue néo-hellénique*, no. 9, Athènes, 1870 and in his BGV, 2(1881)lxvi-lxviii, 94-122. ΣΤ. ΑΛΕΞΙΟΥ, *Ἀπόκοπος*, 183-251 and his *Μπεργαδῆς*, *Ἀπόκοπος*, 7-42; Ν. Μ. ΠΑΝΑΓΙΩΤΑΚΗΣ, *Τὸ κείμενο τῆς πρώτης ἐκδόσεως τοῦ "Ἀπόκοπου"*, *Θησαυρίσματα*, 21(1991)89-208. See also Γ. ΚΕΧΑΓΙΟΓΛΟΥ, *Ἀπόκοπος*, 47-63 where the text is photographically reproduced from the 1534 edition. For selections see ΣΤ. ΑΛΕΞΙΟΥ, *Κρητικὴ ἀνθολογία (ιε'-ιζ' αἰώνας)*. 2. ἔκδ. Ἡράκλειον, 1969, 41-47. Λ. ΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ, *Ποιητικὴ ἀνθολογία*. Ἀθήνα, 1975, II, 93-105. Φ. Κ. ΜΠΟΥΜΠΟΥΛΙΔΗΣ, *Κρητικὴ λογοτεχνία*. Ἀθήνα, 1955, 39-43. On the *Apokopos* see also Γ. Γ. ΑΛΙΣΑΝΔΡΑΤΟΣ, *Ἐρανίσματα γιὰ τὸν "Ἀπόκοπο" τοῦ Μπεργαδῆ*, *Ἑλληνικά*,

20(1967)435-442. ΣΤ. ΑΛΕΞΙΟΥ, Παρατηρήσεις στον "Απόκοπο," *Κρητικά Χρονικά*, 13(1959)302-310 and his Συμπληρωματικά σὲ Κρητικά κείμενα, *Ἀριάδνη*, 3(1985)267-68; Μ. Ι. ΜΑΝΟΥΣΑΚΑΣ, *Ἡ Κρητική λογοτεχνία κατὰ τὴν ἐποχὴ τῆς Βενετοκρατίας*. Θεσσαλονίκη, 1965, 16-17 and his *La littérature crétoise à l' époque vénitienne*, *L'hellénisme contemporain*, 9(1955)95-120; Ι. Θ. ΚΑΚΡΙΔΗΣ, *Ἑρμηνευτικά στὸν "Απόκοπο" τοῦ Μπεργαδῆ*, *Κρητικά Χρονικά*, 7(1953)409-413; Γ. ΚΕΧΑΓΙΟΓΛΟΥ, Ζητήματα ρητορικῆς, λογικῆς καὶ θεματικῆς δομῆς στὸν "Απόκοπο" τοῦ Μπεργαδῆ, *Ἀντίχαρη*. Ἀφιέρωμα στὸν καθηγητὴ Σταμάτη Καρατζᾶ. Ἀθήνα, 1984, 239-56; C. LUCIANI, *Reminiscenze dotte nell' Apokorpos di Bergadis*, *Κρητικά Χρονικά*, 28-29(1988-89)324-37; ΜΠ. ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΙΔΗΣ, Παρατηρήσεις στὸν "Απόκοπο," *Νέα Ἑστία*, 92(1972)1234-240; Α. F. VAN GEMERT, *Ὁ Ἀπόκοπος τοῦ Μπεργαδῆ καὶ τὸ τέλος του*, *Πεπραγμένα τοῦ Ε' Διεθνoῦς Κρητολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου*. Ἡράκλειο, 1985, II, 388-93. H. PERNOT, *Deux poèmes crétois sur les Enfers*, *Études de littérature grecque moderne*. Paris, 1916, 208-29; H.-G. BECK, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Volksliteratur*. München, 1971, 196-97. B. KNÖS, *L'histoire de la littérature néo-grecque, la période jusqu'en 1821*. Stockholm, 1962, 207-10; G. SAUNIER, *L' "Apokorpos" de Bergadis et la tradition populaire*. Essai de définition d'une méthode comparative, *Ἀμνηστὸς στὴ μνήμη Φώτῃ Ἀποστολοπούλου*. Ἀθήνα, 1984, 295-309; Μ. ΛΑΣΣΙΘΙΩΤΑΚΗΣ, *Apokorpos 183-220: Remarques su l' anticléricalisme de Bergadis*, 127-47; Π. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΟΥ, *Ἑρμηνευτικὲς προτάσεις στὸν Ἀπόκοπο τοῦ Μπεργαδῆ*, 125-72.

⁹ For a more detailed account of the story of the work see ΣΤ. ΑΛΕΞΙΟΥ, *Μπεργαδῆς Ἀπόκοπος*. *Ἡ βοσκοπούλα*, 7-9 and Γ. ΚΕΧΑΓΙΟΓΛΟΥ, *Ἀπόκοπος*, 29-30.

¹⁰ See E. LAYTON, Zacharias and Nikolaos Kallierges, 213-17.

¹¹ Edition not extant. G. GRAESSE, *Trésor de livres rares et précieux ou Nouveau dictionnaire bibliographique*. Berlin, 1922, I, 161, gives two dates for the same book: αφεξ' (1595). Φ. Η. ΗΛΙΟΥ, *Σημειώσεις*, 125-26, believes the date to be 1595 because at the time of his death in 1596, E. Glyzounis, had in his stock 3,160 copies of the *Apokorpos* too high a number of copies for an edition printed in 1565. However, it is clear that Grasse had problems with Greek numerals. In the note to the same entry he cites a later edition of the *Apokorpos*: αχκζ' (1626). In this case, it is clear that the correct date for this edition is 1627 see BH XVII. I no. 172. Thus the correct date here is more likely 1565. For editions of the *Apokorpos* to 1800 see PAPADOPOULOS I, nos. 1033-1042. See also Γ. Γ. ΑΛΙΣΑΝΔΡΑΤΟΣ, *Ἑρανίσματα*, 436 and Γ. ΚΕΧΑΓΙΟΓΛΟΥ, *Ἀπόκοπος*, 31-32.

¹² Φ. ΗΛΙΟΥ, *Σημειώσεις*, 125-26. See also under Emmanouel Glyzounis in Part II.

¹³ *Annales typographici*. London, 1741, V, pt. 2, 427: Πένθος θανάτου, ζωῆς μάταιον, καὶ πρὸς θεὸν ἐπιστροφή. Poema linguâ Graeco-vulgari: Venetiis per Stephanum de Sabio sumptu et requisitione D. Petri Cunadi. M.D.XXIII. mense Martio. 4^o.

¹⁴ For Demetrios Zenos, see under his name in Part II.

¹⁵ Γ. Θ. ΖΩΡΑΣ, *Πένθος*, 64-65 and his article of the same title in *Παρνασσός*, ser. 2, 12(1970)280-81. See also BH I, 239-40.

¹⁶ Γ. ΖΩΡΑΣ, *Ὁ χάρος καὶ ἡ ἀπεικόνισις αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ στιχουργήματι "Πένθος θανάτου"*, *Παρνασσός*, 12(1970)420-38.

¹⁷ No editions were printed after 1600. For modern editions of *Penthos* see Γ. Θ. ΖΩΡΑΣ, *Πένθος*, 63-83 and in *Παρνασσός*, ser. 2, 12(1970)292-311. Excerpts of the work can be found in: Γ. Θ. ΖΩΡΑΣ, *Βυζαντινὴ ποίησις*. Ἀθήναι, 1956, 282-94 and in Λ. ΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ, *Ποιητικὴ ἀνθολογία*, II, 47-53. On *Penthos* see also B. KNÖS, *Une édition jusqu' à présent inconnue de "Πένθος θανάτου"*, *Ἀθηνᾶ*, 64(1960)186-93. Φ. ΜΠΟΥΜΠΟΥΛΙΔΗΣ, *Παρατηρήσεις εἰς μεσαιωνικὰ κείμενα*, *Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἑπετηρὶς Φιλοσοφικῆς Σχολῆς Πανεπιστημίου Ἀθηνῶν*, 13(1963)366-74; Σ. ΛΑΜΠΑΚΗΣ, *Οἱ καταβάσεις*, 175 and notes 140-42.

¹⁸ Γ.Θ. ΖΩΡΑΣ, *Πένθος θανάτου* (ἐκ τοῦ χειρογράφου III.B.27 τῆς Βιβλιοθήκης τῆς Νεαπόλεως), *Ἐπιθεώρησις Ἑλληνοϊταλικῆς Πνευματικῆς Ἑπικοινωνίας*, 3 no. 8(1940)501-14; 576-82.

¹⁹ The full title is taken from α2^r.

²⁰ G. MORGAN, *Cretan Poetry: Sources and Inspiration*: Chapter 6: Apollonius of Tyre, *Κρητικά Χρονικά*, 14(1960)379-93; Γ. ΚΕΧΑΓΙΟΓΛΟΥ, *Ἀπόκοπος*, 67-68 and his *Γιὰ μιὰ νέα ἔκδοση τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου*: Παρατηρήσεις καὶ προτάσεις, *Neograeca medii aevi. Text und Ausgabe. Akten zum Symposium Köln 1986*. Köln, 1987, 179-202; G. SPADARO, *La fortuna del romanzo di Apollonio di Tiro in Grecia*, 23-33. C. GIDEL, *Étude sur Apollonius de Tyr, roman écrit en grec et en vers politiques, d'après une version latine*, W. WAGNER, *Medieval Greek Texts*. London, 1870, 91-101. K. KRUMBACHER, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur*. 2. ed. New York, 1970, 852-53. Μ. Ι. ΜΑΝΟΥΣΑΚΑΣ, *Ἡ Κρητικὴ λογοτεχνία*, 25, notes 1-4; H. G. BECK, *Geschichte*, 135-38. For the text of the Apollonios romance as found in the Paris version see W. WAGNER, *Medieval Greek Texts*, 63-90 and his *Carmina graeca medii aevi*. Leipzig, 1874, 248-76. The text was also published with a Latin translation by A. A. P. JANSSEN, *Narratio neograeca Apollonii Tyrii*. Amsterdam, 1954. See also Μ. ΠΑΠΑΘΩΜΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, *Mediaevalia: I. Narratio neograeca Apollonii Tyrii*, *Δωδώνη*, 2(1973)283-90.

²¹ For the plot of the story see G. MORGAN, *Cretan Poetry*, 415-20 and Γ. ΚΕΧΑΓΙΟΓΛΟΥ, *Ἀπόκοπος*, 69-74. See also ΣΠ. ΛΑΜΠΡΟΣ, *Τὰ ἀναγνώσματα τῶν πάππων μας*, 250-54.

- ²² See LAYTON no. 15 where the verses are reproduced. The Ambrosianus has the same date and verses at the end of the work with the Akontianos name instead. The Vindobonensis is dated January 1512 and also mentions Akontianos instead of Temenos. See Γ. ΚΕΧΑΓΙΟΓΛΟΥ, 'Απόκοπος, 67-68.
- ²³ For more information on Zenos and his activities as editor see under his name in Part II. See also under Andreas Kounadis and Damiano di Santa Maria in Part II.
- ²⁴ See also Γ. ΚΕΧΑΓΙΟΓΛΟΥ, Πρώτες εκδόσεις της ριμάδας του 'Απολλωνίου· νέα στοιχεῖα, 'Ελληνικά, 37(1986)145-59 and his Τρεῖς ἀβιβλιογράφητες εκδόσεις του 16ου αἰώνα, Τετράδια Ἑργασίας, 10(1988)459-61, 466-69.
- ²⁵ There are indications that there was also an edition printed in 1594 by Francesco Giuliani for E. Glyzounis. See Φ. ΗΛΙΟΥ, Σημειώσεις, 120, 125, 127. See also under Emmanouel Glyzounis in Part II.
- ²⁶ Legrand (BH XVIIIs. V no. 2) dated this edition 1601. However, the correct date is 1600 [αχ^ω]. See Π. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΟΥ, Ἀποκατάσταση χρονολογίας, 206 no. 2. For editions beyond the sixteenth century see G. MORGAN, Cretan Poetry, 379 note 2; Γ. ΚΕΧΑΓΙΟΓΛΟΥ, Ἀπόκοπος, 74-75 and PAPADOPOULOS I nos. 451-63.
- ²⁷ Cretan Poetry, 382.
- ²⁸ Ε. ΣΤΑΘΗΣ, Τὸ παραμῦθι τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου, Λαογραφία, 1(1909)71-77; Ν. Γ. ΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ, Παρατηρήσεις εἰς τὸ παραμῦθι τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου, Λαογραφία, 1(1909)77-81. Μ. DAWKINS, Modern Greek Oral Versions of Apollonius of Tyre, *Modern Language Review*, 37(1942)169-84; See also G. MORGAN, Cretan Poetry, 416-20; Γ. ΚΕΧΑΓΙΟΓΛΟΥ, Ἀπόκοπος, 87-90.
- ²⁹ For a reproduction of the text of the 1553 edition by C. Zanetti see Γ. ΚΕΧΑΓΙΟΓΛΟΥ, Ἀπόκοπος, 93-150. See also Γ. ΚΕΧΑΓΙΟΓΛΟΥ, Γιὰ μιὰ νέα ἔκδοση τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου, 179-203.
- ³⁰ Κ. KRUMBACHER, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur*, 847-49. The text of the *Achilleid* can be found in Κ. SATHAS, *Le roman d'Achille. Texte inédit en grec vulgaire*, *Annuaire de l'Association pour l'encouragement des études grecques en France*, 13(1879)126-75. O. L. Smith, *The Oxford Version of the Achilleid*. Copenhagen, 1990. See also E. FOLLIERI, *Su alcuni libri*, 119-26; G. FISCHETTI, *La prima traduzione neogreca di Omero*, *Miscellanea Neogreca. Atti del I convegno nazionale di studi neogreci. Palermo, 17-19 maggio 1975*. Palermo, 1976, 11-20. F. WALTON, Introduction, Ν. ΛΟΥΚΑΝΗΣ, *Ὁμήρου Ἰλιάς. Βενετία, 1526*. Ἀθήνα, 1979, 1-11.
- ³¹ Μ. Ι. ΜΑΝΟΥΣΑΚΑΣ, Ἡ παρουσίαση ἀπὸ τὸν Ἰανὸ Λάσκαρη τῶν πρώτων μαθητῶν τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Γυμνασίου τῆς Ρώμης στὸν Πάπα Λέοντα Ι' (15 Φεβρουαρίου 1514), *Ὁ Ἑρανιστής*, 1(1963)165; BH I, 189-92. Ν. ΚΑΤΡΑΜΗΣ, *Φιλολογικά*, 255-59; SATHAS, 135; Γ. Ι. ΖΑΒΙΠΑΣ, *Νέα Ἑλλάς*, 476-77.
- ³² For further information on the illustration of the modern Greek Iliad see E. FOLLIERI, *Su alcuni libri*, 119-64; D. HOLTON, *A Set*, 371-76; E. LAYTON, *Notes on the Illustration of the Sixteenth Century Greek Book in Italy*, 1-10.
- ³³ 1603 (BH XVIIIs. V, no. 11) and 1640 (BH XVIIIs. I no. 290). E. Legrand brought out an edition of the text of the Loukanis *Iliad* in 1870 edited by K. Sathas in the series *Collection de monuments pour servir a l'étude de la langue néo-hellénique*, 5. The 1526 edition of the work was reproduced by the Gennadius Library. See Ν. ΛΟΥΚΑΝΗΣ, *Ὁμήρου Ἰλιάς. Βενετία, 1526*. Ἀθήνα, 1979.
- ³⁴ G. PESENTI, Breve nota sull' episodio di Tagliapietra narrato da G. Trivolis, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 25(1925)322-226. BH XVIIIs. I, 226-31 reprinted the text of two letters written by Giovanni Antonio Tagliapietra to his brother Pietro describing the incident. The letters first appeared in M. SANUTO, *I diarii*. Venice, 1890, XXVIII, cols. 283-86.
- ³⁵ E. DENISSOFF, *Maxime le grec et l'Occident*. Paris-Louvain, 1943, 125-31; ΓΡ. ΠΑΠΑΜΙΧΑΗΛ, *Μάξιμος ὁ Γραικός, ὁ πρῶτος φωτιστὴς τῶν Ρώσων*. Ἐν Ἀθήναις, 1950, 402-05. See also, E. RIZO RANGABÉ, *Livre d'or de la noblesse ionienne. Corfou*. Athènes, 1925, no. 6, 254-55. For I. Trivolis's life see J. IRMSCHER, ed. *Ἰάκωβος Τριβώλης, Ποιήματα*. Berlin, 1956, 11-15. See also review by Μ. Ι. ΜΑΝΟΥΣΑΚΑΣ in *Ἀθηνᾶ*, 60(1956)383-89 which provides additional biographical and bibliographical information about I. Trivolis; F. SARTORI, *Un poeta Corfiota nella Venezia del sec. XVI*, *Archivio veneto*, ser. 5, 127(1986)31-46.
- ³⁶ For the editions see J. IRMSCHER, *Ἰάκωβος Τριβώλης, Ποιήματα*, 1-5. See also PAPADOPOULOS, I nos. 5750-5758.
- ³⁷ J. TRIVOLIS, *Histoire de Tagiapietra surcomite vénitien*. Publié avec une traduction française, une introd. et des notes, par E. Legrand. Paris, 1875, 8-12 (*Collection de monuments pour servir a l'étude de la langue néo-hellénique*, n.s., 4). See also BH I, 203-04 where Legrand speaks of the discovery that the 1521 edition was a forgery.
- ³⁸ Ἰάκωβος καὶ Καντίνος Τριβῶλαι, *Ἑλληνομνήμων*, 6(1843)321.
- ³⁹ Vittorio Savioni was active in 1643 and the Pinelli began publishing in 1600.
- ⁴⁰ Ἀπόσπασμα ὑπομνημάτων ἀνεκδότων, *Πανδώρα*, 7 no. 155(1856)245 and his Ἐπιδιόρθωσις, *Πανδώρα*, 7 no. 158(1856)334-35.
- ⁴¹ Ἰάκωβος Τριβώλης. *Ποιήματα*. Berlin, 1956, 1-2.

- 42 Venezia, 450-51, 466; see also his review of the Irmischer edition in *Ἑλληνικά*, 14(1955)513-26.
- 43 Review of Irmischer edition in *Ἀθηνᾶ*, 60(1956)383-89.
- 44 Τριβώλης-Δεφαράνας-Βεντράμος, τρεῖς Ἑλληνες λαϊκοὶ στιχουργοὶ στὴ Βενετία τοῦ 16ου αἰώνα. Unpublished PhD. Dissertation. University of Crete, 1987, 149-50, 179-80 notes 37-42.
- 45 The Legrand entry was taken from EHINGER, col. 129 no. XLII. The 1544 edition in the Augsburg library has since been lost. For modern editions of the work see J. IRMSCHER, *Ἰάκωβος Τριβώλης, Ποιήματα*, 4-5.
- 46 G. VELOUDIS, *Der neugriechische Alexander; Tradition in Bewahrung und Wandel*. München, 1968 (Miscellanea byzantina monacensia, 8) 53-55, 76-77, notes, 7-19; D. HOLTON, *Διήγησις τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου. The Tale of Alexander; the Rhymed Version*. Θεσσαλονίκη, 1974, 16-18 (Βυζαντινὴ καὶ Νεοελληνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη, 1); PAPADOPOULOS I nos. 205-226.
- 47 For a critical edition of the rhymed version as found in the printed editions of the Alexander the Great romance see D. HOLTON, *Διήγησις τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου*, 103-185.
- 48 D. HOLTON, A Set, 373-74. The numbering of the woodcuts follows the sequence of appearance as found in the 1526 edition of the *Iliad*.
- 49 For the various traditions of the story of Alexander as represented in the several manuscripts which have survived see R. MERKELBACH, *Die Quellen des griechischen Alexanderromans*. 2., neubearbeitete Auflage...München, 1977, 93-108; K. KRUMBACHER, *Geschichte*, 374-52; H.-G. BECK, *Geschichte*, 133-35; D. HOLTON, *Διήγησις τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου*, 13-40; K. ΜΗΤΣΑΚΗΣ, *Διήγησις περὶ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ τῶν μεγάλων πολέμων*, *Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher*, 20(1970)230-33. See also K. Mitsakis, *The Tradition of the Alexander Romance in Modern Greek Literature*, 383-85.
- 50 F. PFISTER, *Alexander der Grosse in der byzantinischen Literatur und in neugriechischen Volksbüchern, Probleme der neugriechischen Literatur*. Berlin, 1960, III, 128-29; D. HOLTON, *Διήγησις τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου*, 25-26.
- 51 For a detailed discussion of this see D. HOLTON, *Διήγησις*, 13-24.
- 52 BH I, 289.
- 53 N. ΚΑΤΡΑΜΗΣ, *Φιλολογικὰ ἀνάλεκτα*, 257; ΣΠ. ΛΑΜΠΡΟΣ, *Διήγησις Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐν κώδικι Ὁξωνίου* Misc. 283 καὶ Δημήτριος Ζῆνος, *Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων*, 16(1922)266-67; VRETOS II, no. 33; Γ. ΖΑΒΙΠΑΣ, *Νέα Ἑλλάς*, 97. Other editions with the Zenos epilogue, which properly belongs only to the 1529, edition are 1553, 1600, 1603, 1620.
- 54 The epilogue is reproduced in BH I, 287-89. See D. HOLTON, *Διήγησις*, 184-85. See also under Demetrios Zenos in Part II.
- 55 G. VELOUDIS, *Der neugriechische Alexander*, 74.
- 56 K. KRUMBACHER, *Geschichte*, 822; D. HOLTON, *Διήγησις*, 47-49; S. KARAIKAKIS, *Das Lehrgedicht Λόγοι διδασκτικοὶ τοῦ πατρὸς πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν von Markos Depharanas 1548*, *Λαογραφία*, 11(1934-1937)5-6.
- 57 K. KRUMBACHER, *Geschichte*, 910; ΣΠ. ΛΑΜΠΡΟΣ, *Τὸ Ἄνθος Χαρίτων καὶ τὸ Ἄνθος τοῦ Ἰωαννικίου Καρτάνου*, *Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων*, 13(1916)329-33; PH. MEYER, *Die theologische Litteratur*, 117-18. M. RICHARD, *Florilèges spirituels grecs, Dictionnaire de spiritualité*. Paris, 1962, V, 498-99; B. KNÖS, *L'histoire*, 289-90. Γ. ΒΑΛΕΤΑΣ, *Ἀνθολογία τῆς δημοτικῆς πεζογραφίας*. Ἀθήνα, 1947, I, 96-99.
- 58 C. F. BÜHLER, *Studies in the Early Editions of the Fiore di Virtù, Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 49(1955)315-39; IGI nos. 3927-70. See also the introduction by J. Rosenwald in his foreword to: *The Florentine Fior di Virtù of 1491*. Washington, D. C., 1953, vii, which lists sixty-six different editions printed in the fifteenth century: 56 in Italy, eight in Spain and two in France.
- 59 E. Δ. ΚΑΚΟΥΛΙΔΗ, *Fior di virtù - Ἄνθος Χαρίτων*, *Ἑλληνικά*, 24(1971)268.
- 60 For all the known editions, 1529-1866 see E. Δ. ΚΑΚΟΥΛΙΔΗ, *Fior di virtù*, 274-78. See also ILIOU, 67-68 no. 23 and PAPADOPOULOS I nos. 410-433.
- 61 Listed in S. LAMBROS, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts on Mount Athos*. Cambridge, 1895-1900, I, 129 no. 1510. The copy reported by Lambros at the monastery of Simonos Petras on Athos was destroyed in a fire.
- 62 E. Δ. ΚΑΚΟΥΛΙΔΗ, *Fior di virtù*, 269-70.
- 63 E. Δ. ΚΑΚΟΥΛΙΔΗ, *Fior di virtù*, 269.
- 64 *Fior di virtù*, 270-74. For a sampling of the text of the 1529 edition as well as that of the Vienna Vindob. Theol. gr. 218 and the Escorial see KAKOYΛIDH, *Fior di virtù*, 284-301.
- 65 E. FOLLIERI, *La versione in greco volgare del Teseida del Boccaccio, Atti del VIII Congresso internazionale di studi bizantini, (Palermo 3-10 aprile 1951)=Studi bizantini e neoellenici*, 7(1953)67-77; see also her *Il Teseida di studi bizantini*, (Palermo 3-10 aprile 1951) and her *Gli elementi originali nella neogreco. Libro I*. Roma, 1959, 1-2 (Testi e studi bizantino-neoellenici, 1) and her *versione neogreca del Teseida del Boccaccio, Πεπραγμένα τοῦ Β' Διεθνoῦς Βυζαντινολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου. Θεσσαλονίκη, 12-14 Ἀπριλίου 1953*. Ἀθήναι, 1958, III, 292-98; CH. ASTRUC, *La Théséide de Boccace adaptée en grec vulgaire, Scriptorium*, 5(1951)303-04. F. H. MARSHALL, *The Greek Theseid, Byzantinische Zeitschrift*,

30(1929-30)131-42; J. SCHMITT, *La Théséide de Boccace et la Théséide grecque, Études de philologie néogrecque*. J. Psichari, ed. Paris, 1892, 279-345; G. SPADARO, *Sul Teseida neogreco, Folia Neohellenica*, 2(1977)157-60; B. OLSEN, *The Greek Translation of Boccaccio's Theseid Book 6, Classica et Mediaevalia*, 41(1990)275-301.

⁶⁶ For a description of the manuscripts see E. FOLLIERI, *Il Teseida*, 3-5 and her *Su alcuni libri greci*, 136-42. G. MORGAN, *Cretan Poetry: Sources and Inspiration: Chapter 5. (Theseus and Emilia), Κρητικά Χρονικά*, 14(1960)253-70; H. WINTERWERB, "Ένα χειρόγραφο σχεδιάσμα τῆς νεοελληνικῆς Θησείδος, *Μνήμων*, 13(1991)49-55.

⁶⁷ E. FOLLIERI, *Il Teseida*, 5; B. OLSEN, *The Greek Translation*, 281.

⁶⁸ *Cretan Poetry*, 253-70.

⁶⁹ E. FOLLIERI, *Su alcuni*, 136-42 and figs. 8-9 which reproduce two leaves of the manuscript.

⁷⁰ D. HOLTON, *Διήγησις*, 46-47 and note 5; E. FOLLIERI, *Il libro greco*, 490-91.

⁷¹ E. FOLLIERI, *Su alcuni libri greci*, 132-36.

⁷² L. POLITIS, *Venezia*, 464-65. The colophon at the end of *Γαδάρου, λύκου κι' άλουποῦς διήγησις ωραία* reads: *Per Stephano da Sabio a instantia di M. Damiano di Santa Maria. MDXXXIX.*

⁷³ R. PROCTOR, *The Printing*, 83-84. See also John Rylands Library, Manchester. *Catalogue of an Exhibition of the Earliest Printed Editions of the Principal Greek Classics and of a Few Manuscripts*. Manchester, 1926, no. 9.

⁷⁴ B. Φ. ΤΩΜΑΔΑΚΗΣ, *Νεοελληνικαὶ μεταφράσεις, παραφράσεις καὶ διασκευαὶ τῆς "Βατραχομυομαχίας"*. Ἀθήναι, 1973, 17-23.

⁷⁵ For the text of the dialogue see BH I, 236. See also under Demetrios Zenos in Part II.

⁷⁶ C. CARPINATO, *La fortuna della Batrachomyomachia dal IX al XVI secolo: Da testo scolastico a testo "politico," La battaglia delle rane e dei topi, Batrachomyomachia*. M. Fusillo ed. Milano, 1988, 137-48. See also C. CARPINATO, *Dimitrios Zinos e la sua Batrachomyomachia*. Tese di laurea. Catania, 1986-87, 72-110.

⁷⁷ See 371-82.

⁷⁸ For the various reprints see B. Φ. ΤΩΜΑΔΑΚΗΣ, *Νεοελληνικαὶ μεταφράσεις*, 29-31.

⁷⁹ For an edition of this see W. WAGNER, *Carmina graeca*, 112-23. For a selection with a German translation see also G. SOYTER, *Griechischer Humor von Homers Zeiten bis heute*. Berlin, 1959, 108-111.

⁸⁰ K. KRUMBACHER, *Geschichte*, 880-83; M. I. ΜΑΝΟΥΣΑΚΑΣ, *Ἡ Κρητικὴ λογοτεχνία*, 22-23; Ν. Γ. ΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ, *Δημώδη βιβλία. Β. Γαδάρου, λύκου κι' άλουποῦς διήγησις χαρίης, Λαογραφικὰ σύμμεικτα*. Ἐν Ἀθήναις, 1920, I, 186-95; Α. ΠΑΠΑΔΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, *Βυζαντινὸν ἔπος ἐξ Αἰσώπιου μύθου, Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν*, 23(1953)386-91; H.-G. BECK, *Geschichte*, 176-77; G. STADTMUELLER, *Zur gereimten Version der Geschichte von Esel, Wolf und Fuchs, Ἑλληνικά*, 7(1934)105-07; C. GIDEL, *Études sur la littérature grecque moderne*. Paris, 1866, 331-51. K. ΤΣΑΝΤΣΑΝΟΓΛΟΥ, *Περὶ ὄνου...*, *Ἑλληνικά*, 24(1971)54-64. See also C. POCHERT, *Die Reimbildung in der Spät- und Postbyzantinischen Volksliteratur*, 144-85.

⁸¹ There is reason to believe that in 1594 E. Glyzounis and Fr. Giuliani brought out an edition of the story of the donkey for, after Glyzounis's death in 1596, 2,889 copies of this work were found among his stock. See Φ. ΗΛΙΟΥ, *Σημειώσεις*, 120, 127. See also under Emmanouel Glyzounis in Part II. For editions of the *Phyllada tou gaidarou* up to 1800 see PAPADOPOULOS I nos. 2327-2337.

⁸² 1600 and not as recorded in BH XVIIIs. V no. 3=1601. For modern editions of the work see J. GRIMM, *Sendschreiben an Karl Lachmann. Über Reinhart Fuchs*. Leipzig, 1840, 75-90, taken from the edition of 1832. It was reprinted in W. WAGNER, *Carmina graeca*, 124-40; Α. ΑΛΕΞΙΟΥ, *Ἡ φυλλάδα τοῦ γαδάρου, ἥτοι Γαδάρου, λύκου καὶ άλεποῦς διήγησις ωραία, Κρητικά Χρονικά*, 9(1955)81-118; see also comments by Α. ΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ, *Παρατηρήσεις σὲ Κρητικὰ κείμενα. 2. Ἡ Φυλλάδα τοῦ γαιδάρου, Κρητικά Χρονικά*, 12(1958)300-20 and Σ. ΑΛΕΞΙΟΥ, *Κρητικὰ φιλολογικά, Κρητικά Χρονικά*, 13(1959)289-95; C. POCHERT, *Die Reimbildung*, 144-85; for excerpts see Σ. ΑΛΕΞΙΟΥ, *Κρητικὴ ἀνθολογία*, 70-73; Φ. ΜΠΟΥΜΠΟΥΛΙΔΗΣ, *Κρητικὴ λογοτεχνία*. Ἀθήναι, 1955, 59-63; Α. ΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ, *Ποιητικὴ ἀνθολογία*, II, 114-23.

⁸³ For further information on Andronikos Noukios see under his name in Part II.

⁸⁴ For the romances of chivalry on Greek soil see: M. I. ΜΑΝΟΥΣΑΚΑΣ, *Les romans byzantins de chevalerie et l'état présent des études les concernant, Revue des études byzantines*, 10(1952)70-83; O. MAZAL, *Der griechische und byzantinische Roman in der Forschung von 1945 bis 1960, Jahrbuch der Oesterreichischen byzantinischen Gesellschaft*, 14(1965)83-124. E. ΚΡΙΑΡΑΣ, *Βυζαντινὰ ἱπποτικὰ μυθιστορήματα*. Ἀθήναι, 1955, 199-214. E. Jeffreys, *The Popular Byzantine Verse Romances of Chivalry, Μαντατοφόρος*, 14(1979)20-34. H.-G. Beck, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Volksliteratur*. München, 1971; P. E. PIELER, *Recht, Gesellschaft und Staat im byzantinischen Roman der Palaiologenzeit, Jahrbuch der Oesterreichischen Byzantinistik*, 20(1971)189-221. See also G. SPADARO, *Problemi relativi ai romanzi greci dell'età dei Paleologi: I. Rapporti tra Ἰμπέριος καὶ Μαργαρόνα e Φλόριος καὶ Πλατζιαφλόρε, Ἑλληνικά*, 28(1975)302-27; II. Rapporti tra la Διήγησις τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως, la Διήγησις τοῦ Βελισαρίου e Ἰμπέριος καὶ Μαργαρόνα, Ἑλληνικά, 29(1976)278-310; III. *Achilleide*,

- Georgillàs, Callimaco, Beltandro, Libistro, Florio, Imberio e Διήγησις γενομένη ἐν Τροίᾳ, *Ἑλληνικά*, 30(1977-78)227-79; R. BEATON, *The Medieval Greek Romance*. Cambridge, 1989.
- 85 CH. GIDEL, *Études sur la littérature*, 269-88.
- 86 Neue Quellen zur Komposition und Entstehungsgeschichte des mittelgriechischen Romans Imberios und Margarona, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 30(1929-1930)121-30; H. SCHREINER, Der geschichtliche Hintergrund zu Imberios/Pierre de Provence und Margarona/la belle Maguelonne, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 44(1951)523-33. R.-J. LOENERTZ, La belle Maguelonne ou le fondement historique d'un roman de chevalerie (ἱπποτικὸν μυθιστόρημα), *Θησαυρίσματα*, 13(1976)40-46; M. PICHARD, Sur les fondements historiques des romans "d'Imberios et de Margarona" et "de Pierre de Provence et de la belle Maguelonne," *Revue des études byzantines*, 10(1952)84-92. See also E. KPIAPAS, *Βυζαντινὰ ἱπποτικά μυθιστορήματα*, 200-09 and his Die zeitliche Einreihung des "Phlorios und Platzia-Phlora"-Romans im Hinblick auf den "Imberios und Margarona"-Roman, *Akten des XI. internationalen byzantinisten Kongresses München*, 1958. München, 1960, 269-72; K. KRUMBACHER, *Geschichte*, 868-70; R. BEATON, *The Medieval Greek Romance*, 135-37.
- 87 *Der französisch-mittelgriechische Ritterroman "Imberios und Margarona" und die Gründungssage des Daphniklosters bei Athen*. Berlin, 1924, 51-54 (Texte und Forschungen zur byzantinisch-neugriechischen Philologie, 4).
- 88 E. KPIAPAS, *Βυζαντινὰ ἱπποτικά μυθιστορήματα*, 199-200; H.-G. BECK, *Geschichte*, 143-47.
- 89 H. SCHREINER, Der älteste Imberios-text, *Akten des XI. internationalen byzantinisten Kongresses, München*, 1958. München, 1960, 556-62; E. KPIAPAS, *Βυζαντινὰ ἱπποτικά μυθιστορήματα*, 209-10; M. and E. JEFFREYS, Imberios and Margarona: the Manuscripts, Sources and Edition of a Byzantine Verse Romance, *Byzantion*, 41(1971)122-60=*Popular Literature in Late Byzantium*. London, 1988, 122-60 (I). E. M. JEFFREYS, Some Comments on the Manuscripts of Imberios and Margarona, *Ἑλληνικά*, 27(1974)39-49; N. BEES, *Der französisch-mittelgriechische Ritterroman*, 33-35.
- 90 *Histoire de Imberios & Margarona*. Paris, 1874 (Collection de monuments pour servir à l'étude de la langue néo-hellénique, n.s. 3). See also G. MORGAN, Three Cretan Manuscripts, *Κρητικά Χρονικά*, 8(1954)61-71; H. SCHREINER, Die zeitliche Aufeinanderfolge der im Cod. Vindob. Theol. Gr. 244 überlieferten Texte des Imberios, des Belisar und des Florios, und ihr Schreiber, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 55(1962)213-23.
- 91 *Collection de romans grecs en langue vulgaire et en vers*. Paris, 1880, 239-88 and commentary, cviii-cxiv.
- 92 See also H. SCHREINER, Die einleitenden Überschriften zu den von der gleichen Hand überlieferten Texten in cod. Neap. gr. III. AA. 9 und cod. Neap. gr. III. B. 27, *Byzantinische Forschungen*, 1(1966)290-320.
- 93 *Βυζαντινὰ ἱπποτικά μυθιστορήματα*, 215-49.
- 94 S. LAMBROS, *Collection de romans grecs*, cviii-cxiv; N. BEES, *Der französisch-mittelgriechische Ritterroman*, 34-35; E. KPIAPAS, *Βυζαντινὰ ἱπποτικά μυθιστορήματα*, 209-10; E. JEFFREYS, Some Comments, 43-44.
- 95 *Ἐξήγησις τοῦ θαυμαστοῦ Ἡμπερίου*, BGV, 1(1880)283-320.
- 96 *Imberios und Margarona; ein mittelgriechisches Gedicht*. Prague, 1876.
- 97 A. ΜΟΥΣΤΟΞΥΔΗΣ, Παχώμιος, *Ἑλληνομνήμων*, 11(1852)651; Σ. ΛΑΜΠΡΟΣ, Αἱ κατὰ τῶν τυπογράφων τῆς Βενετίας αἰτιάσεις τοῦ Καισαρίου Δαπόντε καὶ τοῦ Παχωμίου Ρουσάνου, *Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων*, 2(1905)337-51, especially, 347; see also E. JEFFREYS, Some Comments, 42-43.
- 98 La prima edizione della traduzione greca di *Pierre de Provence et la Belle Maguelonne*, *Appunti e ricerche bibliografiche*. Milano, 1940, 90-91 and plates cliv-clv; see also E. LAYTON, Notes on Some Printers, 133-36.
- 99 E. LAYTON, Notes on Some Printers, 133-35.
- 100 This edition, formerly in the library of the Jesuits in France, is not extant today.
- 101 3,576 copies of the *Imberios* were found at the bookshop of Emmanouel Glyzounis after his death in 1596. The earliest mention of a Giuliani-Glyzounis edition in the Glyzounis papers occurs in 1594. See Φ. ΗΛΙΟΥ, *Σημειώσεις*, 124-27 and under E. Glyzounis in Part II.
- 102 This edition listed in BH XVIIIs. V no. 4 (1601) is actually dated 1600, see Π. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΟΥ, *Ἀποκατάσταση χρονολογίας*, 206. For later editions of the *Imberios* see E. KPIAPAS, *Βυζαντινὰ ἱπποτικά μυθιστορήματα*, 210 and PAPADOPOULOS, I nos. 2119-2130.
- 103 N. BEES, *Der französisch-mittelgriechische Ritterroman*, 35.
- 104 M. I. ΜΑΝΟΥΣΑΚΑΣ, *Ἡ Κρητικὴ λογοτεχνία*, 18; B. KNÖS, *L'histoire*, 309-10; H.-G. BECK, *Geschichte*, 198-99.
- 105 K. KRUMBACHER, *Geschichte*, 803, 821-22.
- 106 *Τοι λόγοι διδασκτικοί of Marinos Phalieros*. Leiden, 1977, 35.
- 107 Λ. ΖΩΗΣ, *Λεξικὸν ἱστορικὸν καὶ λαογραφικὸν Ζακύνθου*. Ἀθήναι, 1963, I, 148-49; D. HOLTON, *Ἡ ἱστορία τῆς Σωσάννης τοῦ Μάρκου Δεφαράνα: ἐκδοτικὰ προβλήματα μιᾶς φυλλάδας*, *Neograeca medii aevi*, 174-75.
- 108 BH I, 289.

- ¹⁰⁹ K. KRUMBACHER, *Geschichte*, 822; B. KNÖS, *L'histoire*, 310; H. G. BECK, *Geschichte*, 134; G. VELOUDIS, *Der neugriechische Alexander*, 73-74; D. HOLTON, *Διήγησις*, 48-49. Γ. ΚΕΧΑΓΙΟΓΛΟΥ, *Ἀπόκοπος*, 154.
- ¹¹⁰ Σ. Ε. ΚΑΚΛΑΜΑΝΗΣ, Τριβώλης-Δεφαράνας-Βεντράμος, 189-247 and his Μάρκος Δεφαράνας, 210-315. See also Φ. ΜΑΥΡΟΕΙΔΗ, *Συμβολή*, 132, 223-24 who records the dues paid to the Greek Brotherhood by "Ser Marcho fior d'Eredies."
- ¹¹¹ For a modern edition based on the printed edition see S. KARAIKAKIS, *Das Lehrgedicht Λόγοι διδακτικοὶ τοῦ πατρὸς πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν von Markos Depharanas 1543*, *Λαογραφία*, 11(1934-1937)1-66. For corrections and commentary see also reviews by E. ΚΡΙΑΡΑΣ, in *Ἀθηνᾶ*, 46(1935)136-52 and by Δ. Ι. ΓΕΩΡΓΑΚΑΣ, in *Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν*, 11(1935)507-10.
- ¹¹² EHINGER, col. 129, no. XLII. Unfortunately, the tract containing several chapbooks is no longer at the Staats- und Stadtbibliothek of Augsburg. I wish to thank Dr. Helmut Gier, for trying to locate it on my behalf.
- ¹¹³ Γ. Θ. ΖΩΡΑΣ, *Διηγήματα τοῦ Βοκκακίου, πρότυπα τοῦ Τριβώλη καὶ τοῦ Βηλαρᾶ*. Ἀθῆναι, 1957, 13-30.
- ¹¹⁴ Der Roman "Imberios und Margarona" und das "Decameron" als Quelle des Jakob Trivolis, *Probleme der neugriechischen Literatur*. Berlin, 1960, III, 62-93, especially 78-89. See also B. KNÖS, *L'histoire*, 313.
- ¹¹⁵ E. KRIARAS, *Der Roman "Imperios und Margarona,"* 62-68.
- ¹¹⁶ Ἰάκωβος καὶ Καντῖνος Τριβῶλαι, *Ἑλληνομνήμων*, 6(1843)321.
- ¹¹⁷ 138; J. IRMSCHER, *Ἰάκωβος Τριβώλης, Ποιήματα*. Berlin, 1956, 5 no. 2.
- ¹¹⁸ BH I, 203-04; J. IRMSCHER, *Ἰάκωβος Τριβώλης, Ποιήματα*, 5. M. I. ΜΑΝΟΥΣΑΚΑΣ, *Ἑλληνικὰ ποιήματα γιὰ τὴ Σταύρωση τοῦ Χριστοῦ, Mélanges Octave et Melpo Merlier*. Athènes, 1956, II, 53 note 2. K. KRUMBACHER, *Geschichte*, 843; B. KNÖS, *L'histoire*, 313, states that it was probably both written and printed in 1540.
- ¹¹⁹ BH I, 203.
- ¹²⁰ Venezia, 449-50.
- ¹²¹ As listed in EHINGER, col. 129 no. XLII: *Ἱστορία τοῦ ρὲ τῆς σκότζιας*. Venetiis 1543. This edition is not extant today.
- ¹²² For editions see PAPADOPOULOS, I nos. 5730-5749; J. IRMSCHER, *Ἰάκωβος Τριβώλης, Ποιήματα*, 5-10; ILIOU, 246.
- ¹²³ *Ἱστορία τοῦ ρὲ τῆς Σκωτίας μὲ τὴν ρήγισσα τῆς Ἑγγλητέρας, ὁπώγινε εἰσέ καιρὸν ἐκείνας τῆς ἡμέρας*. Paris, 1871 (Collection de monuments pour servir à l'étude de la langue néo-hellénique, 13).
- ¹²⁴ *Ἰάκωβος Τριβώλης, Ποιήματα*, 63-95.
- ¹²⁵ EHINGER, col. 129, no. XLII from whence it is listed in BH I no. 113. The Ehinger catalogue does not give the date of publication. Legrand assigned it to the year 1544 because the entry is listed between a book printed in 1543 and one in 1544.
- ¹²⁶ M. I. ΜΑΝΟΥΣΑΚΑΣ, *Ἑλληνικὰ ποιήματα*, II, 51-60. The text as found in the manuscript of the Universitätsbibliothek Tübingen was published by B. A. ΜΥΣΤΑΚΙΔΗΣ, *Γλωσσικὸν μνημεῖον τοῦ ις αἰῶνος ἐκδεδομένον-ἀνέκδοτον, Νέος Ποιμὴν*, 4(1922)569-93. See also B. A. ΜΥΣΤΑΚΙΔΗΣ, *Notes sur Martin Crusius. Ses livres, ses ouvrages et ses manuscrits, Revue des études grecques*, 11(1898)301.
- ¹²⁷ M. I. ΜΑΝΟΥΣΑΚΑΣ, *Ἑλληνικὰ ποιήματα*, 51-60; W. F. BAKKER and A. F. VAN GEMERT, *The Λόγοι διδακτικοί of Marinos Phalieros*. Leiden, 1977, 10-11; W. F. BAKKER and A. F. VAN GEMERT, *The Ρίμα παρηγορητική of Marinos Falieros, Studia byzantina et neohellenica neerlandica*. Leiden, 1972, 78-79; A. F. VAN GEMERT, *Μαρίνου Φαλιέρου, Ἐρωτικὰ ὄνειρα*. Θεσσαλονίκη, 1980, 21-22.
- ¹²⁸ BH I, 267-68.
- ¹²⁹ A. F. VAN GEMERT, *The Cretan Poet Marinos Falieros, Θησαυρίσματα*, 14(1977)7-70. Γ. Θ. ΖΩΡΑΣ, *Ὁ ποιητὴς Μαρῖνος Φαλιέρος. Α΄. Γενικά, Κρητικὰ Χρονικά*, 2(1948)7-38. For the earlier bibliography on Marinos Phalieros see M. I. ΜΑΝΟΥΣΑΚΑΣ, *Ἡ Κρητικὴ λογοτεχνία*, 17-18, 23-24 and his *Ἑλληνικὰ ποιήματα*, 51 and notes 1 and 2.
- ¹³⁰ L. POLITIS, Venezia, 449; W. F. BAKKER-A. F. VAN GEMERT, *Ἱστορία τοῦ Βελισαρίου*. Ἀθήνα, 1988, 245; A. F. VAN GEMERT, *The New Manuscript of the History of Belisarius, Folia Neohellenica*, 1(1975)46 note 3. Only K. KRUMBACHER, *Geschichte*, 827 considers the possibility that the manuscript might be the one used as copy for the printed edition. See also L. POLITIS, Venezia, 449 who believes that the problem of which came first has not yet been solved.
- ¹³¹ B. KNÖS, *La légende de Bélisaire dans les pays grecs, Eranos*, 58(1960)237-80; H.-G. BECK, *Geschichte*, 150-53; E. Follieri, *Il poema bizantino di Belisario, Atti del Convegno internazionale sul tema: La poesia epica e la*

- sua formazione* (Roma, 28 marzo-3 aprile 1969). Roma, 1970, 587-91; W. F. BAKKER-A. F. VAN GEMERT, 'Ιστορία τοῦ Βελισαρίου, 15-46 where they also compare the story of Belisarios to the historical facts.
- 132 W. F. BAKKER AND A. F. VAN GEMERT, 'Ιστορία τοῦ Βελισαρίου, 47-70; see also their 'Η Ἀχιλλεΐδα and his 'Η ἔκδοσις τῆς Βελισαριάδας, *Μαντατοφόρος*, 25-26(1987)69-76.
- 133 Critical edition by R. CANTARELLA, *La Διήγησις ὡραιότητα τοῦ θαυμαστοῦ ἐκείνου τοῦ λεγομένου Βελισαρίου*, *Studi bizantini e neoellenici*, 4(1935)155-72 and E. Follieri, *Il poema bizantino*, 620-51.
- 134 Edition in W. WAGNER, *Carmina graeca*, 304-21.
- 135 Edition in W. WAGNER, *Carmina graeca*, 322-47.
- 136 Critical edition by A. F. VAN GEMERT, *The New Manuscript*, 45-71.
- 137 Edition in W. WAGNER, *Carmina graeca*, 348-78.
- 138 Edition not extant.
- 139 A copy of this edition, listed in BH I no. 132 taken from VRETOS II no. 45, was recently discovered by Dr. Ulrich Moennig in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna. I wish to express my gratitude to Mr. Moennig for supplying me with this information and photocopies.
- 140 Edition not extant. See under E. Glyzounis in Part II.
- 141 In the *Iliad*, it is illustration no. 13 (γ3^r).
- 142 Critical edition by B. KNÖS, *Un miroir des femmes du XVI^e siècle*, 'Ελληνικά, 14(1955)123-57; Γ. Θ. ΖΩΡΑΣ, *Βυζαντινὴ ποίησις*, 316-23, from the Knös edition. See also Φ. Κ. ΜΠΟΥΜΠΟΥΛΙΔΗΣ, Παρατηρήσεις εἰς μεσαιωνικὸν κείμενον Τζάνε Βεντράμου 'Ιστορία τῶν γυναικῶν, 'Αθηνᾶ, 59(1955)231-39.
- 143 B. KNÖS, *Un miroir des femmes*, 128.
- 144 'Η ἱστορία τῶν γυναικῶν τῶν καλῶν καὶ τῶν κακῶν τοῦ Τζάνε Βεντράμου καὶ τὸ πρότυπο του, 'Ελληνικά, 38(1987)342-49.
- 145 Σ. Ε. ΚΑΚΛΑΜΑΝΗΣ, Τριβώλης-Δεφαράνας-Βεντράμος, 249-320; Φ. Κ. ΜΠΟΥΜΠΟΥΛΙΔΗΣ, 'Ανέκδοτα ἔγγραφα περὶ τοῦ Ναυπλιέως ποιητοῦ Τζάνε Βεντράμου, 'Επετηρὶς 'Εταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν, 30(1960-61)194-201.
- 146 Γ. Θ. ΖΩΡΑΣ, 'Αγνωστα κείμενα καὶ νέαι παραλλαγὰὶ δημῶδων ἔργων. 'Αθῆναι, 1954, 7-16 and his Τζάνε Βεντράμου 'Ιστορία φιλαργυρίας μετὰ τῆς περιφανείας, 'Ο Βιβλιόφιλος, 8 no. 3(1954)124-30 and in 'Επετηρὶς 'Εταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν, 24(1954)291-314; see also his Τζάνε Βεντράμου 'Ιστορία φιλαργυρίας μετὰ τῆς περφηανίας (ἄγνωστον στιχοῦργημα τοῦ ις αἰῶνος). 'Αθήνα, 1956.
- 147 For a listing of the various manuscripts see K. KRUMBACHER, *Geschichte*, 802-04; H.-G. BECK, *Geschichte*, 105-08; G. DANEZIS, *Spaneas: Vorlage, Quellen, Versionen*. München, 1987, 159-220.
- 148 J. SCHMITT, Über den Verfasser des Spaneas, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 1(1892)316-32.
- 149 H.-G. BECK, *Geschichte*, 106-07.
- 150 The various manuscript versions of the poem have been studied by a number of scholars: F. HANNA, *Textkritische Bemerkungen zu Spaneas, Certa Harteliana*. Vienna, 1896, 93-96; Δ. ΓΡ. ΚΑΜΠΟΥΡΟΓΛΟΥΣ, 'Εν ἑλληνικὸν χειρόγραφον. Παρατηρήσεις τινὲς ἐπὶ τῶν περιεχομένων ἔργων εἰς τὸν κώδικα 202 (ἑλληνικῆς σειρᾶς) τῆς αὐτοκρατορικῆς Βιβλιοθήκης Πετροπόλεως, *Νέα Ἑστία*, 13(1933)462-65; Σ. ΛΑΜΠΡΟΣ, Δημῶδη ἑλληνικά κείμενα ἐν κώδικι τοῦ Βατικανοῦ. 'Ο Vaticanus graecus 1139, *Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων*, 1(1904)372-73; Φ. ΜΠΟΥΜΠΟΥΛΙΔΗΣ, 'Ανέκδοτοι παραλλαγὰὶ δημῶδων μεσαιωνικῶν κειμένων· ὁ Κῶδιξ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως 35, 'Αθηνᾶ, 67(1964)107-44 and his Παρατηρήσεις εἰς "Διορθώσεις" σὲ κείμενα τῆς δημῶδους λογοτεχνίας, 'Αθηνᾶ, 75(1974-75)49-53; Μ. ΠΑΠΑΘΩΜΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, Διορθώσεις σὲ κείμενα τῆς δημῶδους λογοτεχνίας, *Παρνασσός*, 16(1974)464-68; Ν. ΠΑΠΑΤΡΙΑΝΤΑΦΥΛΛΟΥ-ΘΕΟΔΩΡΙΔΗ, Σπανέας καὶ 'Λόγοι διδακτικοί' τοῦ Φαλιέρου, 'Ελληνικά, 28(1975)92-101; J. PSICHARI, Le poème à Spanéas, *Mélanges Renier*. Paris, 1886, 261-83; I. ROSENTHAL-KAMARINEA, Die byzantinische Mahnrede im 12. Jahrhundert: Tradition und Wandlung dargestellt am Beispiel des Spaneas, *Folia Neohellenica*, 4(1982)182-89; G. SPADARO, Antico e Nuovo Testamento in 'Spaneas', *Folia Neohellenica*, 4(1982)204-12; G. SPADARO, Due redazioni inediti di Spaneas (Vat. gr. 1276 e Crypt. Z. a. XLIV), XVI. *Internazionaler Byzantinisten Kongress Wien 4-10 Oktober 1981*=*Jahrbuch der Österreichische Byzantinistik*, 32/3(1982)277-88; G. SPADARO, Il Πρὸς Δημόνικον pseudoisocrateo e Spaneas, *Δίπτυχα*, 3(1982-83)143-58; G. SPADARO, Pseudo Spaneas. Apporti di codici inesplorati: cod. Collegio greco S. Atanasio di Roma n. 17 e cod. Mityl. Bibl. Gymn. 37, *Il Collegio greco di Roma. Ricerche sugli alunni, la direzione, l'attività*. A cura di A. Fyrigos. Roma, 1983, 363-72; G. SPADARO, La redazione cipriota dello 'Spaneas', *Lirica greca da Archiloco a Elitis. Studi in onore di Filippo Maria Pontani*. Padova, 1984, I, 259-71; G. SPADARO, Spaneas e Glikas: note filologiche, *Δίπτυχα*, 1(1979)282-90. For a list of the various manuscripts and their editions see H.-G. BECK, *Geschichte*, 108; G. DANEZIS, *Spaneas*, 159-202, and his *Das Vorbild des Spaneas: ein neuer Vorschlag und die Folgen für die Edition des Textes*, 89-98.
- 151 Venezia, 470.

- 152 E. LAYTON, Notes on Some Printers, 135-36 and note 43.
- 153 Π. ΡΟΥΣΑΝΟΣ, Πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Βενετίᾳ χαλκογραφεῖς, *Ἑλληνομνήμων*, 11(1852)648-53; Σ. ΛΑΜΠΡΟΣ, Αἱ κατὰ τῶν τυπογράφων, 348, 350.
- 154 Other works mentioned in Rousanos's letter all came out in editions before 1553: I. Kartanos, *Anthos*, 1536, c. 1540, 1549; *Apolonios*, 1524, 1534, 1553; *Imberios*, 1543, 1553; *Πὲ τῆς Σκότζιας*, 1543; *Πένθος θανάτου*, 1524, 1528, 1543.
- 155 G. MEGAS, Der Bartlose im neugriechischen Märchen, *Λαογραφία*, 25(1967)254-67=*Beiträge zur vergleichenden Erzählungs-Forschung. Festschrift für Walter Anderson*. Helsinki, 1955.
- 156 *Status praesens Ecclesiae graeca*, 6.
- 157 BGV, 2(1881)xxiv-xxvi.
- 158 *Geschichte*, 809-10.
- 159 *Geschichte*, 195.
- 160 Βυζαντινὴ καὶ νεοελληνικὴ παραῦμνογραφία, *Κληρονομία*, 4(1972)353.
- 161 Spanos. *Eine byzantinische Satire in der Form einer Parodie*. Berlin, 1977, 25.
- 162 Βυζαντινὴ, 354.
- 163 Spanos, 12-14.
- 164 For a listing and description of the editions see H. EIDENEIER, *Spanos*, 60-70 and in his *Σπανός*. Ἀθήνα, 1990, 26-27.
- 165 E. LAYTON, Notes on Some Printers, 128-31.
- 166 See also under Cristoforo Zanetti in Part II.
- 167 E. LEGRAND, BGV, 2(1881)xxiv-xxviii, 28-47 from the Vienna manuscript. See Σ. ΛΑΜΠΡΟΣ, Δημῶδη ἑλληνικὰ κείμενα ἐν κώδικι τοῦ Βατικανοῦ, 372-373. Critical edition of both manuscripts and printed text in H. EIDENEIER, *Spanos*, 81-169; see also Eideneier's edition of *Σπανός*, 53-103 (printed text only).
- 168 Not extant. Known only from the *imprimatur* see E. LAYTON, Notes on Some Printers, 135-36 and note 43.
- 169 *Turcograeciae*, 208.
- 170 Γ. Θ. ΖΩΡΑΣ, Τζάνε Βεντράμου, *Ἱστορία φιλαργυρίας*, 7 and his Τζάνε Βεντράμου, *Ἱστορία φιλαργυρίας μετὰ τῆς περηφανείας*, *Ὁ Βιβλιόφιλος*, 8 no. 3(1954)124-29.
- 171 Critical edition in Γ. Θ. ΖΩΡΑΣ, Τζάνε Βεντράμου *Ἱστορία φιλαργυρίας μετὰ τῆς περηφανείας*, *Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν*, 24(1954)291-314 as well as Γ. Θ. ΖΩΡΑΣ, *Βυζαντινὴ ποίησις*, 308-16. See also Γ. Θ. ΖΩΡΑΣ, Ἀγνωστα κείμενα καὶ νέαι παραλλαγὰὶ δημοδῶν ἔργων. Ἀθήναι, 1954, 5-17. L. POLITIS, *Venezia*, 467, 471 and B. KNÖS, *L'histoire*, 310-311; Φ. ΜΠΟΥΜΠΟΥΛΙΔΗΣ, Παρατηρήσεις εἰς μεσαιωνικὸν κείμενον, 231-39.
- 172 Γ. ΚΕΧΑΓΙΟΓΛΟΥ, *Ἀπόκοπος*, 153-75.
- 173 Il modello italiano della *Ἱστορία τῆς Σωσάννης* di Marco Defaranas, 157-67.
- 174 PASTORELLO no. 379; ASCARELLI-MENATO, 415-16; STC, 936.
- 175 Critical edition in E. LEGRAND, BGV, 1(1880)xxvii-xxviii, 269-280 from the printed editions of 1638 and 1671. E. LEGRAND also published the text of the Marciana codex see BGV, 2(1881)xxviii-xxxi, 48-50. See also Γ. Θ. ΖΩΡΑΣ, *Βυζαντινὴ ποίησις*, 300-08, taken from Legrand, BGV, 1(1880)269-80. For a reproduction of the 1569 edition see Γ. ΚΕΧΑΓΙΟΓΛΟΥ, *Ἀπόκοπος*, 177-92.
- 176 Φ. ΗΛΙΟΥ, *Σημειώσεις*, 119-25. See also under Emmanouel Glyzounis in Part II.
- 177 For the surviving editions see Γ. ΚΕΧΑΓΙΟΓΛΟΥ, *Ἀπόκοπος*, 56-57; D. HOLTON, Ἡ Ἱστορία τῆς Σωσάννης τοῦ Μάρκου Δεφαράνα: Ἐκδοτικὰ προβλήματα μιᾶς φυλλάδας, *Neograeca Medii aevi. Text und Ausgabe. Akten zum Symposium Köln 1986*. Köln, 1987, 168.
- 178 N. M. ΠΑΝΑΓΙΩΤΑΚΗΣ, Νικόλαος Παπαδόπουλος, Κρητικὸς στιχουργὸς τοῦ 16^{ου} αἰῶνα στὴ Βενετία, *Θησαυρίσματα*, 16(1979)151, no. 3 where the report dated 20 November 1568 of the Riformatori dello Studio di Padova is given. For the copyright granted by the Capi del Consiglio dei Dieci dated 24 November, 1568 see K. Δ. ΜΕΡΤΖΙΟΣ, Ὁκτὼ ἄδειαι, 176.
- 179 N. M. ΠΑΝΑΓΙΩΤΑΚΗΣ, Νικόλαος Παπαδόπουλος, 115-16. For Venediktos Episkopoulos see also under his name in Part II.
- 180 Φ. ΗΛΙΟΥ, *Σημειώσεις*, 120, 123-24. N. M. ΠΑΝΑΓΙΩΤΑΚΗΣ, Νικόλαος Παπαδόπουλος, 116, 125-26. See also under Emmanouel Glyzounis in Part II.
- 181 E. LEGRAND in BGV 1(1880)321-29 and commentary on p. xxxi. The quote is taken from the 1626 edition; see N. M. ΠΑΝΑΓΙΩΤΑΚΗΣ, Νικόλαος Παπαδόπουλος, 125.

- 182 BGV 1(1880)xxxī.
- 183 Φ. ΗΛΙΟΥ, Σημειώσεις, 123-24. Ν. Μ. ΠΑΝΑΓΙΩΤΑΚΗΣ, Νικόλαος Παπαδόπουλος, 125-26.
- 184 Τὸ Κρητικὸ ποίημα Βίος τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ μεγάλου Νικολάου, Ἑλληνικά, 34(1982-83)489-93.
- 185 For speculation and suggestions on the additions and changes which were made by the editor Nikolaos Papadopoulos see Ν. Μ. ΠΑΝΑΓΙΩΤΑΚΗΣ, Νικόλαος Παπαδόπουλος, 125 and note 32; Α. VAN GEMERT, Τὸ Κρητικὸ ποίημα, 491-93. See also Μ. Ι. ΜΑΝΟΥΣΑΚΑΣ, Ἡ Κρητικὴ λογοτεχνία, 18 and note 4; Β. ΚΝÖS, *L'histoire*, 340.
- 186 Μ. Ι. ΜΑΝΟΥΣΑΚΑΣ, Ἡ Κρητικὴ λογοτεχνία, 26; Β. ΚΝÖS, *L'histoire*, 228-29; Λ. POLITIS, Venezia, 470.
- 187 Μ. Τ. ΜΠΟΥΝΙΑΛΗΣ, Διήγησις διὰ στοιχῶν τοῦ δεινοῦ πολέμου τοῦ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ Κρήτης γενομένου (ΒΗ XVIIIs. II no. 565) see folio Ec7^r: Στίχους τῷ μάλας διάβασε σοφώτατους ἂν θέλης./ ν' ἀκούσης πῶς τῷ σύνθεσεν ἀντώνιος ἀχέλης./
- 188 G. SPADARO, Sulle fonti dell' *Assedio di Malta* di Antonio Achelis, Ὁ Ἑρανιστής, 4(1966)91-92.
- 189 GÖLLNER, nos. 1068, 1124-1125, 1216 and two editions not in GÖLLNER see E. PICOT, *Les Français italianisants au XVI^e siècle*. Paris, 1907, II, 71 a: *Trattato del Successo della potentissima armata del Gran Turcho Ottoman Solimano. Venuta sopra l'Isola di Malta l'Anno MDLXV*. In Roma per Antonio Blado Stampator Camerale. Cum Priuilegio [1565]. The Blado edition is undoubtedly the first edition. Another edition not mentioned in neither GÖLLNER nor PICOT is: *Della Historia di Malta, Et Successo della guerra seguita tra quei Religiosissimi Cauallieri, & il potentissimo gran Turcho Sulthan Solimano, l'anno. MDLXV. Con la descrizione della Isola, & alcuni sonetti agionti*. No place, printer or date. This is a re-issue of GÖLLNER no. 1068 with a new title page followed by the original title page uncanceled.
- 190 Editions of 1572, 1582, 1600 and 1654.
- 191 E. PICOT, *Les Français*, II, 71-79; L. FROGER, Un auteur Vendomois inconnu, *Les annales fléchoises et la vallée du Loir*, 9(1908)169-72.
- 192 *Les Français*, II, 72. See also H. A. BALBI, Some Bibliographical Notes on the First Book Printed on the Siege of Malta (1565) Written by Pierre Gentil de Vendôme Pirated by Marino Fracasso, Utilized by Alfonso Ulloa Without Acknowledgement or Mention of the Author, Followed by a Bibliographical Notice of Natale Conti and his History of the Siege of Malta, *Archivium Melitense*, 9(1932)4-23.
- 193 H. PERNOT, *P. Gentil de Vendosme & Antoine Achélis Le Siège de Malte par les Turcs en 1565*. Paris, 1910, viii-xi; E. PICOT, *Les Français*, II, 72; G. SPADARO, Sulle fonti, 86-87.
- 194 Chapter X, line 1424: Τοῦτον λαλεῖ τὸ φράγκικον Μαρίνου τοῦ Φρακάσο. See also G. SPADARO, Sulle fonti, 84.
- 195 H. PERNOT, *P. Gentil de Vendosme*, xii; For other influences in the Achelis poem see ΣΤ. ΔΕΙΝΑΚΙΣ, Ὁ Orlando furioso τοῦ Ἀριόστο εἶναι πηγὴ τοῦ ποιήματος τοῦ Ἀντωνίου Ἀχέλη, *Χριστιανικὴ Κρήτη*, 2(1913)437-42; G. SPADARO, Sulle fonti, 94-116.
- 196 Κ. Δ. ΜΕΡΤΖΙΟΣ, Ὁκτὼ ἄδεια, 179-80.
- 197 For a modern edition see H. PERNOT, *P. Gentil de Vendosme*, 76-173; see also ΣΤ. ΞΑΝΘΟΥΔΙΔΗΣ, Παρατηρήσεις καὶ διορθώσεις εἰς τὸ ποίημα τοῦ Ἀντωνίου Ἀχέλη "Μάλας πολιορκία," *Χριστιανικὴ Κρήτη*, 1(1912)289-311; brief excerpts have appeared in Φ. ΜΠΟΥΜΠΟΥΛΙΔΗΣ, *Κρητικὴ λογοτεχνία*, 11-16 and in ΣΤ. ΑΛΕΞΙΟΥ, *Κρητικὴ ἀνθολογία*, 87-89.
- 198 For this genre see Ν. ΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΙΕΥΙΤΣ, *Die paränetischen Alphabete in der griechischen Literatur*. München, 1905 and his *Alphabete*, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 16(1907)479-501; D. C. HESSELING, *Charos. Ein Beitrag zur Kenntniss des neugriechischen Volksglaubens*. Leiden, 1897; G. MORAVCIK, *Il caronte bizantino, Studi bizantini e neoellenici*, 3(1930)45-68; Φ. Κ. ΜΠΟΥΜΠΟΥΛΙΔΗΣ, Δημῶδεις μεταβυζαντινοὶ ἀλφάβητοι, Ἑπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν, 25(1955)284-305; Ε. Δ. ΚΑΚΟΥΛΙΔΗΣ, *Νεοελληνικὰ θρησκευτικὰ ἀλφαβητάρια*. Θεσσαλονίκη, 1964. See also Β. ΚΝÖS, Quelques remarques sur deux dialogues par alphabet entre l'homme et Charon du XVI^e siècle, *L'hellénisme contemporain*, 2. sér. 10(1956)223-29; Μ. ΑΛΕΞΙΟΥ, Modern Greek Folklore and its Relation to the Past: the Evolution of Charos in Greek Tradition, 221-36.
- 199 ΒΗ IV, 283.
- 200 See also under Cristoforo and Pietro Zanetti in Part II.
- 201 See also under Giovanni Aliprandi in Part II.
- 202 Critical editions by D. C. HESSELING, *Charos*, 56-59; Ε. Δ. ΚΑΚΟΥΛΙΔΗΣ, *Νεοελληνικὰ θρησκευτικὰ ἀλφαβητάρια*, 89-92.
- 203 Ε. Δ. ΚΑΚΟΥΛΙΔΗΣ, *Νεοελληνικὰ θρησκευτικὰ ἀλφαβητάρια*, 36-41.

- 204 K. GESNER, *Mithridates*. Tiguri, 1555, 47; G. MAZZUCHELLI, *Gli scrittori d'Italia*. Brescia, 1762, II, pt. 3, 1782; C. TREZZINI, Borroni, Borrona, de Borronis, *Historisch-Biographisches Lexikon der Schweiz*. Neuenburg, 1924, II, 315; N. M. ΠΑΝΑΓΙΩΤΑΚΗΣ, Το κείμενο τῆς πρώτης ἔκδοσης τοῦ "Ἀπόκοπου," 97-98 note 2.
- 205 For further details on Stefano Nicolini da Sabbio see under Nicolini da Sabbio in Part II. See also E. Follieri, *Su alcuni libri greci*, 128 and note 15 and her *Il libro greco*, 501-02.
- 206 In Vineggia per Vettor q. Piero Rauano della Serena & Compagni nel anno del Signore M.D.XXXI. Del mese di maggio.
- 207 See Λ. Φόρτιος, *Ποίημα νέον...περὶ στρατιωτικῆς πραγματίας*. Venise, 1871 (Collection de monuments pour servir à l'étude de la langue néo-hellénique, no. 17), 9-10.
- 208 On the medical writings of Angelos see M. Vitti, Βιβλιογραφικά στὸν 16^ο αἰῶνα (ὁ Κερκυραῖος γιατρός "Ἀγγελος Φορτίας alias Angelo Forte), *Ὁ Ἑρανιστής*, 3(1965)273-76.
- 209 BH I, cxcix-ccix.
- 210 For the text of the address to Dionisio Zanettini see BH I, 247-49. For more information on Nikolaos Sophianos see under his name in Part II.
- 211 Ν. ΣΟΦΙΑΝΟΣ, *Γραμματικὴ τῆς κοινῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων γλώσσης*. Ἀθήνησι, 1870. It came out in a second edition: N. SOPHIANOS, *Grammaire du grec vulgaire*. Paris, 1874.
- 212 J. IRIGOIN, *Les ambassadeurs a Venise et le commerce des manuscrits grecs dans les années 1540-1550, Venezia*, II, 400-05.
- 213 For further details about Sophianos's part in its design and ownership of the type see under Nikolaos Sophianos in Part II. The *Paidagogos* was published in a modern edition by E. Legrand who included it in his edition of N. SOPHIANOS, *Grammaire du grec vulgaire*. Paris, 1874, 95-123.
- 214 Ν. Μ. ΠΑΝΑΓΙΩΤΑΚΗΣ, Νικόλαος Παπαδόπουλος, 115 note 9 where he says that Antonios Eparchos was the reader appointed by the Riformatori dello Studio di Padova to pass judgement on the contents of the work see A. S. Notatorio dei Capi del Consiglio dei Dieci. Filza 7. 7 April 1567.
- 215 Χ. ΦΙΛΗΤΑΣ, Ἑμμανουὴλ Γλυζώνιος, *Πανδώρα*, 9(1858)274; see also under E. Glyzounis in Part II.
- 216 For the editions up to 1800 (18 in all) see PAPADOPOULOS I nos 2481-2498.
- 217 For the documents see Σ. ΜΑΚΡΥΜΙΧΑΛΟΣ, Ὁ ἐκδότης τοῦ Πορτολάνου τοῦ Τάγια τοῦ 1573, *Ὁ Ἑρανιστής*, 5(1967)76-77 nos. 1-3 and plates. 1-3.
- 218 Σ. ΜΑΚΡΥΜΙΧΑΛΟΣ, Ὁ ἐκδότης, 78-79, nos. 4-6.
- 219 Σ. ΜΑΚΡΥΜΙΧΑΛΟΣ, Ἑλληνικοὶ πορτολάνοι τοῦ 16^{ου}, 17^{ου} καὶ 18^{ου} αἰῶνος, *Ὁ Ἑρανιστής*, 1(1963)plate 2. For Augustin Gemelli see also under his name in Part II.
- 220 For the verses by Demetrios Tagias see Σ. ΜΑΚΡΥΜΙΧΑΛΟΣ, Ἑλληνικοὶ πορτολάνοι, 144-45, and plates 7-8; see also his Ἑλληνικοὶ πορτολάνοι τοῦ 16^{ου}, 17^{ου}, καὶ 18^{ου} αἰῶνος. Συμπληρώματα, *Ὁ Ἑρανιστής*, 1(1963)211.
- 221 Σ. ΜΑΚΡΥΜΙΧΑΛΟΣ, Ἑλληνικοὶ πορτολάνοι, 128-55, 211-21 and PAPADOPOULOS I nos. 4959-4965. For the manuscripts of sixteenth century portulans see A. DELATTE, *Les portulans grecs*. Liège, 1947-58, I, xvi-xix. and Σ. ΜΑΚΡΥΜΙΧΑΛΟΣ, Ἑλληνες χαρτογράφοι τοῦ 16^{ου} αἰῶνος, *Ὁ Ἑρανιστής*, 2(1964)158-62.

Short-Title List of Greek Books for Greek Readers

Citations are entered by first word of title
 Unless otherwise indicated all books are printed in Venice
 *Edition not extant
 **Never printed
 (imp.) Imperfect copy

1. 1486 Ὅμηρου Βατραχομουμαχία. Σύνθεσις ἐμοῦ λαονίκου κρητὸς καὶ πρωτοθύτου
 χανίων (22 April)
 BH I no. 3; BMC V, 408
 BeL; BL; BN; BNM; EVE; PML.
2. 1486 Δαβίδ προφήτου [sic] καὶ βασιλέως μέλος. Σύνθεσις ἐμοῦ ἀλεξάνδρου...υἱὸς δὲ
 τοῦ σοφοτάτου...γεωργίου ἱερέως τοῦ ἀλεξάνδρου (15 Nov.)
 BH I no. 4; BMC V, 409
 BL; BN; BoL; NYPL (imp.).
3. c. 1496–8 Ψαλτήριον. Ἐν οἰκείᾳ ᾿Αλδου τοῦ μανουτίου
 Ioustinos Dekadios, ed.
 BH I no. 11=[1494]; BMC V, 563; ESSLING no. 169; SANDER no. 5944;
 DROULIA no. 11
 BL; BNM; BoL; EVE; GL; HL; MM; NSL; NYPL; PML; VSL.
4. 1509 Ἀπόκοπος τοῦ μπεργαδὴ...Νικόλαος ὁ καλλιέργης ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ζαχαρίου ὁ τῶν
 γραμμάτων συνθετὴς, τούτου τοῦ τυπαρίου (December)
 BH III no. 217=1519 [sic]
 BH.
5. 1509 Ἐξεψάλματα...ζαχαρίας ὁ καλλιέργης ὁ ἐκ ρειθείμνης, τῇ αὐτοῦ δεξιότητι, καὶ
 ἀναλώμασιν ἰδίῳ...τουτονὶ τὸν χαρακτήρα καὶ τύπον τῶν γραμμάτων
 ἐποιήσατο (14 April)
 BH I no. 34
 BCo; BH.
6. 1509 Ὁρολόγιον...ἀναλώμασι μὲν, κυροῦ ἱακώβου δεπεντίου...πόνω δέ, καὶ δεξιότητι,
 ζαχαρίου τοῦ καλλιέργου, τοῦ ἐκ ρειθύμνης (23 August)
 BH I no. 36; EISS III no. 4001; FINAZZI no. 34
 BCQ; BH; BNM; EVE; MM; NSL.
7. 1519 **Ἀπόκοπος τοῦ μπεργαδὴ
 BH III no. 217=1519 [sic]=Maittaire, *Catalogue*, pt. 2, 141 no. 83.
8. 1520 Ὁρολόγιον...Florentiae per haeredes Philippi Iuntae (23 Jan.)
 [Col.] Ἀναλώμασι μὲν Βερνάρδου τῆς Ἰούντας
 BH I no. 63; EISS III no. 4002; STC, 379
 BL; BN; BR; BV; EVE; GL; PML; NLB; NSL; WL.

9. 1520 Ὀκτώηχος σὺν θεῷ, πλουσιοπάροχος...[Romae] per Zachariam Caliergium Cretensem
VRETOS I no. 3=BH I no. 64; LAYTON no. 7
NLB (imp.).
10. 1521 **Ἱστορία τοῦ Ταγιαπιέρα...[Ἰακώβου Τριβώλη]
BH I, 203.
11. 1521 Ψαλτήριον. Per Io. Antonium et fratres de Sabio, sumptu et requisitione D. Andreae Cunadi (June)
Konstantinos Palaiokapas, ed.
BH III no. 230; ADAMS B no. 1386; BEES I nos. 3, 177, 182
CUL; EVE; MM (3 cop.).
12. 1522 Παρακλητική. In aedibus Ioannis Antonii et fratrum de Sabio, impensis ac cura Domini Andreae Cunadi (31 March)
Ercole Girlandi, ed. Preface by Vettore Fausto
VRETOS I no. 4=BH I no. 65; LADAS no. 10; DROULIA no. 64
AL; GL (imp.).
13. 1522 Τριώδιον. In Aedibus Ioannis antonii, & fratrum de Sabio, impensis & cura Dñi Andreae Cunadi (31 March)
Konstantinos Palaiokapas and Ercole Girlandi, eds.
BH I no. 66=III no. 242
GL; HAB.
14. 1523 **Ἀνδραγαθείαις Ταγιαπέτρα [Ἰακώβου Τριβώλη] Σαβίου
LADAS no. 11; BH I, 203 note 1.
15. 1523 Ἀρχὴ τοῦ Μηνολογίου. Ὡρολόγιον. Per Ioannem Antonium & fratres de Sabio. Sumptu & requisitione Martini Locatelli (26 January)
BH II no. 235; EISS III no. 4003; ESSLING no. 2215; SANDER no. 3468
BAr; BJ; BoL; BUP; GL (imp.).
16. 1523 **Ἱστορία τοῦ Ρὲ τῆς Σκότζιας...[Ἰακώβου Τριβώλη]
See J. IRMSCHER, *Ἰάκωβος Τριβώλης*, 5; M. I. MANOYSAKAS in *Ἀθηνᾶ*, 60(1956)384.
17. 1523 Ὀκτώηχος. Per Io. Antonium, et fratres de Sabio, Sumptu & requisitione D. Damiani de Sancta Maria (March)
Demetrios Zenos, ed.
ESSLING no. 2217; SANDER no. 5025; PHOSKOLOS B no. 1; LADAS no. 12
AL; ÖNB; PML.
18. 1523 *Παρακλητική. Per Ioan. Antonium & fratres de Sabio (May)
ILIOU no. 2; LADAS no. 13 doubts its existence.
19. 1524 Ἀπολώνιος. In edibus Stephani de Sabio sumptu & requisitione D. Damiani de santa Maria da spici filatoio (September)
Konstantinos Temenos, ed.?
LAYTON no. 15=1534 [sic]; EISS I no. 1933/2133
BE; BeL (imp.).

20. 1524 Ὡρολόγιον. In Edibus Stephani: sumptu & requisitione D. Damiani de S. Maria da Spici Filatoio (13 August)
Demetrios Zenos, ed.
BH I no. 71
EVE.
21. 1524 *Πένθος θανάτου. Per Stephanum de Sabio sumptu & requisitione D. Petri Cunadi (March)
Demetrios Zenos, ed.
BH I no. 69=Maittaire, *Annales*, pt. 2, 427.
22. 1524 Ψαλτήριον. Per Stephanum de Sabio sumptu & requisitione D. Petri Cunadi (31 May)
Demetrios Zenos, ed.
BH I no. 70; EISS III no. 4017; STC, 98
BE; BL.
23. 1525 Αἶσωπος. Per Stephanum de Sabio: sumptu et requisitione D. Damiani de santa Maria da Spici (May)
EISS I no. 328/351
BAV.
24. 1525 Ἀπόστολος. In Aedibus Stephani de Sabio: sumptu et requisitione D. Damiani de Santa Maria da Spici (July)
Demetrios Zenos, ed.
KORDOSIS A no. 1; LADAS no. 14
ZV.
25. 1525 *Διήγησις εἰς τὰς πράξεις τοῦ περιβοήτου στρατηγοῦ τῶν Ῥωμαίων μεγάλου Βελισσαρίου (January 25).
26. 1525 *Ὀκτώηχος. Per Melchiorem Sessam & Petrum de Rauanis socios (April)
BH I no. 72
BSB (destroyed during World War II).
27. 1525 Πεντηκοστάριον. In Aedibus Stephani: filii quondam Turini de Sabio: sumptu & requisitione D. Damiani de Santa Maria da Spici (23 December)
Demetrios Zenos, ed.
BH III no. 270; STOYANOV no. 7
AD; AK; AL; APh; NBKM.
28. 1525 Ψαλτήριον. Per Melchiorem Sessa & Petrum de Rauanis sociis
BH I no. 73; BEES I no. 152; EISS III no. 4018; ESSLING no. 177; SANDER no. 5945; ADAMS B no. 1388; CURI NICOLARDI no. 64; STC, 98
BA; BL; BoL; BU; BUB; CUL (imp.); GL (imp.); MM (imp.); NYPL; WL.
29. 1525 **Τυπικόν
ILIOU 318 no. 1=N. B. ΤΩΜΑΔΑΚΗΣ, Ἡ ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ ἔκδοσις, 16-17. See Chapter III, note 70.
30. 1526 *Εὐχολόγιον
VRETOS I no. 7=BH I no. 77; CAVE II, 28; DELIALES no. 339=1526 [sic].

31. 1526 Ὁμήρου Ἰλιάς μεταβληθεῖσα πάλαι εἰς κοινὴν γλῶσσαν...παρὰ Νικολάου τοῦ Λουκάνου. Per Maestro Stefano da Sabio: il quale habita a Santa Maria formosa: ad instantia di miser Damian di santa Maria da Spici (May)
BH I no. 75; DROULIA no. 73; FINAZZI no. 54; SANDER no. 3428; STC, 331
BAV (imp.); BL (2 cop.); BN; BNC; BNM; BoL (4 cop.); CU(Joh;Tr); DSB; EVE (3 cop.); GL; HAB; HL; NSL; NYPL (imp.); ÖNB; PCGSA; SL; UBJ; UBT.
32. 1526 Σεπτέμβριος. Per Maestro Stefano da Sabio: il quale habita a Santa Maria formosa: ad instantia di miser Damian di santa Maria da Spici (July)
BH III no. 279; BEES I no. 639; LADAS no. 16; LAZAROU no. 449
MM (imp.); MO.
33. 1526 Αἱ Θεῖαι Λειτουργεῖαι. Ἐν ῥώμῃ...Δεξιότητι Δημητρίου Δουκᾶ τοῦ κρητός (October)
Demetrios Doukas, ed.
BH I no. 76; ADAMS L no. 837; DROULIA no. 71; EISS III no. 4009; MORTIMER no. 253; STC, 379
There are copies without the October 28 privilege of Pope Clement VII
AL (imp.); BAn; BAV; BL; BN; BNC; BNM; BSB; CU(Corp; Joh; Pet); CUL; EVE (2 cop.); GL; HAB; HL; PML; NSL.
34. 1527 Introducttorio nvovo Intitolato Corona Preciosa. Per Ioan. Antonium et fratres de Sabio, Impensis uero Domini Andreae de Turresanis de Asula (August)
Stefano Nicolini da Sabbio, comp. or perhaps Pietro Burrana or Borrana. See Chapter IV, 209 note 204
BH I no. 79; FINAZZI no. 56; STC, 595
BL (4 cop.); BN; BNM; GL; HL.
35. 1527 Ὀκτώβριος. In edibus Ioā. Antoni. & Fratres de Sabio: impensis vero Dñi Damiani de Santa Maria (September)
BH III no. 285; LADAS no. 17; LAZAROU no. 449
AL; BAV; GL (imp.); HL (imp.); MO.
36. 1527 Νοέμβριος. Per Ioan. Antonium & Fratres de Nicolinis de Sabio: sumptu & requisitione D. Damiani de Sancta Maria (January)
BH III no. 286; BEES I no. 495; DROULIA no. 74; PAVLOPOULOS no. A 37
ML; MM; VSL (imp.).
37. 1528 **Δαμασκηνὸς Στουδίτης, Θησαυρός
VRETOS I no. 9=A. ASKEW, *Bibliotheca askeviana*, 49 no. 1357=1528 [sic, read 1628]. See Chapter III note 107.
38. 1528 Δεκέμβριος. Per Ioannem Antonium: & Fratres de Sabio: Sumptu & requisitione D. Damiani de sancta Maria da Spici (July)
BEES I no. 495; PAPADOPOULOS A no. 4; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 49; PAVLOPOULOS no. A 37=1527
AL; BSB; ML; MM (imp.).
39. 1528 **Ἱστορία τοῦ Ρὲ τῆς Σκοτζίας...[Ἰακώβου Τριβώλη]...παρὰ Ἀντωνίῳ τῷ Πινέλλῳ
VRETOS II no. 32 [sic=1628]; SATHAS, 138=1528 [sic=1628].
40. 1528 *Ἱστορία τοῦ Ταγιαπιέρα [Ἰακώβου Τριβώλη]...παρὰ Στεφάνῳ τῷ Σαβίῳ
VRETOS II no. 31=BH I no. 81; SATHAS, 138.

41. 1528 Πένθος θανάτου. Per Ioannem Antonium & Fratres de Sabio: sumptu & requisitione D. Damiani De sancta Maria
Demetrios Zenos, ed.
LAYTON no. 12
UUB.
42. 1528 Ἡ Θεία Λειτουργία. Per Ioañem Antonium & fratres de Sabio sumptu & expensis D. Demetrii Zini Zacynthii: & D. Menandri Nuntii Corcyraei sociis
(August)
Demetrios Zenos, ed.?
BH I no. 80; ADAMS L no. 838; DROULIA no. 75; EISS III no. 4010; SANDER no. 3646
BAI; BL; BN; BNC; BNM; BU; BUB; BV; CU(Corp; Joh. Pet); CUL EVE; GL; HL; NYPL.
43. 1529 Ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μακεδών. Per Giouan Antonio & Fratelli da Sabbio ad instantia di M. Damiano de Santa Maria (15 September)
Demetrios Zenos, ed.
BH I no. 83; ILIOU no. 3; LADAS no. 19; STC, 18
BL; BoL; UBJ.
44. 1529 Ἀνθος τῶν Χαρίτων. Per Giouanantonio da Sabio & Fratelli, ad instantia di M. Damiano de santa Maria (6 November)
BH III no. 305
BE.
45. 1529 Θεσέος καὶ γάμοι τῆς Ἑμήλιας. Per Giouanantonio et fratelli da Sabbio a requisitione de M. Damiano de Santa Maria da Spici (December)
Title varies: Θεσέος καὶ γάμου
Demetrios Zenos, ed.
BH I no. 84; EISS II no. 2421; STC, 668
AL (imp.); BAn; BAV; BL; BU; DSB; EVE; GL; ÖNB; SL (destroyed in World War II); UBT.
46. 1531 Ποίημα νέον...περὶ στρατιωτικῆς πραγματίας...παρὰ λεωνάρδου φορτίου. Per Vettor q. Piero Rauano della Serena & Compagni (May 1531)
BH I no. 85; STC, 512
BL; BN; GL.
47. 1532 *[Ἀπόστολος]. Ἐν Οὐηρώνη, παρὰ Στεφάνῳ καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς Σαβίοις. Veronae, apud Stephanum et fratres Sabios (February)
ILIOU 318 no. 2; LAZAROU no. 91 [sic]. This is actually an imperfect copy of the Oecumenius printed by S. da Sabbio. See Chapter III, note 22.
48. 1532 Ὡρολόγιον. Victor à Rabanis & Socii (June)
BH I no. 87=III no. 319; DROULIA no. 78; SANDER no. 3469
BC; BL; BSB; EVE.
49. 1533 [Δεκέμβριος.] Per Stephanum de Sabio
STOYANOV no. 10
TsIM.
50. 1533 Ἰαννουάριος. Per Stephanum de Sabio, sumptu & requisitione D. Damiani de Sancta Maria (October)
BH III no. 327; PAVLOPOULOS no. A 40; STOYANOV no. 9
ADo; BAV; BSB; ML; TsIM.



51. 1533 [Φεβρουάριος. Per Stephanum de Sabio?]
PAVLOPOULOS no. A 40
ML.
52. 1534 Ἀπόκοπος [τοῦ Μπεργαδῆ]. Per maestro Stephano da Sabio: a instantia di
M. Damian di santa Maria (March)
BH I no. 90; EISS II no. 1617
BAV; BSB; UBJ.
53. 1534 Ἀπολώνιος. Per maestro Stephano da Sabio: a instantia di M. Damian
di santa Maria (March)
VRETOS II no. 36=BH I no. 91; LADAS no. 23; LAYTON no. 15=1534 [sic].
See Γ. ΚΕΧΑΓΙΟΓΛΟΥ in Ἑλληνικά, 37(1986)145-59
CPL.
54. 1534 Ἀπόστολος. Per maestro Stephano da Sabio: a instantia di M. Damian
di santa Maria (April)
Demetrios Zenos, ed.
BH III no. 334; DELIALES no. 106; LAZAROU no. 92
DV; MO; PVJ.
55. 1534 Ψαλτήριον. Per maestro Stephano da Sabio: a instantia di M. Damian di santa
Maria (April)
Demetrios Zenos, ed.
BH III no. 333; BEES I no. 157
EVE (imp.); MM (imp.).
56. 1535 Ὁρολόγιον. Ἐτυπώσατο μὲν Βαρθολομαῖος ὁ καστερζαγεύς, ἀναλώμασι δὲ
Οὐῖκεντίου καὶ ἰωάννου Φραγκίσκου τῶν τρινκαουελῶν
BH I no. 94; STC, 379
BeL; BL; BM; BN; BoL; GL, NSL; SL (destroyed in World War II).
57. 1535 Opera quaedam Beati Basilii Caesariensis Episcopi. Per Stephanvm de Sabio
svmptv expensis vero D. Damiani de Sancta Maria (October-November)
There are copies with only: Per Stephanvm De Sabio
LADAS no. 24; DELIALES no. 142; DROULIA no. 83; EISS II no. 767;
FINAZZI no. 66; LAZAROU no. 122; STC, 75
AL; BAV; BL; BN; BNM; DV (imp.); GL; HL; MO (imp.), VSL (imp.); VV.
58. 1536 Τὸ παρὸν βιβλίον ἔναι ἡ παλαιὰ τε καὶ νέα διαθήκη ἥτοι τὸ ἄνθος... In aedibus
Bartholomaei Zanetti Casterzagensis (November)
Ioannikios Kartanos, comp. and tr.
BH I no. 95; ADAMS K no. 5
BSB; CUL.
59. 1536 Φεβρουάριος. In aedibus Stephani de Sabio: sumptu & requisitione domini
Damiani de sancta Maria (September)
BH III no. 351; EISS III no. 4011; STOYANOV no. 12=1535
ADo; AL (imp.); BAV; BSB; TsIM.
60. 1537 Ἄνθος τῶν Χαρίτων. Per Stephano da Sabbio, ad instantia di M. Damiano de
santa Maria (6 May)
BH III no. 366
BAV.

61. 1538 Ὡρολόγιον. Ἐντυπωθέν...ἀναλώμασι δέ, κυρίου Δαμιανοῦ τοῦ ἐκ σπετζίου τῆς ἰλλυρίδος...Per Stephano da Sabio
Demetrios Zenos, ed.
BEES I no. 170
MM (imp.).
62. 1538 Παρακλητική. Per Stephanum Sabiensem, Sumptu domino Hieronymo Giraldo de Marendelli & domino Damiano de santa Maria da Spici, socii in solidum (October)
BH I no. 97. DELIALES no. 688=1522 [sic]; STOYANOV no. 14
AXe (imp.); BSB; DV (imp.); EVE (imp.); TsIM.
63. 1538 Τῆς Καινῆς Διαθήκης ἅπαντα. Per Ioan. Anto. de Nicolinis de Sabio. Expensis vero Dñi Melchioris Sessae
BH II no. 237; EISS II no. 2089; STC, 101
BAV; BC; BE; BL (imp.); BN; BNC; BNVE; EVE; GL.
64. 1538 Τριώδιον. In Aedibus Stephani Sabiensis Impensis vero Dñi Damiani de Santa Maria et Dñi Hieronymi Geraldi socii (June)
Demetrios Zenos, ed.
BH I no. 96; DROULIA no. 88
AI (imp.); AKou; APh; BSB; GL (imp.).
65. [1539] Βατραχομουμαχία. [Mark of Andreas Kounadis on the title page]
Demetrios Zenos, ed. and tr.
BH I no. 100
BSB; UBJ.
66. 1539 Γαδάρου, Λύκου Κιαλουποῦς, διήγησις ώραία. Per Stephano da Sabio a instantia di M. Damiano di santa Maria.
Demetrios Zenos, ed.
BH I no. 98
BA; BSB.
67. 1539 Ἱερὸν Εὐαγγέλιον. Per Stephanum Sabieñ. sumptu vero Dñi Hieronymi Giraldi de Marendellis Vicentini, & Dñi Damiani de sancta Maria. Mark of Stefano Nicolini da Sabbio at end.
BH I no. 99; DELIALES no. 305; DROULIA no. 90; LAZAROU no. 229
AI; AKou; ASt (imp.); BSB; DV (imp.); EVE; GL (imp.); MO (imp.); MV; VSL.
68. Pre-1540 *Τὸ παρὸν βιβλίον ἔναι ἡ παλαιά τε καὶ νέα διαθήκη ἥτοι τὸ ἄνθος...
In aedibus Bartholomaei Zanetti Casterzagensis
Ioannikios Kartanos, comp. and tr.
See E. LAYTON in *Θησαυρίσματα*, 18(1981)140-43.
69. 1540 **Ἱστορία τοῦ ῥε τῆς σκοτζίας [Ἰακώβου Τριβώλη]
BH I, 203; J. IRMSCHER, *Ἰάκωβος Τριβώλης, Ποιήματα*, 5.
70. 1540 Ὁκτώηχος. Per maestro Stephano da Sabio (July)
BEES I no. 170
MM (imp.).

71. 1542 Ἀπόστολος. Per Giouann' Antonio & Pietro fratelli di Nicolini da Sabio: a instantia di M. Damian di santa Maria (December)
Andronikos Noukios, ed.
BH II no. 238; STOYANOV no. 15
BAr; TsIM (imp.).
72. 1542 *Σπανός. Bartolomeo Zanetti
See E. LAYTON, in *Θησανυρίσματα*, 18(1981)135–36.
73. 1543 Αἰσώπου Μῦθοι. Per Giouanni Antonio & Pietro fratelli di Nicolini da Sabio. Ad instantia di M. Damian di santa maria.
Andronikos Noukios, ed. and tr.
BH I no. 103
BSB.
74. 1543 Ἀπόκοπος [τοῦ Μπεργαδῆ]. Per M. Damian di Santa Maria
BH I no. 104
BA; BoL.
75. 1543 Corona pretiosa. Ex Sirenis Officina
[Col.] Apud haeredes Petri Rauani & socios (January)
BH III no. 439; STC, 595
BAn; BAr; BL; BM, HL; ÖNB.
76. 1543 *Ἐξήγησις τοῦ θαυμαστοῦ Ἡμπερίου [sic]. Per Giouanni Antonio & Pietro fratelli, di Nicolini da Sabio. Ad Instantia di M. Damian di santa Maria
PAPADOPOULOS I no. 6108. See T. de MARINIS, *Appunti e ricerche bibliografiche*, 90–91; E. LAYTON, in *Θησανυρίσματα*, 18(1981)133–36.
77. 1543 *Ἱστορία τοῦ ῥέ τῆς σκότζιας [Ἰακώβου Τριβώλη]
EHINGER, 129 no. XLII=BH I no. 106.
78. 1543 Λόγοι διδακτικοὶ τοῦ πατρὸς πρὸς τὸν υἱόν [Μάρκου Δεφαράνα] Per M. Damian di santa Maria
BH I no. 105
BA; BSB; PML.
79. c. 1543 **Ὀκτώηχος. παρὰ χριστοφόρῳ τῷ ζανέτῳ
BH III no. 109A=1543 [sic]. See LAYTON no. 45=[1558].
80. 1543 Πένθος θανάτου. Per M. Damian di santa Maria (14 August)
BH I no. 102
BSB.
81. 1544 *Εὐχολόγιον
CAVE II, 28; ILIOU, 318 no. 5.
82. 1544 *Ἱστορία τοῦ ταγιαπιέρα [Ἰακώβου Τριβώλη]
EHINGER, 129 no. XLII=BH I no. 112.
83. 1544 Πεντηκοστάριον. Per Ioan. Ant. et Petrum de Nicolinis de Sabio, sumptu & requisitione D. Damiani de Sancta Maria da Spici
BH I no. 109; ADAMS L no. 853; DROULIA no. 102; STOYANOV no. 16=1543 [sic]
BAV; BN; BSB; CUL; GL; TsIM.

84. 1544 Πλουτάρχου φιλοσόφου παιδαγωγός. Ἐτυπώθη ἐν οἰκίᾳ βαρθολομαίου τοῦ καλλιγράφου [i.e. Bartolomeo Zanetti] (2 January)
Nikolaos Sophianos, ed. and tr.
BH I no. 107
BoL; EVE.
85. [1544] *Σταύρωσις τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ: autore Marino Phaliero
EHINGER, 129 no. XLII=BH I no. 113.
86. 1545 *Ἀναγνώσματα προφητείας... Τετύπεται μὲν ἐν Ἐνετίῃσι
Nikolaos Phetzis, ed.
See V. GARDTHAUSEN, *Catalogus codicum graecorum Sinaiticorum*, 6 no. 19;
see also S. ENGBERG in *Epsilon*, 1(1987)59.
87. 1545 [Εἰλητάριον]
See Λ. ΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ, Ἐντυπο περγαμηνὸ εἰλητάριο, 227-36
PL (imp.).
88. 1545 Εὐχολόγιον. Ἐν οἰκίᾳ νικολάου σοφianoῦ, καὶ τῶν ἐταίρων μάρκου
σαμαριάρου, καὶ νικολάου ἐπάρχου (12 December)
BH I no. 116
BSB; FLG.
89. 1545 Ὠρολόγιον. Ἐν οἰκίᾳ νικολάου σοφianoῦ καὶ τῶν ἐταίρων (5 May)
BH I no. 115
BN; BoL; BSB.
90. 1545 Ψαλτήριον. Per Ioan. Anto. & Petrum Fratres de Nicolinis de Sabio,
Sumptibus Melchioris Sessae
BH I no. 117; STC, 98
BAV; BL; GL.
91. 1545 Τυπικὸν καὶ τὰ Ἀπόρρητα. Ἐν οἰκίᾳ ἰωάννου ἀντωνίου καὶ πέτρου τῶν σαβιέων
καὶ ἀνταδέλφων (4 January)
[Preface] Χορηγῶ τῆς δαπάνης ἀπάσης Δαμιανῶ τῷ φιλοχρίστῳ ἀνδρὶ
Andronikos Noukios, ed. Paschalia prepared by V. Valeris.
BH I no. 114; DROULIA no. 106; EISS III no. 4023; LAZAROU no. 596;
STOYANOV no. 18
AKou; AL; BAV; BC; BM; BSB; EVE (imp.); GL; HL; MO (imp.); TsIM; UBW;
VV; ZV.
92. 1546 Ἄνθος τῶν Χαρίτων. Per Giouann' Antonio, & Pietro fratelli, di Nicolini da
Sabio. Ad instantia di M. Damian di santa Maria
BH I no. 119
BoL; BSB (imp.); UBT.
93. 1546 Corona pretiosa... Στέφανος χρύσιμος... Ex Sirenis Officina.
[Col.] Apud haeredes Petri Rauani et Socios (April)
ILIOU no. 5; LADAS no. 36
BL; DSB; GL; HL; ÖNB.
94. 1546 Ὠρολόγιον. Apud Petrum, & Cornelium nepotem de Nicolinis de Sabio.
Expensis Melchioris Sessae (19 September)
Vasileios Valeris, ed.
BH I no. 118; EISS III no. 4004=1547 [sic]; PAPADOPOULOS I no.
2793=[1547] but see PAPADOPOULOS II no. 117=1546; STC, 379
BAV (imp.); BL; CUL.

95. 1546 Ὡρολόγιον. Per Christophano Zanetti
BH III no. 468; ADAMS L no. 833; STC, 379
BAV (imp.); BL; CUL.
96. 1546 Ψαλτήριον. Per Giouan' Antonio & Pietro fratelli, di Nicolini da Sabio: A instantia de M. Damian di santa Maria
Vasileios Valeris, ed.
LAYTON no. 17
NYPL.
97. 1547 *Ὡρολόγιον
ILIOU 318 no. 6.
98. 1547 **Μὴν Νοέμβριος. Παρὰ Χριστοφόρου τῷ Ζανέτῳ
STOYANOV no. 19=αφνζ' / 1547 [sic read 1557]
99. 1547 **Μὴν Δεκέμβριος. Χριστ. τῷ Ζανέτῳ.
STOYANOV no. 20=αφνζ' / 1547 [sic, read 1557]
100. 1547 Ψαλτήριον. Παρὰ χριστοφόρῳ τῷ ζανέτῳ
BH I no. 120; EISS III no. 4019; STC, 98
BAV; BL; BR; HL.
101. 1548? Ἀνθολόγιον. Χάριτι τῆς ἐκλαμπροτάτης ἀρχῆς τῶν ἐνετῶν, συγχωρηθεῖση Βασιλείῳ ἱερεῖ τῷ Βαλέριδι, δι' ἐτῶν δέκα...
Preface by Nikolaos Malaxos
EISS III no. 3991=[Venezia, Basilio Valeris, 155.]
See Σ. ΚΑΚΛΑΜΑΝΗΣ in *Θησαυρίσματα*, 20(1990)227-32, 240-44
BUB.
102. 1548 Διήγησις εἰς τὰς πράξεις...Βελισαρίου. Per Pietro di Nicolini da Sabio, a instantia di M. Damian di santa Maria (September)
BH I no. 122
AV; BSB.
103. 1548 Στιχηρά...Μαρτίῳ. Παρὰ βαρθολομαίῳ τῷ ἰαννίνῳ ἀναλώμασι καὶ ἐπιμελείᾳ κυρίου ἀνδρέου τοῦ σπινέλλου (8 October)
Nikolaos Malaxos, ed.
BH I no. 121; MANOUSAKAS no. 1; PHOSKOLOS B no. 2; LADAS no. 39; DROULIA no. 109
AA (imp.); AL (2 cop.); AP; BSB.
104. 1548 Στιχηρά...Ἀπριλίῳ. Παρὰ Βαρθολομαίῳ τῷ ἰαννίνῳ· μετεγράφη δέ, παρὰ τοῦ τιμίου ἱερέως Φραγκία τοῦ κλώγια...ἀναλώμασι καὶ ἐπιμελείᾳ κυρίου Ἀνδρέου τοῦ σπινέλλου (24 December)
There are copies with only: Ἐνετίησιν, βαρθολομαῖος ὁ ἰαννίνος, ἐπιμελείᾳ Ἀνδρέου τοῦ Σπινέλλου (24 December)
Nikolaos Malaxos, ed.
MANOUSAKAS no. 2; PHOSKOLOS B no. 3; LADAS no. 40; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 128
AA (imp.); AP; BSB; HL.

105. 1548 Στιχηρά...Μαΐφ. Παρά Βαρθολομαίφ τῷ Ἰαννίνφ· ἀναλώμασι καὶ ἐπιμελεία κυρίου Ἀνδρέου σπινέλλου (28 February)
Nikolaos Malaxos, ed.
BH III no. 484; LADAS no. 41
AL; AP; BSB.
106. 1548 Στιχηρά...Ἰουνίφ. Παρά Βαρθολομαίφ τῷ Ἰαννίνφ· ἀναλώμασι καὶ ἐπιμελεία κυρίου Ἀνδρέου τοῦ σπινέλλου (8 October)
Nikolaos Malaxos, ed.
BH III no. 485
AR?
107. 1548 Στιχηρά...Ἰουλίφ. Παρά Βαρθολομαίφ τῷ Ἰαννίνφ· ἀναλώμασι καὶ ἐπιμελεία κυρίου Ἀνδρέου τοῦ σπινέλλου (8 October)
Nikolaos Malaxos, ed.
BH III no. 486
BSB; HL.
108. 1549 Ἀκολουθία τοῦ Ἀναγνώστου ἡγουν τὰ συλλειτουργικά. Apud Federicum Turrisanum
BH I no. 123; LAYTON no. 18
BSB; DSB; NL.
109. 1549 Corona pretiosa. Per Pietro & Gio. Maria fratelli, & Cornelio nepote, di Nicolini da Sabio
PAPADOPOULOS A no. 15
BC; HL; ÖBN.
110. 1549 Εἰρμολόγιον...ἐν οἰκία Βασιλείου ἱερέως τοῦ βάρελι, καὶ Δημητρίου τοῦ μαρμαρέτου (12 August)
PAPADOPOULOS II no. 130^a; DELIALES no. 286=1568 [sic]
APh (imp.); DV (imp.).
111. 1549 Ἱστορία τῶν γυναικῶν, τῶν καλῶν καὶ τῶν κακῶν [Τζάνε Βεντράμου]. Per Pietro de Nicolini da Sabio, ad instantia de Messer Damian de Santa Maria
BH I no. 123bis
BSB.
112. 1549 Ὁρολόγιον. Ἐν οἰκία Ἀνδρέου τοῦ Σπινέλλου
Nikolaos Malaxos and Vasileios Varelis, eds.
BH III no. 496
BL.
113. 1549 Ὁρολόγιον. Per Petrum & Ioannem Mariam fratres & eius nepotem de Nicolinis de Sabio
PAPADOPOULOS II no. 131; EISS III no. 4005
BAV.
114. 1549 *[Νόμιμον. Ἐν οἰκία Βασιλείου τοῦ βάρελι, καὶ Δημητρίου τοῦ μαρμαρέτου] Σ. ΚΑΚΛΑΜΑΝΗΣ in *Θησαυρίσματα*, 20(1990)232-33, 244-45; but see Χ. Γ. ΠΑΤΡΙΝΕΛΗΣ in *Μεσαιωνικά καὶ Νέα Ἑλληνικά*, 4(1992)299-300 and in *Ὁ Ἐρανιστής*, 19(1993)25 note 28.
115. 1549 Ὁκτώηχος...παρά Ἀνδρέα τῷ σπινέλλφ
Nikolaos Malaxos, ed.
BH I no. 124; STC, 379
BL (imp.).

116. 1549 Τὸ παρὸν βιβλίον ἔναι ἡ παλαιὰ τε καὶ νέα διαθήκη, ἥτοι τὸ ἄνθος. Per M. Damian di Santa Maria
Ioannikios Kartanos, comp. and tr.
ADAMS K no. 6; PAPADOPOULOS I nos. 3038/6129^a. See E. LAYTON in *Θησαυρίσματα*, 18(1981)140 note 52
CUL; SSA.
117. 1549 **Τὸ παρὸν ἱερὸν Εὐαγγέλιον...παρὰ τοῖς κληρονόμοις πέτρου τοῦ τζανέτου
ADAMS L no. 829=1549 [sic, read 1599]
118. 1549 Στιχηρά...Ἰουνίῳ. Παρὰ βαρθολομαίου τῷ ἱαννίνῳ ἀναλώμασι καὶ ἐπιμελείᾳ
κυρίου Ἀνδρέου τοῦ σπινέλλου (April)
Nikolaos Malaxos, ed.
BH III no. 494; DROULIA no. 113
AL; BSB; HL (imp.).
119. 1549 Στιχηρά...Αὐγούστῳ. Παρὰ Βαρθολομαίῳ τῷ ἱαννίνῳ ἀναλώμασι καὶ ἐπιμελείᾳ
κυρίου Ἀνδρέου τοῦ σπινέλλου (20 August)
Nikolaos Malaxos, ed.
BH III no. 495
BSB; HL.
120. 1550 Ἀπόστολος. Ἐν οἰκίᾳ Ἀνδρέου τοῦ σπινέλλου τῷ κομματοτυπωτῇ τῆς ἐνδο-
ξωτάτης γερουσίας τῶν ἐνετῶν (8 February)
Nikolaos Malaxos, ed.
BH I no. 125
AV; AX; BSB; ÖNB.
121. 1550 Ἀπόστολος. Παρὰ χριστοφόρῳ τῷ ζανέτῳ ἀναλώμασι μὲν Κυρίου δαμιανοῦ, τοῦ
ἐξ ἐπετίου τῆς ἰλλυρίδος (May 14)
Michael Kontoleon, ed.
BH I no. 126; PHOSKOLOS A no. 67=end of 15th cent. [sic]
BN; PCGSA (imp.).
122. [1550] Διδασκαλία παραινετική κυροῦ ἀλεξίου κομνηνοῦ τοῦ λεγομένου, σπανέα.
Παρὰ Χριστοφόρῳ τῷ Ζανέτῳ
BH I no. 128; FINAZZI no. 83
BNM.
123. 1550 *Εὐχολόγιον
CAVE II, 28; ILIOU, 318 no. 9.
124. 1550 Ἱερὸν Εὐαγγέλιον. Ἐν οἰκίᾳ Ἀνδρέου τοῦ σπινέλλου, μονεταρίῳ τῆς γερουσίας
τῶν ἐνετῶν (10 May–15 June)
Nikolaos Malaxos and Vasileios Valeris, eds.
BH I no. 127; EISS III no. 3998; ESSLING no. 203; ADAMS L no. 830;
DROULIA no. 114; STOYANOV no. 22
AH; AP; BAn; BSB; CU(Tr); GL; PCGSA.
125. 1550 [Παρακλητική]. Παρὰ Χριστοφόρῳ τῷ ζανέτῳ ἀναλώμασι μὲν κῦ δαμιανοῦ, τοῦ
ἐξ Σπετζίου τῆς ἰλλυρίδος (November)
KORDOSIS B no. 1; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 141^a
AHN (imp.); AP (imp.).

126. 1551 *Ἀπόστολος. Pietro da Sabio
ILIOU, 318 no. 10.
127. 1551 *[Μὴν Μάρτιος]. Παρὰ Ἀνδρέα καὶ Ἰακώβω τοῖς Σπινέλλοις
PAPADOPOULOS I no. 3903.
128. 1551 Μὴν Σεπτέμβριος. Ἐν οἰκίᾳ Ἀνδρέου τοῦ σπινέλλου, μονεταρίου τῆς ἐκλαμπρο-
τάτης ἀρχῆς τῶν ἐνετῶν (8 March)
Nikolaos Malaxos and Vasileios Valeris, eds.
BH IV no. 516; PAVLOPOULOS no. A 36; STOYANOV no. 23
BAV; ML; SSA; TsIM.
129. 1551 Μὴν Ὀκτώβριος. Ἐν οἰκίᾳ Ἀνδρέου τοῦ σπινέλλου, μονεταρίου τῆς ἐκλαμπρο-
τάτης [sic] ἀρχῆς τῶν ἐνετῶν 18 (April)
Nikolaos Malaxos and Vasileios Valeris, eds.
BH IV no. 517; PAVLOPOULOS no. A 36; STOYANOV no. 24
AP; APh; BAV; ML; SSA; TsIM.
130. 1551 Μὴν Νοουέμβριος. Ἐν οἰκίᾳ Ἀνδρέου τοῦ σπινέλλου, μονεταρίου τῆς ἐκλαμπρο-
τάτης ἀρχῆς τῶν ἐνετῶν (21 July)
Nikolaos Malaxos and Vasileios Valeris, eds.
BH II no. 241; DROULIA no. 117; PAPADOPOULOS B no. 2
AL; APh; BAV; EVE (imp.); GL; SSA.
131. 1551 Μὴν Δεκέμβριος. Ἐν οἰκίᾳ Ἀνδρέου τοῦ σπινέλλου, μονεταρίου τῆς ἐκλαμπρο-
τάτης ἀρχῆς τῶν ἐνετῶν (23 December)
Nikolaos Malaxos and Vasileios Valeris, eds.
BH IV no. 518
AL; EVE (imp.); SSA.
132. 1551 Τριώδιον. Πόνω χριστοφόρου τοῦ ζανέτου...In Aedibus Christophoris Zanetti
Impensis uero Domini Damiani de Sancta Maria (March)
Reprint of 1522 Triodion
BH II no. 240
AP; BM.
133. 1551-52 Μὴν Ἰαννουάριος. Ἐν οἰκίᾳ Ἀνδρέου καὶ Ἰακώβου τῶν σπινέλλων, μονετάριοι
τῆς ἐκλαμπροτάτης ἀρχῆς τῶν ἐνετῶν (9 February)
Nikolaos Malaxos and Vasileios Valeris, eds.
BH IV no. 535
AL; BSB; EVE.
134. 1551-52 Μὴν Φεβρουάριος. Ἐν οἰκίᾳ Ἀνδρέου καὶ Ἰακώβου τῶν σπινέλλων, μονεταρίων
τῆς ἐκλαμπροτάτης ἀρχῆς τῶν ἐνετῶν (22 March)
Nikolaos Malaxos and Vasileios Valeris, eds.
BH II no. 242; PHOSKOLOS B no. 4; LADAS no. 42
AL (imp.); BSB; EVE; SSA.
135. 1552 Ὠρολόγιον. Per Bartholomeum Imperatorem
PHOSKOLOS A no. 3; ILIOU no. 6; LADAS no. 44
PCGSA.

136. 1552 Πεντηκοστάριον. Ἐν οἰκίᾳ Ἀνδρέου καὶ Ἰακώβου τῶν σπινέλλων, μονεταρίων τῆς ἐκλαμπρωτάτης ἀρχῆς τῶν ἐνετῶν (1 August)
Nikolaos Malaxos and Vasileios Valeris, eds.
BH II no. 244=IV no. 538; LADAS no. 43; DROULIA no. 121; PLOUMIDES no. 1 AKo; AL.
137. 1552 Τὸ Θεῖον καὶ Ἱερὸν Εὐαγγέλιον. Παρὰ χριστοφόρῳ τῷ ζανέτῳ
BH IV no. 537; PAPAZOTOS no. 1=1542 [sic]; STOYANOV no. 26
AL; EVE (imp.); MoV; NBKM.
138. 1553 Ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μακεδών. Per Francesco Rampazerto [sic]: ad Instantia di M. Damian di Santa Maria
BH I no. 129.
BSB.
139. 1553 Ἀπόκοπος. Per Christophoro di Zanetti
BH IV no. 557; EISS II no. 1618
BAV.
140. 1553 Ἀπολώνιος. Per Christophoro di Zanetti
BH I no. 130
BSB; ÖNB.
141. 1553 Εὐχολόγιον. Παρὰ χριστοφόρῳ τῷ ζανέτῳ
BH IV no. 548; STC, 379
BL.
142. 1553 Ἐξήγησις τοῦ θαυμαστοῦ Υμβερίου [sic]. Per Christophoro di Zanetti
BH IV no. 558
BAV; BoL; ÖNB.
143. 1553 *Εἰρμολόγιον
See Γ. I. ZABIPΑΣ, *Νέα Ἑλλάς*, 382.
144. 1553 *Ὡρολόγιον
ILIOU, 318 no. 11; PH. MEYER, *Die theologische Litteratur*, 144 no. 8.
145. 1553 *Περὶ τῶν τῆς συγγενείας βαθμῶν
See Γ. I. ZABIPΑΣ, *Νέα Ἑλλάς*, 382.
146. [1553] Σπανός. [Per Christophoro di Zanetti]
BH III no. 105
BAV; BR.
147. 1554 Ἀπόστολος. Τετύπῳται...παρὰ Χριστοφόρῳ τῷ ζανέτῳ
UBW.
148. 1554 Διήγησις εἰς τὰς πράξεις...Βελισαρίου. Per Francesco Rampazetto
VRETOS II no. 45=BH I no. 132
ÖNB.
149. 1554 Ὡρολόγιον. Παρὰ Χριστοφόρου [sic] τοῦ Ζανέτου. Apud Franciscum Rampazetum
PAPADOPOULOS II no. 161
BNC.

150. 1554 Παρακλητική. Παρὰ χριστοφόρῳ τῷ ζανέτῳ
BH IV no. 563
AR?.
151. 1554 Τριώδιον. Πόνῳ χριστοφόρου τοῦ ζανέττου
PAPADOPOULOS II no. 163^a; PAPADOPOULOS B no. 4
AK (imp.); UBW.
152. 1555 *Εὐχολόγιον
ILIOU, 318 no. 12. See also N. B. ΤΩΜΑΔΑΚΗΣ, 'Η ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ, 15 note 4.
153. 1555 Πεντηκοστάριον. Παρὰ χριστοφόρῳ τῷ ζανέτῳ
PAPADOPOULOS II no. 166
AKou; UBW.
154. 1555 Ψαλτήριον τοῦ Δαβίδ. Παρὰ Χριστοφόρου [sic] τοῦ Ζανέττου
FINAZZI no. 88; LADAS no. 47; EISS II no. 2003
BA; BNM; GL.
155. 1555 Σεπτέμβριος. Παρὰ Χριστοφόρῳ τῷ ζανέτῳ
BH II no. 248
AHP; AKou; AP; BAr.
156. 1555 [Τριώδιον - Πεντηκοστάριον]. Ἐνετίησιν ἐν οἰκίᾳ Βασιλείου ἱερέως τοῦ βαλέριδος
(18 January)
Vasileios Valeris, ed.
KORDOSIS B no. 2
AP (imp.).
157. 1555 *Τυπικόν
ILIOU, 318 no. 14.
158. 1556 Τὸ παρὸν βιβλίον ἔναι ἡ Παλαιὰ τε καὶ Νέα Διαθήκη, ἥτοι τὸ ἄνθος. Per
Christoforo Zanetti
Ioannikios Kartanos, comp.
WL.
159. 1557 Σεπτέμβριος. Παρὰ Χριστοφόρῳ τῷ Ζανέτῳ
STOYANOV no. 31
TsIM.
160. 1557 Ὀκτώβριος. Παρὰ χριστοφόρῳ τῷ ζανέτῳ
BH II no. 249; DROULIA no. 123; STOYANOV no. 32
AKou (imp.); AP; BAr; TsIM.
161. 1557 Νοέμβριος. Παρὰ χριστοφόρῳ τῷ ζανέτῳ
BH II no. 250; STOYANOV no. 19=1547 [sic]
AK; BAr; HL; TsIM.
162. 1557 Δεκέμβριος. Παρὰ χριστοφόρῳ τῷ ζανέτῳ
STOYANOV no. 20=1547 [sic]
TsIM.
163. 1557 Φεβρουάριος. Παρὰ χριστοφόρῳ τῷ ζανέτῳ
BH II no. 251; STOYANOV no. 30=αφνε' /1551 [sic]
AHP (imp.); BAr; TsIM.

164. 1557-58 Βιβλίον ὀνομαζόμενον Θησαυρός...Δαμασκηνός ὁ ὑποδιάκονος καὶ στουδίτης.
Per Christofano di Zanetti, 1557
[Col.] Παρὰ χριστοφόρῳ τῷ ζανέτῳ, νεωστὶ μετὰ πολλῆς ἐπιμελείας διορθωθέν,
καὶ ἐντυπωθέν...1558
STOYANOV no. 29? See I. TRIFONOV, Ritor Teofan, 10-11
Library of Dr. Reiner Speck, Cologne, Germany; TsIM (imp.).
165. 1558 Βιβλίον τοῦ Μαρτίου. Ἐν οἰκίᾳ Ἀνδρέου σπινέλου, μονεταρίου τῆς ἐκλαμπρο-
τάτης ἀρχῆς τῶν ἐνετῶν (12 April)
Gregorios Malaxos, ed.
BH II no. 252; STOYANOV no. 33
AD; AK; AL; AX; BAr; SSA.
166. 1558 Βιβλίον τοῦ Ἀπριλλίου. Ἐν οἰκίᾳ Ἀνδρέου τοῦ σπινέλου, χρηματοποιοῦ τῆς
ἐκλαμπροτάτης ἀρχῆς τῶν βενετιῶν (12 April)
Gregorios Malaxos, ed.
BH II no. 253; STOYANOV no. 34
AD; AH; AK; AL; BAr; SSA; TsIM.
167. 1558 Βιβλίον τοῦ Μαΐου. Ἐν οἰκίᾳ Ἀνδρέου τοῦ σπινέλου, χρηματοποιοῦ τῆς
ἐκλαμπροτάτης ἀρχῆς τῶν βενετιῶν (June 12)
Gregorios Malaxos, ed.
BH II no. 254; DROULIA no. 125; STOYANOV no. 35
AHP; BAr; EVE; SSA; TsIM.
168. 1558 Αἱ ἀνίκουσαι ἀκολουθίαι...ἰουνίῳ. Ἐν οἰκίᾳ ἀνδρέου σπινέλου, χρηματοποιοῦ
τῆς ἐκλαμπροτάτης ἀρχῆς τῶν βενετιῶν (12 August)
Gregorios Malaxos, ed.
BH II no. 255; STOYANOV no. 36
BAr; MV; SSA; TsIM.
169. 1558 Βιβλίον περιέχον...ἀκολουθίας τῷ ἰουλίῳ. Ἐν οἰκίᾳ ἀνδρέου σπινέλου,
χρηματοποιοῦ τῆς ἐκλαμπροτάτης ἀρχῆς τῶν βενετιῶν (12 August)
Gregorios Malaxos, ed.
BH II no. 256; DROULIA no. 124.
AH; AHP; AP; BAr; EVE; MV; SSA.
170. 1558 Βιβλίον περιέχον...ἀκολουθίας τῷ αὐγούστῳ. Ἐν οἰκίᾳ ἀνδρέου τοῦ σπινέλου,
χρηματοποιοῦ τῆς ἐκλαμπροτάτης ἀρχῆς τῶν βενετιῶν (12 September)
Gregorios Malaxos, ed.
BH II no. 257
AH; AP; BAr; EVE (imp.); GL; MV; SSA.
171. 1558 Εὐχολόγιον. Παρὰ Χριστοφόρῳ τῷ ζανέτῳ
BH I no. 134; EISS III no. 3995; LAZAROU no. 250
BAV (imp.); BN; MO.
172. 1558 Νοέμβριος. Παρὰ χριστοφόρῳ τῷ ζανέτῳ
STOYANOV no. 37
TsIM.
173. 1558 Δεκέμβριος. Παρὰ χριστοφόρῳ τῷ ζανέτῳ
BH II no. 258; STOYANOV no. 38
ADo; AK; AL; AV; BAr; HL; TsIM.

174. 1558 Ἰανουάριος. Παρὰ χριστοφόρῳ τῷ ζανέτῳ
BH II no. 259
ADo; BAr.
175. [1558] Ὀκτώηχος. Παρὰ χριστοφόρῳ τῷ ζανέτῳ
BH I no. 135=III no. 109A=1543 [sic]; EISS III no. 4016; LAYTON no. 45
BAV; BE; BN; NYPL.
176. 1558 [Παρακλητική]. Παρὰ χριστοφόρῳ τῷ ζανέτῳ
PAPADOPOULOS II no. 178
AD (imp.).
177. 1558 * Τριώδιον
ILIOU, 318 no. 16.
178. 1559 Ἀπόστολος. Παρὰ χριστοφόρῳ τῷ ζανέτῳ
LADAS no. 49; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 179
GL (imp.); PIO.
179. 1559 **Εὐχολόγιον. Τυπ. Πέτρου Ζανέττι
LADAS no. 50=1559 [sic, read 1589]
180. 1559 Ὁρολόγιον. [Cristoforo Zanetti mark on title page]
ILIOU no. 8; LADAS no. 52
BAV.
181. 1559 Παρακλητική. Παρὰ χριστοφόρῳ τῷ ζανέτῳ
BH I no. 136; STC, 379; STOYANOV no. 39
BL; BSB; NBKM.
182. 1559 Τριώδιον. Πόνῳ χριστοφόρου τοῦ ζανέττου
BH IV no. 594; STOYANOV no. 40
AHP; AI; AKou; NBKM.
183. 1559-60 Παρακλητική. Ὑπὸ Ἀνδρέου τοῦ Σπινέλου· δι' ἐξόδου κυροῦ, Νικολάου τοῦ
κούβλη
Nikolaos Malaxos, ed.
BH I no. 137; DROULIA no. 127; LADAS no. 51
BSB.
184. 1560 Διδαχαὶ Ἀλεξίου ἱερέως τοῦ Ῥαρτούρου. Ἐν οἰκίᾳ ἀλεξίου ἱερέως τοῦ
Ῥαρτούρου
BH I no. 138; ADAMS R no. 430; DROULIA no 126; LAZAROU no. 74; STC,
553
BL; BN; CU(Magd); CUL; EVE; GL; HL; MO; UBJ; VMB.
185. 1560 Εὐχολόγιον. Παρὰ χριστοφόρῳ τῷ ζανέτῳ
PAPADOPOULOS II no. 200; STOYANOV no. 41
AKou; TsIM.
186. 1560 Ἱερὸν Εὐαγγέλιον. Παρὰ Ἰακώβου τοῦ Λιογκίνου
Symeon Verivelos, ed.
BH IV no. 599; LADAS no. 53
AL; AP; ASt; EVE; HL (imp.).

187. [1560?] [Ὁκτώηχος]. Παρὰ Χριστοφόρῳ τῷ ζανέτῳ
PAPADOPOULOS II no. 200^a; STC, 379
BL (imp.).
188. 1560 [Πεντηκοστάριον]. Παρὰ χριστοφόρῳ τῷ ζανέτῳ
PAPADOPOULOS II no. 201
AKou (imp.).
189. 1560 Τὸ Θεῖον καὶ Ἱερὸν Εὐαγγέλιον. Παρὰ χριστοφόρῳ τῷ ζανέτῳ
PAPADOPOULOS II no. 199; PAVLOPOULOS no. A 61
AD; ASkP; ML.
190. 1561 Βιβλίον ὀνομαζόμενον Θησαυρός...Δαμασκηνός...στουδίτης. Per Christofano di
Zanetti
PAPADOPOULOS II no. 209; ADAMS D no. 5; STC, 208
AD; AKou; BL; CUL.
191. 1561 Βιβλίον τοῦ Σεπτεμβρίου μηνός. Τύπος Κουνάδου [i.e. Giacomo Leoncini]
Π. Δ. ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΑΚΗΣ, in *Μεσσηνιακὰ Γράμματα*, 1(1956)402
LV.
192. 1561 Ὁρολόγιον. Παρὰ Ἰακώβου τοῦ Λεογκίνου
PAPADOPOULOS II no. 210
EVE.
193. 1561 [Τριώδιον]. Πόνῳ χριστοφόρου τοῦ ζανέττου μετὰ πλείστης ἀναγνώσεως καὶ κα-
τορθώσεως (October)
BH IV no. 605; ADAMS L no. 854=1561-62 [sic., read 1591-92].
PVJ (lost).
194. 1562 [Ἀπόστολος]. Παρὰ χριστοφόρῳ τῷ ζανέτῳ [sic]
PAPADOPOULOS II no. 212^a
AKav (imp.).
195. 1562 Βιβλίον ὀνομαζόμενον Θησαυρός...Δαμασκηνός...στουδίτης. Per Christofano di
Zanetti
LADAS no. 54; STOYANOV no. 42
K. Staikos Collection, Kifissia, Greece; NBKM (imp.).
196. 1562 Διήγησις εἰς τὰς πράξεις...βελισσαρίου. Per Francesco Rampazetto
BH II no. 260
BN.
197. 1562 *Ἡμπερίου Ἱστορία
BH I no. 139=BRUNET IV col. 647
198. 1562 Εὐχολόγιον. Παρὰ Χριστοφόρῳ τῷ ζανέτῳ
SKLAVENITES no. 4; EISS III no. 3996
BAV.
199. 1562 Σπανός. Παρὰ χριστοφόρῳ τῷ ζανέτῳ
BH IV no. 613
UBT.

200. 1563? *[Εὐαγγελιστάριον, Πασχάλιον καὶ Ἡμερολόγιον]
PAPADOPOULOS I no. 1111; See K. Δ. MEPTZIOS, Ὁκτὼ ἄδειαι, 172, 175–76.
201. 1563 Ὁρολόγιον. Παρὰ Φραγκίσκου τοῦ Ῥαμπαζέτου. Ἀναλώμασι μὲν, Ἰακώβου τοῦ
Λεογκίνου
Gregorios Malaxos, ed.
BH IV no. 616; STC, 379
BL; BSB; NSL; ÖNB.
202. 1563 Νικήτα φιλοσόφου τοῦ καὶ Δαβίδ ἐρμηνεία εἰς τὰ τετράστιχα...Γρηγορίου τοῦ
Ναζιανζηνοῦ...Apud Franciscum Zanetum
Zacharias Skordylis, ed.
BH I no. 140; BH IV no. 617 (variant ed.); ADAMS G no. 1153; DELIALES no.
617; FINAZZI no. 92; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 218 (variant ed.); STC, 313
BL; BNM; BoL; CU(Jes); DV (imp.); GL.
203. 1563 Τὸ παρὸν Ὁρολόγιον...Ἐτυπώθη...ἐν οἰκίᾳ Ἀνδρέου τοῦ Σπινέλλου (6 July)
Zacharias Skordylis, ed.
BH I no. 141
BoL; BSB.
204. 1563 Τὸ Θεῖον καὶ Ἱερὸν Εὐαγγέλιον. Παρὰ χριστοφόρῳ τῷ ζανέτῳ
BH IV no. 615
AH.
205. 1564 Αἴσωπος. Παρὰ τοῦ Ἰακώβου Λεονκίνου
UBT.
206. 1564 Ἀνθολόγιον. Ἐν οἰκίᾳ Ἱπολίτου Βαλέριδος (20 August)
Zacharias Skordylis and Leontios Monghistos, eds.
PAPADOPOULOS II no. 220^a
APh.
207. 1564 Ἄνθος τῶν Χαρίτων. Παρὰ Ἰακώβου Λεογκίνου
BH IV no. 624
Moskovskaia Sinodal'naia Biblioteka?
208. 1564 Ἀπολώνιος. Παρὰ τοῦ Ἰακώβου Λεονκίνου
BH IV no. 622
UBT.
209. 1564 Εὐχολόγιον. Ἐν οἰκίᾳ κυρίου Ἱπολίτου τοῦ Βαλέριδος (8 November)
Leontios Monghistos, ed.
BH IV no. 620; PHOSKOLOS B no. 5; LADAS no. 56
AD; AL; BPF.
210. 1564 Πένθος θανάτου. Παρὰ τοῦ Ἰακώβου Λεονκίνου
BH IV no. 623
UBT.
211. 1564 Περὶ τῶν τῆς συγγενείας βαθμῶν...Ζαχαρίου ἱερέως Σκορδυλίου... Ἐν οἰκίᾳ
Ἰακώβου τοῦ Λεονγκίνου
Zacharias Skordylis, comp. and ed.
BH II no. 142; FINAZZI no. 93
BAV; BNM; NSL.

212. 1564 Ζαχαρίου ιερέως...Περὶ τῶν τῆς συγγενείας βαθμῶν. Ἐν οἰκίᾳ Ἀνδρέου τοῦ σπινέλλου
Zacharias Skordylis, comp. and ed.
PAPADOPOULOS II no. 1005
BoL.
213. 1565 *Ἀπόκοπος τοῦ μπεργαεῖ [sic]... Ἐν Βενεταίαις, ἀφ' ἑξέ' (1595) [sic]
Grässe I, 161.
214. 1565? Βιβλίον ὀνομαζόμενον Θησαυρός...Δαμασκηνὸς ὁ ὑποδιάκονος καὶ στουδίτης
[Mark of Giacomo Leoncini on title page]
PAPADOPOULOS II no. 1006
BoL (imp.).
215. 1565 *Ὀκτώηχος. Ἐγγὺς Ἰακώβου τοῦ Λεογκίνου.
Symeon Verivelos, ed.
BH II no. 143
No longer at the Wilhelms-Gymnasium, Munich.
216. 1565 Πεντηκοστάριον. Ἐγγὺς Ἰακώβου τοῦ Λεογκίνου
Symeon Verivelos, ed.
SBD.
217. 1565 Τριώδιον. Ἐγγὺς Ἰακώβου τοῦ Λεογκίνου
Symeon Verivelos, ed.
BH II no. 144; STC, 380
AHP; BL.
218. 1566 Βιβλίον τοῦ Σεπτεμβρίου. Αἰτήσει, κυρίου Ἰακώβου τοῦ Λεογκίνου (27 November)
Gregorios Malaxos, ed.
BH IV no. 630; DROULIA no. 129; EISS III no. 4012; PAVLOPOULOS no. A 30
AK; AP; BAV; BN; ML; UBT; VSL.
219. 1566 Βιβλίον τοῦ Ὀκτωβρίου. Αἰτήσει, κυρίου Ἰακώβου τοῦ Λεογκίνου (28 January)
Gregorios Malaxos, ed.
BH IV no. 631; DROULIA no. 130; EISS III no. 4012
AL; BAV; BN; UBT; VSL.
220. 1566 *Εὐχολόγιον. Ἀναλώμασι δὲ κυρίου Ἰακώβου τοῦ Λεογκίνου
Symeon Verivelos, ed.
BH II no. 146=IV no. 632.
221. 1566 *Ὀκτώηχος. Παρὰ Χριστοφόρῳ τῷ ζανέτῳ
ILIOU nos. 9 and 36; LADAS no. 57.
222. 1566-67 Βιβλίον τοῦ Νοεμβρίου. Αἰτήσει, κυρίου Ἰακώβου τοῦ Λεογκίνου (8 April)
Gregorios Malaxos, ed.
BH IV no. 639; EISS III no. 4012
AL; AP; ASt; BAV; BN.
223. 1567 *Βιβλίον ὀνομαζόμενον Θησαυρός...Δαμασκηνοῦ Στουδίτου.
VRETOS I, 13 note.

224. 1567 Corona pretiosa...Στέφανος χρύσιμος [sic]. Appresso Francesco Rampazetto
BH IV no. 642; DROULIA no. 131; FINAZZI no. 94
BNM; VSL.
225. 1567 Διήγησης [sic] ... Βελισαρίου. Παρὰ Ἰακώβου τοῦ Λεογκίνου
LAYTON no. 26
GL.
226. 1567 Ἱστορία φιλαργυρίας μετὰ τῆς περιφανίας [Τζάνε Βεντράμου]...Παρὰ
Φρανκίσκου τοῦ Ραμπαζέτου
LADAS no. 58
Library of the late G. Zoras, Athens, Greece.
227. 1567 Τὸ παρὸν βιβλίον...παλαιὰ τε καὶ νέα διαθήκη ἦτοι τὸ ἄνθος. Αἰτήσκει κυρίου
ἰακώβου τοῦ λεογκίνου.
Ioannikios Kartanos, comp. and tr.
BH II no. 145=IV no. 641
BoL; EVE (3 cop. imp.); UBT (lost).
228. 1567 Πεντηκοστάριον. Παρὰ χριστοφόρῳ τῷ ζανέτῳ
BH IV no. 640; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 232
AD.
229. 1568 Ἀνθολόγιον. Ἐν οἰκίᾳ μὲν κῦ Ἰππολίτου [sic] Βαλέριδος (1 March)
Ioannes Nathanael, ed.
PAPADOPOULOS II no. 232^a; STOYANOV no. 45
TsIM.
230. 1568 Βιβλίον τοῦ Μαρτίου. Ἐν οἰκίᾳ μὲν κυρίου Ἰππολίτου Βαλέριδος (27 March)
Ioannes Nathanael, ed.
BH IV no. 650; DROULIA no. 132; PAVLOPOULOS no. A 41
AL; AP; ML; VSL.
231. 1568 Βιβλίον τοῦ Ἀπριλλίου. Ἐν οἰκίᾳ μὲν κυρίου Ἰππολίτου Βαλέριδος (April 24)
Ioannes Nathanael, ed.
BH IV no. 651; DROULIA no. 133
AP; AR; VSL.
232. 1568 Βιβλίον τοῦ Μαΐου. Ἐν οἰκίᾳ μὲν κυρίου Ἰππολίτου Βαλέριδος (May 16)
Ioannes Nathanael, ed.
BH IV no. 652; DROULIA no. 134
Ado; AP; AR; BC; VSL.
233. 1568 Βιβλίον τοῦ Ἰουνίου. Ἐν οἰκίᾳ μὲν κυρίου Ἰππολίτου Βαλέριδος (June 15)
Ioannes Nathanael, ed.
BH IV no. 653
AR?.
234. 1568 Βιβλίον τοῦ Ἰουλίου. Ἐν οἰκίᾳ μὲν κυρίου Ἰππολίτου Βαλέριδος (July 15)
Ioannes Nathanael, ed.
BH IV no. 654; LAZAROU no. 449
AD (imp.); ASt; MO (imp.).

235. 1568 Βιβλίον τοῦ Αὐγούστου. Ἐν οἰκίᾳ μὲν κυρίου Ἰππολίτου Βαλέριδος (August 28)
Ioannes Nathanael, ed.
BH IV no. 655; LAZAROU no. 449
AK; AR; ASt; MO.
236. 1568 Βιβλίον τοῦ Σεπτεμβρίου. Ἐν οἰκίᾳ μὲν κυρίου Ἰππολίτου Βαλέριδος
Ioannes Nathanael, ed.
LADAS no. 59
VSL.
237. 1568 Βιβλίον τοῦ Ὀκτωβρίου. Ἐν οἰκίᾳ μὲν κυρίου Ἰππολίτου Βαλέριδος
Ioannes Nathanael, ed.
LADAS no. 60
VSL.
238. 1568 Βιβλίον τοῦ Δεκεμβρίου. Αἰτήσῃ, κυρίου Ἰακώβου τοῦ Λεογκίνου (28
September)
BH II no. 147=IV no. 656; EISS III no. 4012
AL; BAV; BN.
239. 1568 Βιβλίον ὀνομαζόμενον Θυσαυρός [sic]. Δαμασκηνὸς ὁ ὑποδιάκονος καὶ
στουδίτης. Αἰτήσῃ κυρίου Ἰακώβου τοῦ λεογκίνου
Gregorios Malaxos, ed.
BH IV no. 657; STOYANOV no. 47
AP; BSB; TsIM.
240. [1568?] Βιβλίον πρόχειρον...ἀριθμητικὴν...λογαριαστικὴν. [Mark of Cristoforo Zanetti
on the title page]
Emmanouel Glyzounis, comp.
PAPADOPOULOS II no. 235
AL (imp.).
241. 1568? *[Βίος τῆς Παναγίας]
Nikolaos Papadopoulos, comp.
See N. M. ΠΑΝΑΓΙΩΤΑΚΗΣ in *Θησαυρίσματα*, 16(1979)151 no. 3.
242. 1568? *Βίος τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ μεγάλου Νικολάου.
Nikolaos Papadopoulos, comp.
See Φ. ΗΛΙΟΥ, *Σημειώσεις*, 120, 123–24; N. M. ΠΑΝΑΓΙΩΤΑΚΗΣ in
Θησαυρίσματα, 16(1979)151 no. 3.
243. 1568 Εἰρμολόγιον. Παρὰ Ἰακώβου τοῦ Λεογκίνου
BH II no. 148; DELIALES no. 286=1568? [sic, read 1549]
BN.
244. 1568 *Ὡρολόγιον
ILIOU, 319 no. 20; SATHAS, 142 note 2.
245. 1568 *Ὀκτώηχος. Χρ. Ζανέτος
ILIOU, 318 no. 19.
246. 1568 *Πεντηκοστάριον
LADAS no. 61; CAVE II, 35.

247. 1568 Τριώδιον. Παρὰ Χριστοφόρῳ τῷ Ζανέτῳ
ILIOU no. 11; LADAS no. 62; PAPAZOTOS no. 2
MoV (imp.).
248. 1568–69 Βιβλίον τοῦ Ἰαννουαρίου. Αἰτήσῃ, κυρίου Ἰακώβου τοῦ Λεογγίνου (6 May)
BH IV no. 662; EISS III no. 4012
AL; AP; BAV; BC.
249. 1568–69 Βιβλίον τοῦ Φευρουαρίου. Ἐν οἰκίᾳ κυρίου Ἰακώβου τοῦ Λεογγίνου
BH IV no. 663; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 238; EISS III no. 4012
AG (imp.); AL; BAV.
250. 1569 Ἀπόστολος. Ἐν οἰκίᾳ κυρίου Ἰακώβου τοῦ Λεογγίνου
Ioannes Nathanael, ed.
LADAS no. 64; DROULIA no. 135; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 236
AL (2 cop.); GL (imp.).
251. 1569 Βιβλίον πρόχειρον...λογαριαστικὴν. Appresso Francesco Rampazetto, Ad
instantia di M. Manoli Glizoni
Emmanouel Glyzounis, comp.
BH IV no. 673; FINAZZI no. 95
AL; BNM.
252. 1569 Βιβλίον τοῦ Μαρτίου. Ἐν οἰκίᾳ κυρίου Ἰακώβου τοῦ Λεογγίνου
Ioannes Nathanael, ed.
BH IV no. 664; EISS III no. 4012
AI; AK; AL; AP; BAV; BC; EVE; MV.
253. 1569 Βιβλίον τοῦ Ἀπριλλίου. Ἐν οἰκίᾳ κυρίου Ἰακώβου τοῦ Λεογγίνου
Ioannes Nathanael, ed.
BH IV no. 665; EISS III no. 4012
BAV; BC; BoL; MV.
254. 1569 Βιβλίον τοῦ Μαΐου. Ἐν οἰκίᾳ κυρίου Ἰακώβου τοῦ Λεογγίνου
Ioannes Nathanael, ed.
BH IV no. 666; EISS III no. 4012
AG; AI; BAV; BN; MV.
255. 1569 Βιβλίον τοῦ Ἰουνίου. Ἐν οἰκίᾳ κυρίου Ἰακώβου τοῦ Λεογγίνου
Ioannes Nathanael, ed.
BH IV no. 667; EISS III no. 4012
BAV; BC; BN.
256. 1569 Βιβλίον τοῦ Ἰουλίου. Ἐν οἰκίᾳ κυρίου Ἰακώβου τοῦ Λεογγίνου
Ioannes Nathanael, ed.
BH IV no. 668; EISS III no. 4012
AL; BAV; BN.
257. 1569 Βιβλίον τοῦ Αὐγούστου. Ἐν οἰκίᾳ κυρίου Ἰακώβου τοῦ Λεογγίνου
Ioannes Nathanael, ed.
BH IV no. 669; EISS III no. 4012
AD; AK; BAV; BC; BN.
258. 1569 Ἱστορία τῆς Σωσάννης [Μάρκου Δεφαράνα]. Αἰτήσῃ Ἰακώβου τοῦ Λεογγίνου
BH IV no. 672
UBT.

259. 1569 Ὡρολόγιον [sic]. Ἐγγὺς ἱακώβου τοῦ λεογκίνου
Symeon Verivelos, ed.
PAPADOPOULOS II no. 237; EISS III no. 4006
BAV.
260. 1569 Ὡρολόγιον. Παρὰ Χριστοφόρῳ τῷ Ζανέτῳ
UBI.
261. 1569 *Παρακλητική. Ἐν οἰκίᾳ [Ἰακώβου τοῦ Λεογκίνου]
Ioannes Nathanael, ed.
Known from 1580 edition see PAPADOPOULOS II no. 239 who attributes it
to the press of Hippolitos Valeris.
262. 1569 *Περὶ τῶν τῆς συγγενείας βαθμῶν...Ζαχαρίου Ἱερέως Σκορδυλίου...Μαραφαρᾶ
VRETOS I no. 16.
263. 1570 Βιβλίον ὀνομαζόμενον Θυσσαυρός [sic]...Δαμασκηνὸς ὁ ὑποδιάκονος καὶ
στουδίτης...Αἰτήσει κυρίου Ἰακώβου τοῦ λεογκίνου
Gregorios Malaxos, ed.
BH II no. 151
BAV; BN; BNC; EVE; UBT.
264. 1570 Εὐχολόγιον. Ἀναλώμασι δὲ κυρίου Ἰακώβου τοῦ Λεογκίνου
Symeon Verivelos, ed.
PAPADOPOULOS B no. 6
AV.
265. 1570 *Παρακλητική. Χρ. Ζανέτος
ILIOU 319, no. 22.
266. 1570-71 Εὐχολόγιον. Ἐν οἰκίᾳ Κυρίου Ἱππολίτου τοῦ Βαλέριδος, ἀναλώμασι μὲν τοῖς
αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ Κυρίου Λουκᾶ τοῦ σουγδουρὶ τοῦ ἐξ Ἰωαννίνων (10 December)
Ioannes Nathanael, ed.
BH IV no. 680; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 246; LAZAROU no. 251
AL; MO (imp.); PIO.
267. 1571 Βιβλίον...περιέχον τῆς μάλτας πολιορκίαν [Ἀντωνίου Ἀχέλη]. Παρὰ
Χριστοφόρῳ τῷ Ζανέτῳ
BH IV no. 683
EVE.
268. 1571 *Εὐχολόγιον
ILIOU 319, no. 23.
269. 1573 *Ἀπόστολος. Ἐν οἰκίᾳ κυρίου Ἰακώβου τοῦ Λεογγίνου
Ioannes Nathanael, ed?
ILIOU no. 14; LADAS no. 67.
270. 1573 Πορτολάνος. In Venetia, nel mese di Zugno [Cristoforo Zanetti]
Device of Augustin Gemelli on the title page
Demetrios Tagias, comp.
BH II no. 152
AXe; BAV; UBT.

271. 1573 Τριώδιον. Παρὰ Ἰακώβω τῷ Λεογκίνω
[Col.] Ἐγγὺς Ἰακώβου τοῦ Λεογκίνου
Ioannes Nathanael and Symeon Verivelos eds.
BH IV no. 689
AR?
272. 1574 Ὡρολόγιον. Παρὰ Ἰακώβω τῷ Λεογκίνω
Ioannes Nathanael, ed.
BH II no. 154
GL.
273. 1574 Ἡ Θεία Λειτουργία μετὰ ἐξηγήσεων διαφόρων διδασκάλων. Appresso Iacomo
Leoncini
Ioannes Nathanael, comp. and tr.
BH II no. 268; DROULIA no. 136; LAZAROU no. 387; STOYANOV no.
48=1573 [sic]
AH; AI; AK; AKou (imp.); AL; APh; ASHA; AX; AXe; EVE; MO (imp.); TsIM.
274. 1574 *Τριώδιον. Ἐγγὺς Ἰακώβου τοῦ Λεογκίνου
Symeon Verivelos, ed.
ILIOU no. 12.
275. 1575 Ἱερὸν Εὐαγγέλιον. Ἐν οἰκίᾳ Χριστοφόρῳ τῷ ζανέτῳ
Theophanes Logaras, ed.
BH II no. 155; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 256
AD; AL; ASHA; AXe; EVE.
276. 1575 Ἱερὸν Εὐαγγέλιον. Παρὰ Ἰακώβου τοῦ Λεογκίνου
Theophanes Logaras, ed.
BH IV no. 700; DELIALES no. 305; EISS III no. 3999; STOYANOV no. 49
BAV; DV (imp.); EVE (2 cop.); NBKM.
277. 1575 Πεντηκοστάριον. Ἐγγὺς Ἰακώβου τοῦ Λεογκίνου
Symeon Verivelos, ed.
MANOUSAKAS no. 3; LADAS no. 69; LAZAROU no. 522
AA; MO.
278. 1575 Περὶ τῶν τῆς συγγενείας βαθμὸν [sic]...Ζαχαρίου ἱερέως σκορδυλίου. Ἐν οἰκίᾳ
Ἰακώβου τοῦ Λεογκίνου
PAPADOPOULOS II no. 257
GL.
279. 1575 *[Αἱ Θεῖαι Λειτουργίαι] Παρὰ Χριστοφόρῳ τῷ Τζανέτῳ
Theophanes Logaras, ed.
LADAS no. 68.
280. Pre-1577 Ψαλτήριον. Παρὰ χριστοφόρῳ τῷ ζανέτῳ
LADAS no. 89=1587 [sic]. See Chapter III note 5
GL (imp.).
281. 1577 Διήγησις εἰς τὰς πράξεις τοῦ περιβοήτου στρατηγοῦ τῶν ῥωμαίων, μεγάλου
Βελισαρίου. Παρὰ χριστοφόρῳ τῷ Ζανέτῳ
BH IV no. 721
BUW.

282. 1577 Ἱστορία τοῦ ῥέ τῆς σκοτζίας μετὴν ῥίγησα τῆς ἐγκλητέρας. Παρὰ Χριστοφόρῳ
τῷ Ζανέτῳ
BH II no. 271=IV no. 722
BoL.
283. 1577 Τὸ παρὸν Τυπικὸν τετύπῳται...ἐν οἰκίᾳ Ἰακώβου τοῦ Λεογκίνου
Theophanes Logaras, ed.
BH II no. 270; PHOSKOLOS A no. 6; LADAS no. 71; DROULIA no. 137
AKo; AP; BAV; EVE; GL; PCGSA.
284. 1577 Ψαλτήριον. Παρὰ Χριστοφόρῳ τῷ ζανέτῳ
PAPADOPOULOS II no. 259; EISS II no. 2004
BAp.
285. 1578 Ἀνθολόγιον. Ἐν οἰκίᾳ μὲν Χριστοφόρου τοῦ τζανέτου
Theophanes Logaras, ed.
ILIOU no. 13; LADAS no. 72; EISS III no. 3992; STOYANOV no. 51
BAV; TsIM.
286. 1578 Ἀπόστολος. Ἐν οἰκίᾳ κυρίου Ἰακώβου τοῦ Λεογγίνου
Title page=1573
Ioannes Nathanael, ed?
ILIOU no. 14; LADAS no. 67
GL.
287. 1578 Ὀκτώηχος. Ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ τοῦ εὐγενεστάτου βεργῇ
Nikephoros Trikkas [Parasches] ed.
BH II no. 158
BN.
288. 1578 Τὸ παρὸν Εὐχολόγιον ἐτυπώθη...ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ τοῦ εὐγενεστάτου κυρίου Ἀντωνίου
τοῦ Βεργῇ
Nikephoros Trikkas [Parasches] ed.
BH II no. 272; EISS III no. 3997
AI; AP; BAr (lost); BCRC.
289. 1578 Τὸ παρὸν Ψαλτήριον Τετύπῳται...ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ τοῦ βεργῇ
Theophanes Logaras, ed.
BH II no. 159; EISS III no. 4020=1576 [sic]
BAV; BN.
290. 1578 Αἱ Θεῖαι Λειτουργίαι. Ἐν οἰκίᾳ Ἰακώβῳ τῷ Λεονγγίνῳ
Theophanes Logaras, ed.
BH II no. 157; STOYANOV no. 50
AKou; AP; BN; TsIM.
291. 1579? [Ἀνθολόγιον. Giacomo Leoncini?]
STOYANOV no. 52=A. Spinelli [sic]. See Chapter III, note 82
NBKM (imp.).
292. 1579 Ἀπολόνιος. Παρὰ Χριστοφόρῳ τῷ Ζανέτῳ
BH IV no. 734
UBT.

293. 1579 Ἀπόστολος. Παρὰ Χριστοφόρῳ τῷ Ζανέτῳ
BH II no. 161
BN.
294. 1579 Ὀκτώηχος. Ἐτυπώθη...ἐν οἰκίᾳ Ἰακώβου τ[οῦ] Λεογκίνου
Theophanes Logaras, ed.
LADAS no. 73; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 260^a
NLB.
295. 1579 Πεντηκοστάριον. Apud Iacobum Leoncinum
Symeon Verivelos, ed.
Title page=1565
SKLAVENTITES no. 5; VRETOS I no. 18=BH II no. 162
BAV.
296. 1579 Σπανός. Παρὰ Χριστοφόρῳ τῷ Ζανέτῳ
BH IV no. 735
UBT.
297. 1580 Βιβλίον ὀνομαζόμενον Θησαυρός...Δαμασκηνὸς ὁ ὑποδιάκονος καὶ
στουδίτης...Παρὰ Χριστοφόρῳ τῷ Ζανέτῳ
PAPADOPOULOS II no. 263; PAVLOPOULOS no. B 147
AL; ASHA (imp.); BUW; EVE (imp.); ML.
298. 1580 Εὐχολόγιον. Ἐτυπώθη...ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ τοῦ τιμιωτάτου, τῷ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Βαπτιστοῦ
τοῦ ρικενίου
Venediktos Episkopoulos, ed.
LADAS no. 74
GL.
299. 1580 Εὐχολόγιον. Ἐτυπώθη...ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ τοῦ εὐγενενεστάτου κυρίου Χριστοφόρου τοῦ
Ζανέτου
Theophanes Logaras, ed.
BEES I no. 127
MM; UPL.
300. [1580] Ὠρολόγιον. Παρὰ Χριστοφόρῳ τῷ Ζανέτῳ
BH II no. 164
GL.
301. 1580 Παρακλητική. [Mark of Giacomo Leoncini]
Colophon dated 1569: Ἐν οἰκίᾳ [κυρίου Ἰακώβου τοῦ Λεογκίνου]
Ioannes Nathanael, ed.
PAPADOPOULOS II no. 239 attributes to the press of H. Valeris
AKa (imp.)
302. 1580 [Αἱ Θεῖαι Λειτουργίαι] Παρὰ Χριστοφόρῳ τῷ ζανέτῳ
Theophanes Logaras, ed.
ADAMS L no. 845; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 263bis
CU(Joh) imp.

303. 1580 Τριώδιον. Ἐγγὺς Ἰωάννου βαπτιστοῦ τοῦ ῥικαίνου
Dionysios hierodiakonos [Katelianos]
BH IV no. 739
AI; AKou; APh (imp.); DSB.
304. 1580 Τριώδιον. Παρὰ Ἰακώβῳ τῷ Λεονγκίνῳ
Title page: ἐπιδιορθώσει κυρίου θύτου τοῦ Ναθαναήλου...1580
[Col.]: ἐπιμελεία...Συμεών...βεριβέλου...1574
ILIOU no. 15; LADAS no. 75; EISS III no. 4022
ADo; BAV.
305. 1581 Ὡρολόγιον. Ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ τοῦ τιμιωτάτου, κυρίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ βαπτιστοῦ τοῦ
ῥικενίου
BH II no. 165
BAV; BL (destroyed in World War II); BN.
306. 1581 Ἱερὸν Εὐαγγέλιον. Ἐν οἰκίᾳ Χριστοφόρῳ τῷ Ζανέτῳ
Theophanes Logaras, ed.
BH II no. 273; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 266
EVE.
307. 1581 **Ἱερὸν Εὐαγγέλιον. Παρὰ Ἀνδρέᾳ τῷ Ἰουλιανῷ
ESSLING no. 204=1581 [sic, read 1681].
308. 1581 Μὴν Σεπτέμβριος. Παρὰ κυρίῳ Ἰωάννῃ Βαπτιστῇ τῷ ῥικαινῷ
Ioannes Vonapheus, ed.
BH II no. 274=IV no. 750; STOYANOV no. 53
BC; EVE; GL; TsIM.
309. 1581 Μὴν Ὀκτώβριος. Παρὰ κυρίῳ Ἰωάννῃ Βαπτιστῇ τῷ ῥικαινῷ
Gregorios Malaxos, ed.
BH IV no. 751; LADAS no. 76; LAZAROU no. 449; STOYANOV no. 54
BC; EVE (imp.); MO; NBKM.
310. 1581 Μὴν Νοέμβριος. Παρὰ κυρίῳ Ἰωάννῃ Βαπτιστῇ τῷ ῥικαινῷ
Gregorios Malaxos, ed.
BH IV no. 752; DROULIA no. 139; LAZAROU no. 449; STOYANOV no. 55
AL; AP; BC; MO; TsIM.
311. 1581 Μὴν Δεκέμβριος. Παρὰ Ἰωάννῃ βαπτιστῇ τῷ ρικαινῷ
Gregorios Malaxos, ed.
STOYANOV no. 56=1581 but see 1582 Μὴν ὁ Δεκέμβριος
312. 1581 Παρακλητική. Τετύπεται...ἐγγὺς Ἰωάννου βαπτιστοῦ τοῦ ῥικαίνου
Dionysios hierodiakonos [Katelianos] ed.
BH IV no. 749
Moskovskaia Sinodal'naia Biblioteka?
313. c. 1581 Περὶ τῶν τῆς συγγενείας βαθμῶν...παρὰ Ζαχαρίου ἱερέως σκορδυλίου...[Spinelli
mark at end. Printed by Z. B. Tauroceni]
BH II no. 199=[1593 sic]; STC, 752=[1580?]
BAV; BL (destroyed in World War II); UBT.
314. 1582 Ἀνθολόγιον. Ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ τοῦ εὐγένεστατου [sic] ἄρχοντος, κυρίου, Χριστοφόρου τοῦ τζανέτου
Nikolaos hiereus from Cyprus, ed.
BH IV no. 756; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 268
AL.

315. 1582 **Μὴν Ἀπρίλλιος...παρὰ Φραγκίσκῳ τῷ Ἰουλιανῷ
STOYANOV no. 57 [sic, read 1592]
316. 1582 Μὴν ὁ Δεκέμβριος. Τετύπῳται...παρὰ κυρίῳ Ἰωάννῃ βαπτιστῇ τῷ ρικαινῷ
Gregorios Malaxos, ed.
BH IV no. 759; DROULIA no. 140; LADAS no. 78; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 271
AP; BC; TsIM; VSL.
317. 1582 Μὴν Ἰαννουάριος. Τετύπῳται ...εἰς τὸ σημεῖον τοῦ εὐαγγελισμοῦ τῆς μακαρίας καὶ ἀειπαρθένου θ[εοτό]κου Μαρίας, παρὰ κυρίου Ἰωάννου βαπτιστοῦ, τοῦ ρικαινοῦ
Gregorios Malaxos, ed.
BH IV no. 757
AL; AP; GL.
318. 1582 Μὴν Φεβρουάριος. Τετύπῳται ... παρὰ κυρίῳ Ἰωάννῃ βαπτιστῇ τῷ ρικαινῷ
Gregorios Malaxos, ed.
BH IV no. 758; PAVLOPOULOS no. A 33
AKou; AP; BC; MO.
319. 1583 Ἀπόστολος. Παρὰ τῶν κληρονόμων, Χριστοφόρου, τῷ ζανέτω
KORDOSIS B no. 3
AL; AP.
320. 1584 Ἀπόστολος. Ἐτυπώθη...εἰς τὸ σημεῖον τοῦ εὐαγγελισμοῦ [sic] τῆς μακαρίας καὶ ἀειπαρθένου θ[εοτό]κου Μαρίας παρὰ κυρίου Ἰωάννου βαπτιστοῦ, τοῦ ρικαινοῦ
Gregorios Malaxos, ed.
BH IV no. 778
AD; AL; PCGSA (imp.).
321. 1584 Εἰρμολόγιον. Ἐτυπώθη...ἐκ τῶν τύπων τοῦ Κουνάδου
BH II no. 169; DROULIA no. 141; FINAZZI no. 97
BNM; EVE; GL; HL.
322. 1584 Ὁρολόγιον. Ἐτυπώθη...ἐκ τῶν τύπων τοῦ Κουνάδου
BH II no. 277; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 275
BJ; EVE.
323. 1584 Ὁρολόγιον. Ἐτυπώθη...παρὰ κυρίου Ἰωάννου βαπτιστοῦ τοῦ ρικαινοῦ
Gregorios Malaxos, ed.
UBT.
324. 1584 Μὴν Μάρτιος. Τετύπῳται...εἰς τὸ σημεῖον τοῦ εὐαγγελισμοῦ τῆς μακαρίας καὶ ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας, παρὰ κυρίου Ἰωάννου βαπτιστοῦ, τοῦ ρικαινοῦ
Gregorios Malaxos, ed.
BH IV no. 779; LADAS no. 82; STOYANOV no. 58
AD; NBKM; PCGSA.
325. 1584 Ὀκτώηχος. Ἐτυπώθη...εἰς τὸ σημεῖον τοῦ εὐαγγελισμοῦ τῆς μακαρίας καὶ ἀειπαρθένου θεοτόκου Μαρίας, παρὰ κυρίου Ἰωάννου βαπτιστοῦ, τοῦ ρικαινοῦ [sic]
Gregorios Malaxos, ed.
BH II no. 170=ρικενίου [sic]
BoL; PCGSA.

326. 1584 Ψαλτήριον. Ἔτει τῷ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν σάρκου οἰκονομίας
ADAMS B no. 1389; BEES I no. 616; PAPADOPOULOS A no. 26;
PAPADOPOULOS II 274^a
CU(Emm); MM.
327. 1584 *[Τὰ τέσσερα Εὐαγγέλια]
LADAS no. 83.
328. 1584 Αἱ Θεῖαι Λειτουργίαι. Ἔτει τῷ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐνσάρκου οἰκονομίας τοῦ κυ[ρίου] καὶ
θεοῦ καὶ σ[ωτῆ]ρ[ο]ς ἡμῶν Ἰῷ Χῷ
BH II no. 276=IV no. 777
EVE; HL.
329. 1584 *Τυπικόν
ILIOU, 319 no. 27.
330. 1585 Ἀπόστολος. Ἐτυπώθη...ἐκ τῶν τύπων τοῦ κουνάδου
PAPADOPOULOS A no. 28; PAVLOPOULOS no. B 207
ML.
331. 1585 Εὐχολόγιον. Ἐτυπώθη ἐκ τῶν τύπων κουνάδου
PHOSKOLOS A no. 9; ILIOU no. 19; LADAS no. 85; PAPADOPOULOS II
no. 276^a
AV; PCGSA.
332. 1585 Ὁκτώηχος. Ἐτυπώθη...παρὰ τῶν κληρονόμων Χριστοφόρου τοῦ Ζανέτου
ILIOU no. 20; LADAS no. 86. See S. P. LAMBROS, *Catalogue of the Greek
Manuscripts on Mount Athos*, I no. 1231(197)
AP?
333. 1586 Αδιλογος [sic. Giovanni Aliprandi]
BH IV no. 802=C. Zanetti
UBT.
334. 1586? Βιβλίον τοῦ Μάρτιος. Παρὰ πέτρου, υἱοῦ τοῦ ποταῖ Χριστοφόρου τοῦ τζανέτου
BH II no. 176=1588; BH IV no. 823=1590; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 281=1586?
ADo; AK; AL; APh; BR; BSB; GL; UBW; UUB.
335. 1586 **Βιβλίον τοῦ Μαρτίου. Ἐν οἰκίᾳ...Ἱπολίτου Βαλέριδος
Ioannes Nathanael, ed.,
PAPADOPOULOS I no. 3908 [sic, read 1568].
336. 1586 Ἱερὸν Εὐαγγέλιον. Ἐτυπώθη...εἰς τὸ σημεῖον τοῦ εὐαγγελισμοῦ τῆς μακαρίας
καὶ ἀειπαρθένου θεοτόκου Μαρίας παρὰ κυρίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ λιπράντου
Gregorios Malaxos, ed.
DROULIA no. 142; EISS III no. 4000; ILIOU no. 21; LADAS no. 87;
STOYANOV no. 59
AKou; AL; BAV; GL; TsIM; VSL.
337. 1586 Ὠρολόγιον. Ἐτυπώθη...εἰς τὸ σημεῖον τοῦ εὐαγγελισμοῦ τῆς μακαρίας καὶ
ἀειπαρθένου θεοτόκου Μαρίας παρὰ κυρίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ λιπράντου
Title page:1584. Colophon: 1586
Gregorios Malaxos, ed.
BH II no. 172=IV no. 780; STC, 379
BL.

338. 1586 Πεντηκοστάριον. Τετύποται...παρὰ τῶν κληρονόμων, Χριστοφόρου τοῦ τζανέτου
Georgios Vlastos Pounialetos, ed.
BH IV no. 795
AL (imp.); ASHA; ASP.
339. 1586 Ψαλτήριον. Ἐτει ἀπὸ τῆς ἐνσάρκου οἰκονομίας...[Francesco Giuliani for E. Glyzounis]
Maximos Margounios, ed.?
BH II no. 174; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 278
AL.
340. 1586 Τριώδιον. Τετύποται...παρὰ τῶν κληρονόμων, Χριστοφόρου τοῦ τζανέτου
Georgios Vlastos Pounialetos, ed.
BH IV no. 796; STOYANOV no. 60
AKo; ASP; PVJ; TsIM.
341. 1587 Ἀνθολόγιον. [Francesco Giuliani for E. Glyzounis]
Maximos Margounios, ed.?
BH II no. 175; DELIALES no. 97?
DV (imp.).
342. 1587 Ὡρολόγιον. Παρὰ Πέτρου, υἱοῦ τοῦ ποτὲ Χριστοφόρου, τοῦ τζανέτου
BH IV no. 803; EISS III no. 4007
BU.
343. 1587 Ὁκτώηχος. Ἐτυπώθη...παρὰ Φραγγίσκῳ τῶν Ἰουλιανῶν, μετὰ πολλῆς ἐπιμελείας
UBT.
344. [1587] **Ψαλτήριον....παρὰ χριστοφόρῳ τῷ ζανέτῳ
LADAS no. 89=1587 [sic]
See Pre-1577. Ψαλτήριον.
345. 1587-88 Βιβλίον τοῦ Ἀπριλλίου. Παρὰ τῶν κληρονόμων, Χριστοφόρου τοῦ τζανέτου
Georgios Vlastos Pounialetos, ed.
BH IV no. 808; DROULIA no. 143; LADAS no. 88?
AL; EVE (2 cop.); GL; UBW.
346. 1588 **Βιβλίον τοῦ Μάρτιος
BH II no. 176=1588 [sic]. See under 1586? Βιβλίον τοῦ Μάρτιος.
347. 1588 Βιβλίον τοῦ Μάϊος. Παρὰ πέτρου, υἱοῦ τοῦ ποταὶ Χριστοφόρου, τοῦ τζανέτου
[Col.] Παρὰ τῶν κληρονόμων, Χριστοφόρου τοῦ τζανέτου
Georgios Vlastos Pounialetos, ed.
BH II no. 177
ADo; BoL; BSB; EVE (imp.); GL; UBW.
348. 1588 Εὐαγγελιστάριον. Appresso Francesco di Giuliani ad instantia di misier Manoli Glinzoni
Emmanouel Glyzounis, comp.
BH II no. 183; DROULIA no. 145; LADAS no. 90
AD; AH; AKou; AL; AP; EVE; GL.
349. 1588 Ἱερὸν Εὐαγγέλιον. Παρὰ τῶν κληρονόμων Χριστοφόρου τοῦ Τζανέτου
Georgios Vlastos Pounialetos, ed.
LOVERDOU no. 1
Hagios Georgios, Kastoria, Greece.

350. 1588 *Πεντηκοστάριον...παρὰ τῶν κληρονόμων Χριστοφόρου τοῦ τζανέτου
Georgios Vlastos Pounialetos, ed.
See LADAS no. 91.
351. 1588 Ψαλτήριον. Παρὰ Πέτρου, υἱοῦ τοῦ ποτὲ Χριστοφόρου, τοῦ τζανέτου
Georgios Vlastos Pounialetos, ed.
ILIOU no. 22; LADAS no. 92
BAV (Archivio di San Pietro).
352. 1588 Θεῖον καὶ Ἱερὸν Εὐαγγέλιον. Παρὰ Φραγγίσκῳ τῶν Ἰουλιανῶν. Συνδρομὴ
συνθέσει καὶ διορθώσει, Ἑμμανουὴλ Γλυνζουνεῖου
Emmanouel Glyzounis, ed.
BH II nos. 182 and 282; DROULIA no. 144; PAVLOPOULOS no. A 95;
STOYANOV no. 61=αφπῆ' / 1586 [sic]
AD; AKou; AL; AP; GL; ML; TsIM.
353. 1588 Ζαχαρίου ἱερέως...Περὶ τῶν τῆς συγγενείας βαθμὸν [sic]. Ἐν οἰκίᾳ πέτρου τοῦ
τζανέτου
Georgios Vlastos Pounialetos, ed.
BH II no. 178; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 1040; STC, 630=[1585?]
BL (imp.); BoL.
354. 1589 Βιβλίον ὀνομαζόμενον Θησαυρός...Δαμασκηνὸς ὁ ὑποδιάκονος καὶ
στουδίτης...παρὰ πέτρου, υἱοῦ τοῦ ποταὶ Χριστοφόρου, τοῦ τζανέτου
Georgios Vlastos Pounialetos, ed.
BH IV no. 817; STOYANOV no. 62=αφπθ' / 1689 [sic]
AR; PVJ; TsIM.
355. 1589 Ὀκτώηχος. Παρὰ Πέτρου, υἱοῦ τοῦ ποτὲ Χριστοφόρου, τοῦ τζανέτου
BH II no. 283
EVE.
356. 1589 Τὸ παρὸν Εὐχολόγιον...τετύποται...παρὰ πέτρου, υἱοῦ τοῦ ποταὶ χριστοφόρου,
τοῦ τζανέτου
Georgios Vlastos Pounialetos, ed.
BH IV no. 816; LADAS no. 50=1559 [sic].
AP.
357. 1589 [Αἱ Θεῖαι Λειτουργίαι]...παρὰ πέτρου, υἱοῦ τοῦ ποταὶ Χριστοφόρου, τοῦ
Τζανέτου
Georgios Vlastos Pounialetos, ed.
LAZAROU no. 388
MO (imp.).
358. 1589 *Τριώδιον. Ἐγγὺς Ἰωάννου βαπτιστοῦ τοῦ ῥικαίνου...1580
[Col.] Παρὰ Φραγκίσκῳ τῷ τῶν Ἰουλιανῶν...1589
Dionysios hierodiakonos [Katelianos] ed.
BH IV no. 815
PVJ (lost).
359. 1589-90 Πεντηκοστάριον. Παρὰ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Ἀλιπράνδου
[Col.] Ἐτυπώθη...παρὰ Φραγκίσκου τῶν Ἰουλιανῶν
PAPADOPOULOS II no. 292
AI; AKou.

360. 1590 **Βιβλίον τοῦ Μάρτιος...παρὰ πέτρου, υἱοῦ τοῦ ποταῖ Χριστοφόρου, τοῦ τζανέτου
BH IV no. 823=1590 [sic]. See 1586? Βιβλίον τοῦ Μάρτιος.
361. 1590 Ἱερὸν Εὐαγγέλιον. Παρὰ τῶν κληρονόμων, Χριστοφόρου τοῦ τζανέτου
Georgios Vlastos Pounialetos, ed.
BH IV no. 822; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 289
AKou; AL; APh; ASt; AX; GL.
362. 1590 Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰωάννου καθηγουμένου...Κλίμαξ τοῦ παραδείσου.
Appresso Francesco de' Giuliani, ad instantia del Reuerendissimo Vescouo
di Cerigo, & di Misier Manoli Glinzoni
Maximos Margounios, ed. & tr.
BH II no. 185=IV no. 824
AKou; AL (3 cop.); AP; EVE (imp.); GL; HL.
363. 1591 Βιβλίον τοῦ Μαΐου μηνός. Παρὰ πέτρου, υἱοῦ τοῦ ποταῖ Χριστοφόρου, τοῦ τζανέτου
[Col.] Παρὰ τῶν κληρονόμων, Χριστοφόρου τοῦ τζανέτου
Georgios Vlastos Pounialetos, ed.
LADAS no. 94; LAZAROU no. 449
MO.
364. 1591 Βιβλίον τοῦ Ἰούνιος μηνός. Παρὰ πέτρου, υἱοῦ τοῦ ποταῖ Χριστοφόρου, τοῦ τζανέτου
Georgios Vlastos Pounialetos, ed.
BH II no. 188; LAZAROU no. 449
AK; AL; AP; BoL; BSB; EVE; MO; UBW.
365. 1591 Βιβλίον τοῦ Ἰούλιος μηνός. Παρὰ πέτρου, υἱοῦ τοῦ ποτὲ Χριστοφόρους [sic] τοῦ τζανέτου
Georgios Vlastos Pounialetos, ed.
BH II no. 189
AL; AP; APh; BoL; BSB; UBW.
366. 1591 Βιβλίον τοῦ Αὐγουστος μηνός. Παρὰ πέτρου, υἱοῦ τοῦ ποτὲ Χριστοφόρου, τοῦ τζανέτου
[Col.] Παρὰ τῶν κληρονόμων, Χριστοφόρου τοῦ τζανέτου
Georgios Vlastos Pounialetos, ed.
BH II no. 190
AP; APh; BoL; BSB; EVE (imp.); UBW.
367. 1591 Παρακλητική. Παρὰ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Ἀλιπράνδου
[Col.] Παρὰ Φραγκίσκῳ τῶν Ἰουλιανῶν
PAPADOPOULOS II no. 294; KORDOSIS B no. 4
ADo; AP; BNC.
368. 1591 Πεντηκοστάριον. Παρὰ τῶν κληρονόμων, Χριστοφόρου τοῦ τζανέτου, 1588
[Col.] Παρὰ πέτρου, υἱοῦ τοῦ ποταῖ, Χριστοφόρου, τοῦ τζανέτου, 1591
Georgios Vlastos Pounialetos, ed.
LADAS no. 91
AH; HL (imp.).

369. 1591-92 Τριώδιον. Παρὰ τῶν κληρονόμων, Χριστοφόρου τοῦ τζανέτου
Georgios Vlastos Pounialetos, ed.
PAPADOPOULOS II no. 298; ADAMS L no. 854=1561-62 [sic.]
AI; AL; APh (imp.); CUL.
370. 1592 *[Μὴν Μάρτιος. Παρὰ Φραγκίσκου τῷ Ἰουλιανῷ, ἀναλώμασι καὶ διορθώσει
κυροῦ Ἑμμανουὴλ Γλυζωνίου]
LADAS no. 95.
371. 1592 Μὴν Ἀπρίλιος. Παρὰ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Ἀλιπράνδου
Colophon: Ἐτυπώθη...παρὰ Φραγγίσκῳ τῶν Ἰουλιανῶν
BH IV no. 833; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 295^a; STOYANOV no. 63
AD; AK (imp.); NBKM; PCGSA.
372. 1592 Μὴν Ἰούνιος. Παρὰ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Ἀλιπράνδου
BH II no. 197; STC, 379
AL; APh; BL; EVE.
373. 1592 Μὴν Ἰούλιος. Παρὰ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Ἀλιπράνδου
BH IV no. 834; EISS III no. 4013
AI; AP; APh; BAV; BC.
374. 1592 Μὴν Αὐγούστος. Παρὰ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Ἀλιπράνδου
BH IV no. 835
AHP; AI; AL.
375. 1592 Μὴν Σεπτέμβριος. Παρὰ τῶν κληρονόμων, Χριστοφόρου τοῦ τζανέτου
Georgios Vlastos Pounialetos, ed.
BH II no. 195
AK; AL; EVE (imp.); BoL; BSB; UBW.
376. 1592 Μὴν Ὀκτώβριος. Παρὰ τῶν κληρονόμων, Χριστοφόρου τοῦ τζανέτου
Georgios Vlastos Pounialetos, ed.
BH II no. 196; DROULIA no. 147
AKou (imp.); AL; BSB; EVE; UBW.
377. 1593 Μὴν Μάρτιος...παρὰ Φραγκίσκῳ τῶν Ἰουλιανῶν
MOSCHONAS II no. 541
PVA.
378. 1593 Μὴν Ἀπρίλιος... παρὰ Φραγκίσκῳ τῶν Ἰουλιανῶν
MOSCHONAS II no. 541
PVA.
379. 1593 Μὴν Μάϊος. Παρὰ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Ἀλιπράνδου
[Col.] Παρὰ Φραγγίσκῳ τῶν Ἰουλιανῶν
BH II no. 198=IV no. 840; STC, 379; MOSCHONAS II no. 541; PAPADOPOULOS I
nos. 3979 and 3980
AD; AP; BL; EVE (imp.); PVA.
380. 1593 *Μὴν Ἰούνιος. Παρὰ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου [sic, read Ἀλιπράνδου]
M. ΓΕΔΕΩΝ, *Πατριαρχικαὶ ἐφημερίδες*, 35.
381. 1593 Μὴν Νοέμβριος. Παρὰ τῶν κληρονόμων, Χριστοφόρου τοῦ τζανέτου
Georgios Vlastos Pounialetos, ed.
BH II no. 201
AG; AK; AL; APh; BSB; PCGSA; UBW.

382. [1593] **Περὶ τῶν τῆς συγγενείας βαθμῶν...παρὰ Ζαχαρίου ἱερέως
σκορδυλίου...[Spinelli mark at end. Printed by Z. B. Tauroceni]
BH II no. 199=1593 [sic]. See c. 1581 Περὶ τῶν τῆς συγγενείας βαθμῶν.
383. 1593-94 Ἀνθολόγιον. Παρὰ πέτρου, υἱοῦ τοῦ ποταὶ Χριστοφόρου τοῦ τζανέτου
Georgios Vlastos Pounialetos, ed.
PAPADOPOULOS B no. 7; EISS III no. 3993
AV; BNVE.
384. 1594 Ἀκολουθία τοῦ Ἀναγνώστου. Παρὰ Πέτρου υἱοῦ τοῦ ποταὶ Χριστοφόρου τοῦ
τζανέτου
BUW; UBJ.
385. 1594 Ἀνθολόγιον. Ἐνετίησιν
STOYANOV no. 64
TsIM.
386. 1594 **Ἀνθος τῶν Χαρίτων. Παρὰ Φραγγίσκῳ τῶν Ἰουλιανῶν
ILIOU no. 23; LADAS no. 97
ASP (destroyed in a fire)
387. 1594 *Ἀπόκοπος
[Francesco Giuliani for Emmanouel Glyzounis]
See under Emmanouel Glyzounis in Part II.
388. 1594 *Ἀπολώνιος
[Francesco Giuliani for Emmanouel Glyzounis]
See under Emmanouel Glyzounis in Part II.
389. 1594 Ἀπόστολος. Παρὰ Φραγγίσκῳ τῶν Ἰουλιανῶν [E. Glyzounis mark]
PAPADOPOULOS II no. 301^a
AK.
390. 1594 Βιβλίον ὀνομαζόμενον Θησαυρός...Δαμασκηνὸς ὁ ὑποδιάκονος καὶ στουδίτης.
Παρὰ Φραγγίσκῳ τῶν Ἰουλιανῶν
PAPADOPOULOS II no. 302
AKou; BL (imp.).
391. 1594 *Βίος τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ μεγάλου Νικολάου
[Francesco Giuliani for Emmanouel Glyzounis]
See under Emmanouel Glyzounis in Part II.
392. 1594 *Διήγησις...Βελισαρίου
[Francesco Giuliani for Emmanouel Glyzounis]
See under Emmanouel Glyzounis in Part II.
393. 1594 *Ἡμπέριος
[Francesco Giuliani for Emmanouel Glyzounis]
See under Emmanouel Glyzounis in Part II.
394. 1594 *Γαδάρου, λύκου κιαλουποῦς διήγησις ὥραϊα
[Francesco Giuliani for Emmanouel Glyzounis]
See under Emmanouel Glyzounis in Part II.

395. 1594 *Ἱστορία τῆς Σωσάννης
[Francesco Giuliani for Emmanouel Glyzounis]
ILIOU, 319 no. 31. See also under Emmanouel Glyzounis in Part II.
396. 1594 *Αἱ Θεῖαι Λειτουργίαι
[Francesco Giuliani for Emmanouel Glyzounis?]
ILIOU, 319 no. 32. See also under Emmanouel Glyzounis in Part II.
- 397 1595 **Ἀπόκοπος τοῦ μπεργαεῖ [sic]... Ἐν Βενετίαις, αῤῥε' (1595) [sic]
Grässe I, 161. See no. 213 above.
398. 1595 *Ῥολόγιον. Zanetti mark]
BH IV no. 846.
399. 1595 *Μὴν Ἰούνιος. Παρὰ Πέτρῳ υἱοῦ τοῦ ποτὲ Χριστοφόρου τζανέτου
Georgios Vlastos Pounialetos, ed.
LADAS no. 98.
400. 1595 *Μὴν Αὐγουστος. [Francesco Giuliani for E. Glyzounis?]
SATHAS, 201.
401. 1595 Μὴν Σεπτέμβριος. Παρὰ Φραγγίσκῳ τῶν Ἰουλιανῶν ἀναλώμασι καὶ
διορθώσει... Ἐμμανουήλ τοῦ Γλυνζωνίου
Emmanouel Glyzounis, ed.
BH II no. 212; ADAMS L no. 850; PAVLOPOULOS no. A 31; STOYANOV no. 65
AH; AL; CU(Tr); EVE; ML; NBKM; PIO.
402. 1595 Μὴν Ὀκτώβριος. Παρὰ Φραγγίσκῳ τῶν Ἰουλιανῶν ἀναλώμασι καὶ
διορθώσει... Ἐμμανουήλ τοῦ Γλυνζωνίου
Emmanouel Glyzounis, ed.
BH II no. 213; ADAMS L no. 851; STOYANOV no. 66
AH; AL; CU(Tr); EVE; NBKM; PCGSA.
403. 1595 Μὴν ὁ Δεκέμβριος. Παρὰ πέτρου, υἱοῦ τοῦ ποτὲ Χριστοφόρου τοῦ τζανέτου
Georgios Vlastos Pounialetos, ed.
BH II no. 214
AG; AH; AHP; AL; APh; BSB; EVE (imp.); UBW.
404. 1595 Σύνταγμα τινῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀκολουθιῶν... ἐκ τοῦ Εὐχολογίου. Παρὰ Φράγγισκῳ
[sic] τῶν Ἰουλιανῶν, ἀναλώμασι, συνθέσει διορθώσει καὶ ἐκδιώσει [sic] κυρίου,
Ἐμμανουήλου τοῦ Γλυνζωνίου
Emmanouel Glyzounis, ed.
BH II no. 206; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 305
AX; AXe (imp.); BR; GL.
405. 1595-96 Βιβλίον λεγόμενον Ἀναγνωστικόν. Ad instantia di M. Manoli Glinzoni
[Col.] Παρὰ Φραντζέσκου τῶν Ἰουλιανῶν ἀναλώμασι... Ἐμμανουήλου
Γλυτζουνίου
Emmanouel Glyzounis, comp., & ed.
BH II no. 216; BEES I no. 336; ADAMS L no. 826; PAVLOPOULOS no. B 225
AKou; AP; BAV; BM; BoL; CU(Joh; Tr); ML; MM.

406. 1595-96 Μὴν Ἰανουάριος. Παρὰ πέτρου, υἱοῦ τοῦ ποτὲ Χριστοφόρου τοῦ τζανέτου
Georgios Vlastos Pounialetos, ed.
BH II no. 215
AI; AK; AL; AX; Bol; BSB; PCGSA; UBW.
407. Pre-1596 *Ἀκολουθία τοῦ Ἀναγνώστου
[Francesco Giuliani for E. Glyzounis]
See under Emmanouel Glyzounis in Part II.
408. Pre-1596 *Ἐξομολογητάριον
[Francesco Giuliani for E. Glyzounis?]
See under Emmanouel Glyzounis in Part II.
409. Pre-1596 *Ὡρολόγιον
[Francesco Giuliani for E. Glyzounis?]
See under Emmanouel Glyzounis in Part II.
410. 1596 Ἀπόστολος. Παρὰ τοῖς κληρονόμοις πέτρου τοῦ ντζανέτου
Maximos Margounios, ed.
BH II no. 220
AL; EVE.
411. 1596 Βιβλίον...λογαριαστικήν. Παρὰ πέτρου, υἱοῦ τοῦ ποτέ, Χριστοφόρου τοῦ
τζανέτου
Emmanouel Glyzounis, comp.
BH II no. 219; STC, 307
BL; BoL.
412. 1596 Βιβλίον...λογαριαστικήν. Appresso Francesco Zuliani, ad instantia di
M. Glinzoni. [Mark of Francesco Rampazetto on the title page]
Emmanouel Glyzounis, ed. & comp.
PAPADOPOULOS II no. 305^a; STOYANOV no. 67
GUL; TsIM.
413. 1596 Εὐχολόγιον. Παρὰ τῶν κληρονόμων πέτρου τοῦ ντζανέτου
[Col.] Παρὰ τοῖς κληρονόμοις Πέτρου, τοῦ τζανέτου
Maximos Margounios, ed.
UBW.
414. 1596 Μὴν Νοέμβριος. Παρὰ τῶν κληρονόμων Φραγγίσκου τῶν Ἰουλιανῶν,
ἀναλώμασι καὶ διορθώσει... Ἐμμανουήλ τοῦ Γλυνζωνίου
Emmanouel Glyzounis, ed.
BH II no. 217; ADAMS L no. 852
AH; AHP; AL; AP; CU(Tr); EVE.
415. 1596 Μὴν Φεβρουάριος. Παρὰ πέτρου, υἱοῦ τοῦ ποτὲ Χριστοφόρου τοῦ τζανέτου
Georgios Vlastos Pounialetos, ed.
BH II no. 222
AG; AI; AK; AL; AP; BSB; HL.
416. 1596 Ὀκτώηχος. Παρὰ φραγγίσκω τῶν Ἰουλιανῶν
BH II no. 221
UUB.

417. 1597 **Μηναιὸν Φεβρουαρίου [Francesco Giuliani?]
Georgios Vlastos Pounialetos, ed.
PAPADOPOULOS I no. 3878.
418. 1598 Ἀνθολόγιον. Παρὰ τοῖς κληρονόμοις Πέτρου τοῦ Τζανέτου
Maximos Margounios, ed.
SKLAVENITES no. 6
MHN.
419. 1598 Νέον Ἀνθολόγιον. Ἐν Ρώμῃ...ἐκ τῆς Βατικανῆς Τυπωγραφίας [sic] (May)
Antonios Arkoudios, ed.
BH II no. 225; ADAMS L no. 827; DROULIA no. 150; EISS III no. 3994; STC, 379
BAñ; BAV; BC; BL; BN; BV; CU(Joh; Tr); HL; GL; ÖNB; PCGSA; UBJ; VSL.
420. 1598 Ὀκτώηχος. Παρὰ τοῖς κληρονόμοις πέτρου τοῦ ντζανέτου
Maximos Margounios, ed.
UBJ.
421. 1599 Ἀνθολόγιον. Παρὰ Δομινίκῳ τῷ Ητεπολωνίῳ
Nathanael Emboros, ed.
PAPADOPOULOS II no. 309^a
AKou (imp.); Kirchenbibliothek, Neustadt, Germany.
422. 1599 Εὐαγγέλιον. Παρὰ Δομινίκῳ τῷ Ητεπολωνίῳ
Nathanael Emboros, ed.
LADAS no. 99; PAVLOPOULOS no. A 62
AD; AP; AV; GL; ML.
423. 1599 **Εὐαγγελιστάριον...παρὰ Ἐμμανουήλ τοῦ Γλυζονίου.
VRETOS I no. 26; CAVE II, 27-28.
424. 1599 *Εὐχολόγιον. Παρὰ Δομινίκῳ τῷ Ητεπολωνίῳ
Nathanael Emboros, ed.
ILIOU, 65, 319 no. 35.
425. 1599 Μὴν Φεβρουάριος. Παρὰ Δομινίκῳ τῷ Ητεπολωνίῳ
Nathanael, Emboros, ed.
BH IV no. 857; DROULIA no. 151; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 311; EISS III no.
4014; STOYANOV no. 68
ADo; AHP (imp.); AK; AL (2 imp. cor.); BAV; EVE (2 imp. cor.); HL; NBKM.
426. 1599 Τὸ παρὸν Ἱερὸν Εὐαγγέλιον τετύπεται...παρὰ τοῖς κληρονόμοις πέτρου τοῦ
τζαννέτου
Dionysios Katelianos, ed.
BH IV no. 856; ADAMS L no. 829=1549 [sic]; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 310;
STOYANOV no. 69?
BoL; CU(Cath); EVE; GL; ZV.
427. 1599 **Θεῖον καὶ Ἱερὸν Εὐαγγέλιον...παρὰ Ἐμμανουήλου Γλυζονίου.
VRETOS I no. 25; CAVE II, 27.
428. 1599 Τριώδιον. Παρὰ Δομινίκῳ τῷ Ντεπολωνίῳ
Nathanael Emboros, ed.
PAPADOPOULOS II no. 312
ADo (imp.); PIO.

429. 1600 Ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μακεδών. Παρὰ Δομινίκῳ τῷ Ντεπολωνίῳ
ILIOU no. 25; LADAS no. 102
BoL.
430. 1600 Ἀπολώνιος. Παρὰ Πέτρου, υἱοῦ τοῦ ποταῖ Χριστοφόρου τοῦ τζανέτου [sic, read
A. Pinelli]
BH XVIIIs. V no. 2= 1601 [sic]
BoL.
431. 1600 **Βίοι ἁγίων
Maximos Margounios, ed. & tr.
LADAS no. 100.
432. 1600 Ἡμεριον. Παρὰ Ἀντωνίῳ τῷ Πινέλλῳ
BH XVIIIs. V no. 4=1601 [sic]
BoL.
433. 1600? [Εὐχολόγιον. A. Pinelli?]
ILIOU, 319 no. 36; ADAMS L no. 828; CAVE II, 28
CUL (imp.).
434. 1600 Γαδάρου, λύκου Κιαλουποῦς, διήγησις ὡραία. Παρὰ Ἀντωνίῳ τῷ πινέλλῳ
BH XVIIIs. V no. 3=1601 [sic]
BoL.
435. 1600 Παρακλητική. Παρὰ Δομινίκῳ τῷ Ἡτεπολωνίῳ
Nathanael Emboros, ed.
BH IV no. 863; LADAS no. 101; PHOSKOLOS A no. 10 and B no. 6
AHP; ASHA; PCGSA.
436. 1600 Πένθος θανάτου. Παρὰ Ἀντωνίῳ τῷ Πινέλλῳ
PAPADOPOULOS II no. 1046
BoL.
437. 1600 Πεντηκοστάριον. Παρὰ Ἀντωνίῳ τῷ Πινέλλῳ
Maximos Margounios, ed.
BH II no. 232
APh; BoL; BSB.
438. 1600 Πεντηκοστάριον. Παρὰ Δομινίκῳ τῷ Ἡτεπολωνίῳ
Nathanael Emboros, ed.
BH IV no. 862
ADo; AHP; AI; GL.
439. 1600 Τοῦ ταπεινοῦ μητροπολίτου φιλαδελφείας Γαβριήλ...Συνταγμάτιον περὶ τῶν
ἁγίων καὶ ἱερῶν μυστηρίων. Παρὰ Ἰωάννη Ἀντωνίῳ τῷ Πινέλλῳ
BH II no. 235 [sic]=no. 234; ADAMS G no. 6; DELIALES no. 180;
PAVLOPOULOS no. B 250
AD; AKou; AL; ASHA; BN; BoL; CUL; DV (imp.); ML; NSL; PCGSA; VV.
440. 1600 Τριώδιον. Παρὰ Ἀντωνίῳ τῷ Πινέλλῳ
Title page and colophon 1600
Maximos Margounios, ed.
PAPADOPOULOS II no. 320a; BH II no. 234 [sic, read 233] describes variant
edition with title page 1600 and colophon 1604
AL; APh (imp.); HL.

Library Abbreviations

AA	Akademia Athenon, Athens, Greece	ASt	Mone Stavroniketa, Mt. Athos, Greece
AD	Mone Dionysiou, Mt. Athos, Greece	AV	Mone Vatopediou, Mt. Athos, Greece
ADo	Mone Docheiariou, Mt. Athos, Greece	AX	Mone Xenophontos, Mt. Athos, Greece
AG	Mone Gregoriou, Mt. Athos, Greece	AXe	Mone Xeropotamou, Mt. Athos, Greece
AH	Mone Hilandariou, Mt. Athos, Greece	BA	Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan, Italy
AHN	Skete Hagiou Neilou, Mt. Athos, Greece	BAI	Biblioteca Alessandrina, Rome, Italy
AHP	Mone Hagiou Paulou, Mt. Athos, Greece	BAn	Biblioteca Angelica, Rome, Italy
AI	Mone Iveron, Mt. Athos, Greece	BAr	Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris, France
AK	Mone Karakalou, Mt. Athos, Greece	BAV	Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City, Rome, Italy
AKa	Katounakia: Hesychasterion Daniel, Mt. Athos, Greece	BC	Biblioteca Casanatense, Rome, Italy
AKav	Kavsokalyvia: Kyriakon, Mt. Athos, Greece	BCo	Biblioteca Comunale, Camerino, Italy
AKo	Mone Konstamonitou, Mt. Athos, Greece	BCQ	Biblioteca Civica Queriniana, Brescia, Italy
AKou	Mone Koutloumousiou, Mt. Athos, Greece	BCRC	Biblioteca Comunale, Reggio Calabria, Italy
AL	Mone Megistes Lavras, Mt. Athos, Greece	BE	Biblioteca Estense, Modena, Italy
AP	Mone Pantokratoros, Mt. Athos, Greece	BeL	Beinecke Library, Yale University, New Haven, CT, USA
APh	Mone Philotheou, Mt. Athos, Greece	BH	Bibliothèque Humaniste, Sélestat, France
AR	Mone Hagiou Panteleemonos (Roussiko), Mt. Athos, Greece	BJ	Biblioteka Jagiellńska, Kraków, Poland
ASHA	Skete Hagias Annes, Mt. Athos, Greece	BL	British Library, London, England
ASkP	Skete Prodromou, Mt. Athos, Greece	BM	Bibliothèque Mazarine, Paris, France
ASP	Mone Simonos Petras, Mt. Athos, Greece	BN	Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, France

BNC	Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Vittorio Emanuele II, Rome, Italy	CU(Magd)	Cambridge University, Magdalen College, Cambridge, England
BNM	Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice, Italy	CU(Pet)	Cambridge University, Peterhouse College, Cambridge, England
BNVE	Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele III, Naples, Italy	CU(Tr)	Cambridge University, Trinity College, Cambridge, England
BoL	Bodleian Library, Oxford, England	CUL	Cambridge University Library, Cambridge, England
BPF	Biblioteca della S. Congregazione della Propaganda Fide, Rome, Italy	DSB	Deutsche Stadtbibliothek, Berlin, Germany
BR	Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Leiden, the Netherlands	DV	Demotike Vivliotheke, Kozani, Greece
BSB	Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, Germany	EVE	Ethnike Vivliotheke tes Hellados, Athens, Greece
BU	Biblioteca Universitaria, Padua, Italy	FLG	Forschungs- und Landesbibliothek Gotha, Germany
BUB	Biblioteca Universitaria, Bologna, Italy	GL	Gennadius Library, Athens, Greece
BUP	Biblioteca Universitaria, Pisa Italy	GUL	Glasgow University Library, Glasgow, Scotland
BUW	Biblioteka Uniwersytecka Wroclaw, Poland	HAB	Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, Germany
BV	Biblioteca Vallicelliana, Rome, Italy	HL	Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA, USA
CPL	Cincinnati Public Library, Cincinnati, OH, USA	LV	Laike Vivliotheke, Kalamata, Greece
CU(Cath)	Cambridge University, St. Catherine's College, Cambridge, England	MHAS	Mone Hagias Aikaterines Sina, Mount Sinai, Egypt
CU(Corp)	Cambridge University, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, England	MHN	Mone Hosiou Nikanoros, Zavorda, Greece
CU(Emm)	Cambridge University, Emmanuel College, Cambridge, England	ML	Mone Leimonos, Kallone, Lesvos, Greece
CU(Jes)	Cambridge University, Jesus College, Cambridge, England	MM	Mone Metamorphoseos, Meteora, Greece
CU(Joh)	Cambridge University, St. Johns College, Cambridge, England	MO	Mone Olympiotisses, Elasson, Greece
		MoV	Mouseion Veroias, Veroia, Greece
		MV	Mone Vlatadon, Thessalonike, Greece

NBKM	Narodna Biblioteka "Kiril i Metodii," Sofia, Bulgaria	SSA	Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, Augsburg, Germany
NL	The Newberry Library, Chicago, IL, USA	TsIM	Ts'rkoven Istoriko-Archeologichen Muzei, Sofia, Bulgaria
NLB	Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek, Hanover, Germany	UBI	Universitätsbibliothek, Innsbruck, Austria
NSL	Niedersächsische Staats- und Landesbibliothek, Göttingen, Germany	UBJ	Universitätsbibliothek, Jena, Germany
NYPL	New York Public Library, New York, NY, USA	UBT	Universitätsbibliothek, Tübingen, Germany
ÖNB	Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, Austria	UBW	Universitätsbibliothek, Würzburg, Germany
PCGSA	Pontificio Collegio Greco di San Atanasio, Rome, Italy	UPL	University of Pennsylvania Library, Philadelphia, PA
PIO	Pontificio Istituto Orientale, Rome, Italy	UUB	Uppsala Universitetsbiblioteket, Uppsala, Sweden
PL	Panagia tes Lindou, Rhodes, Greece	VMB	Vivliotheke Mouseiou Benaki, Athens, Greece
PML	The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, NY, USA	VSL	Vivliotheke Spyrou Loverdou, Kifissia, Greece
PVA	Patriarchike Vivliotheke, Alexandria, Egypt	VV	Vivliotheke tes Voules ton Hellenon, Athens, Greece
PVJ	Patriarchike Vivliotheke, Jerusalem, Israel	WL	Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Stuttgart, Germany
SBD	Studienbibliothek Dillingen, Germany	ZV	Zosimaia Vivliotheke, Ioannina, Greece
SL	Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Dresden, Germany		

Part Two

Editors, Printers, Publishers

Giovanni Aliprandi or Liprandi, fl. 1580-1603

ALTHOUGH Giovanni Aliprandi's name does not appear on the title pages, colophons or any other parts of most of the books he financed, he was in partnership with Z. B. Tauroceni from 1580 until the latter's death in late November or early December of 1584.¹ Aliprandi was not a printer but a bookseller (*libraro*) whose bookshop was at the sign of San Cristoforo at the Rialto. His occasional forays into publishing were always in association with others. After Tauroceni's death, Aliprandi and Marco de Nastasia, Tauroceni's father-in-law and the main executor of Tauroceni's estate, agreed that Aliprandi was to contribute two and a half ducats per month to the estate to go toward the support of Tauroceni's minor son, Perin plus any special expenses that might occur during the child's upbringing. This agreement was made because Aliprandi owed the estate of Tauroceni the sum of 1221 ducats, 21 grossi. In addition to his monthly payments to the estate, Aliprandi was to pay the remainder of his debt in two installments, the first installment in three years from the date of the agreement, and the last, in another three-and-a-half years. The full debt was to be paid within seven years.² In return Aliprandi received from the estate of Tauroceni all of the printing equipment, type, decorations, and the press that were in Tauroceni's possession. He also received all the books in the Tauroceni stock, including an unfinished *Horologion* that was in press at the time of Tauroceni's death and which Aliprandi was to finish printing. Aliprandi also was to pay all of the pending debts incurred by the firm, such as debts to the man who supplied the paper and other creditors.

When Aliprandi did not keep his promise to reimburse the estate at the agreed-upon intervals, on 1 March 1591, Marco de Nastasia sued Aliprandi for failing to pay his debt. On March 6 of the same year, Aliprandi produced a written statement explaining his reasons for not paying on time. He declared that he was in poor financial straits and accused the executors of the Tauroceni estate for overpricing by fifty per cent the books that were turned over to him. Moreover, he stated that he had sent books worth six hundred ducats to be sold at Ioannina in Epirus but that he had only been able to recover half of that amount. The unsold books were still in Ioannina. He therefore requested an extension in order to meet his obligations.³

During the same year in which Aliprandi was complaining about his financial difficulties to Marco de Nastasia, he entered into a new partnership with the express purpose of bringing out some Greek liturgical books. On 5 February 1591, he formed a company with Emmanouel Glyzounis, Loukas Sougdouris, and Antonio Gemelli, to print six *Menaia*. In the agreement, Glyzounis, Gemelli, and Sougdouris were each to pay an initial sum of 20 ducats to Giovanni Aliprandi for the use of the stock and equipment of Z.-B. Tauroceni. As part of the agreement, Aliprandi was also to oversee the printing of the *Menaia* and to supply the partners with the sheets as they came off the press each day. The copies were to be placed in a safe in the shop of Emmanouel Glyzounis at the Rialto. The cashiers were to keep accurate accounts of the proceedings and give each partner his share.⁴ The partnership was of short duration, either because one of the partners, Antonio Gemelli, died on 9 March 1593, or because the six *Menaia* were printed and the company dissolved in 1593.⁵ No more books were published under the name of Aliprandi after 1593. However, it seems that he was active as a businessman and bookseller as late as 1603 and possibly later.

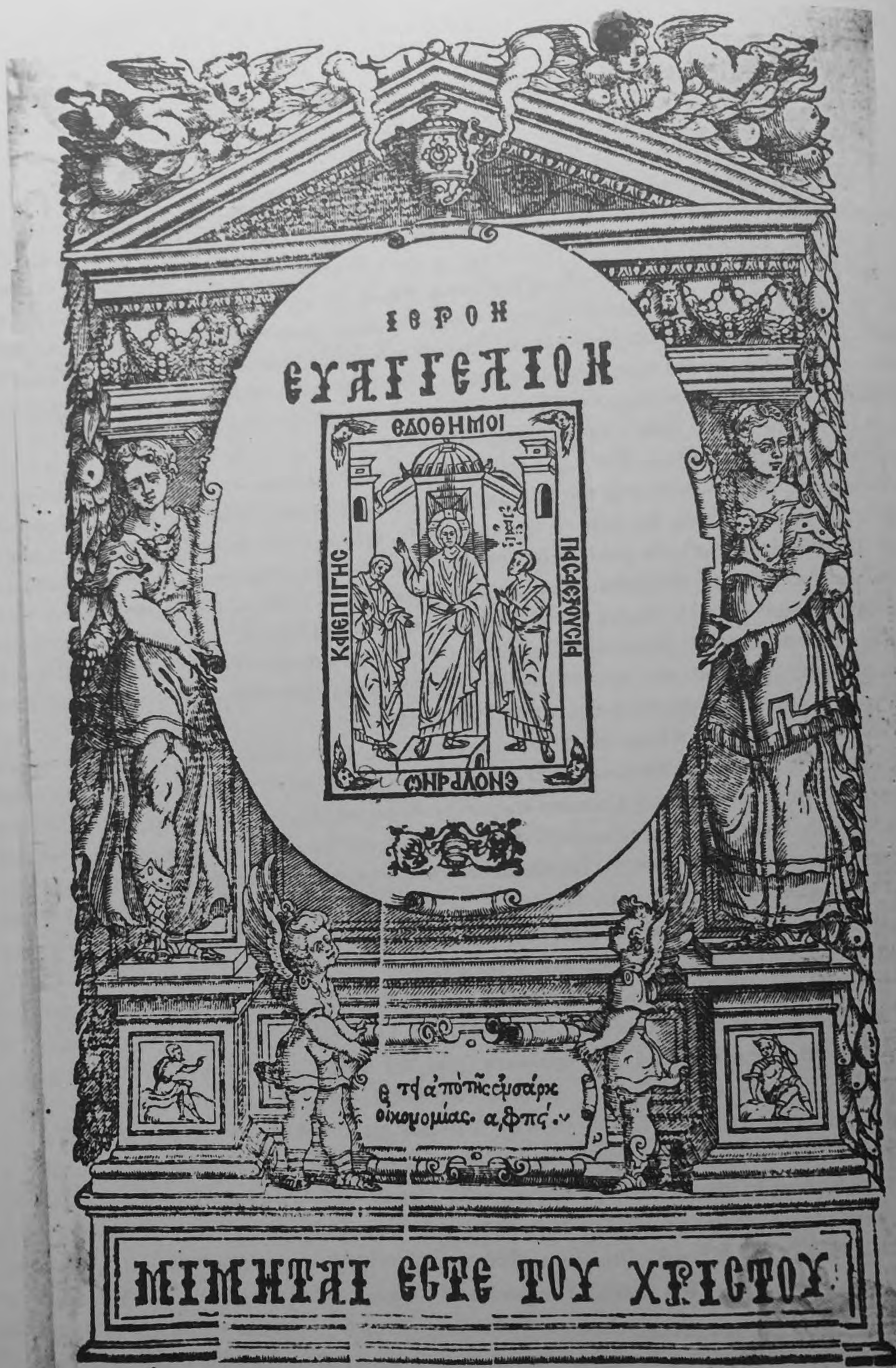


fig. 167

Ὁ παρὸν ἰδρύμ καὶ θεῖον διάγγελιον, ἐτυπώθη ἀντιβερεπείαις· εἰς τὸ σημεῖον τῆς ἀγα-
 γελισμοῦ τῆς μακαρίας καὶ αἰ παρθενοῦ θκυῖς Μαρίας· παρὰ κυρίου
 Ἰωάννου τῆς λιπραΐτου· ὅπως ἴδῃ, ἐκ τῆς χαρακτῆρος τῆς
 ἰδίου γραμματος τῶν σπινέλων· ἀναλώμασι μὲν
 τοῖς αὐτῆς· ἐπιμελεία δὲ καὶ ἐπιδιορθώσει.
 Γρηγορίου τῆς μαλαξοῦ.

fig. 168

Although the company formed to print the six *Menaia* was dissolved in 1593 after the death of Antonio Gemelli, when Emmanouel Glyzounis, died in 1596, Aliprandi demanded to see the accounts of his former partner's estate claiming that the estate of Glyzounis owed him money. According to Aliprandi, the company owed him money for a *Menaion* of March, originally printed by his former partner Z. B. Tauroceni in 1584, that Aliprandi had turned over to the cashiers of the company, Emmanouel Glyzounis and Loukas Sougdouris. After lengthy deliberations, on 3 August 1600, the estate of Glyzounis paid Aliprandi the sum of fifty-one ducats.

As we have seen above, Aliprandi had the use of the type, decorations (figs. 78, 86, 167), and printing equipment that had originally belonged to his partner, Z. B. Tauroceni. The type (fig. 168) and some of the decorative initials and headpieces had first been used by the publisher Andrea Spinelli, who was active between 1548 and 1564. The few books that bear Aliprandi's name were, for the most part, liturgical books that were reprints of either Spinelli or Tauroceni books. However, there is a small chapbook in modern Greek, a *Dialogos*, 1586 (BH IV no. 802), printed without indication of place or printer, that must have come out of the Aliprandi press. On the basis of the type, Émile Legrand attributed this work to the press of Cristoforo Zanetti. However, Cristoforo Zanetti died in 1582, and it was his son Pietro who was active in 1586.⁶ Upon closer examination, it seems that the type is definitely that of Andrea Spinelli and not that of the Zanetti, although the two types are very similar. Since in 1586 the Spinelli font was in the hands of Giovanni Aliprandi exclusively, we must conclude that the *Dialogos* was published by Aliprandi possibly at the expense of a third party or parties.

Gregorios Malaxos, the brother of Nikolaos Malaxos, who was closely associated with Andrea Spinelli, is the only editor/corrector whose name appears in some of the early Aliprandi imprints. Most of them do not give the name of an editor but simply say "ἐπιμελεία τε πλείστη καὶ ἐπιδιορθώσει." The books published by Giovanni Aliprandi were printed by Francesco Giuliani, a journeyman printer who, between 1584 and 1596, also worked for other publishers of Greek liturgical books but is mainly associated with Emmanouel Glyzounis.⁷ The following works were published under the name of Giovanni Aliprandi, or Liprandi.

1584-86 Ὁρολόγιον (BH II no. 172=IV no. 780)⁸

"παρὰ κυρίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Λιπράντου· ὅσπερ ἐστὶν ἐκ τοῦ χαρακτῆρος, τοῦ ἰδίου
 τῶν σπινέλων ἀναλώμασι μὲν τοῖς αὐτοῦ"

1586 Ἱερὸν Εὐαγγέλιον (DROULIA no. 142; ILIOU no. 21; EISS III no. 4000)

As above

- 1586 Αδίλογος [sic] (BH IV no. 802=C. Zanetti [sic])
No place or printer given.
- 1589 Τριώδιον (BH IV no. 815)⁹
Title page: "ἐγγὺς Ἰωάννου βαπτιστοῦ Τοῦ ῥικαίνου, ἀναλώμασι μὲν τοῖς αὐτοῦ...1580"
Colophon: "παρὰ Φραγκίσκῳ τῷ τῶν Ἰουλιανῶν...1589"
- 1589-90 Πεντηκοστάριον (PAPADOPOULOS II no. 292)
"παρὰ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Ἀλιπράνδου. ὅς ἐστιν ἐκ τοῦ χαρακτηῆρος, τοῦ ἰδίου γράμματος τῶν σπινέλων, ἀναλώμασι μὲν τοῖς αὐτοῦ...1589"
Colophon: "παρὰ Φραγκίσκου τῶν Ἰουλιανῶν...1590"
- 1591 Παρακλητική (KORDOSIS B no. 4; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 294)
"παρὰ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Ἀλιπράνδου. ὅς ἐστιν ἐκ τοῦ χαρακτηῆρος... σπινέλων..."
Colophon: "παρὰ Φραγκίσκῳ τῶν Ἰουλιανῶν"
- 1592 Μὴν Μάρτιος (LADAS no. 95)¹⁰
- 1592 Μὴν Ἀπρίλιος (BH IV no. 833=PAPADOPOULOS II no. 295a)
"παρὰ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Ἀλιπράνδου. ὅς ἐστιν ἐκ τοῦ χαρακτηῆρος...σπινέλων"
Colophon: "παρὰ Φραγκίσκῳ τῶν Ἰουλιανῶν"
- 1592 Μὴν Ἰούνιος (BH II no. 197)¹¹
As above
- 1592 Μὴν Ἰούλιος (BH IV no. 834)
As above
- 1592 Μὴν Αὐγουστος (BH IV no. 835)
As above
- 1593 Μὴν Μάρτιος (MOSCHONAS II no. 541)¹²
As above
- 1593 Μὴν Ἀπρίλιος (MOSCHONAS II no. 541)
As above
- 1593 Μὴν Μάϊος (BH II no. 198=IV no. 840)
As above
- 1593 Μὴν Ἰούνιος¹³

NOTES

¹ BORSA I, 41=Aliprandos, Joannes [graec.] 1592-93 and BORSA I, 202=Liprantos, Joannes [graec.] 1584-86; STC, 760=Aliprandos, Joannes, 1592-93. For details of the partnership with Tauroceni, see under Z. B. Tauroceni in Part II.

² K. D. MERTZIOS, Λουκᾶς Σουγδουρῆς ὁ ἐξ Ἰωαννίνων, ἐκδότης ἐν Βενετία (1570-1591), *Ἡπειρωτικὴ Ἑστία*, 18(1969)9-11.

³ K. Δ. MEPTZIOS, Λουκᾶς Σουγδουρῆς, 12-14.

⁴ C. LECUIR, Les éditeurs Grecs, 121-24, 256-58. K. Δ. MEPTZIOS, *Θωμᾶς Φλαγγίνης καὶ ὁ Μικρὸς Ἑλληνομνήμων*. Ἐν Ἀθήναις, 1939, 204-05.

⁵ K. Δ. MEPTZIOS, *Θωμᾶς Φλαγγίνης*, 204-05.

⁶ See under Cristoforo and Pietro Zanetti in Part II.

⁷ See also under Francesco Giuliani and Emmanouel Glyzounis in Part II.

⁸ This is undoubtedly the *Horologion* that was left unfinished at the death of Z. B. Tauroceni and was to be completed by G. Aliprandi. It was edited by Gregorios Malaxos. See K. Δ. MEPTZIOS, Λουκᾶς Σουγδουρῆς, 12.

⁹ This edition is made up of the unsold copies of the *Triodion*, 1580 (BH IV no. 739) printed by Tauroceni with a new colophon.

¹⁰ Edition not extant.

¹¹ M. I. ΓΕΔΕΩΝ, *Πατριαρχικαὶ ἐφημερίδες*, 35: "1593 ἐκδίδεται ἐν Βενετίᾳ Μηναῖον τοῦ ἰουνίου παρὰ Ἰωάννου Ἀλεξάνδρου [sic, read Ἀλιπράνδου] ὡς ἐστὶν ἐκ τοῦ χαρακτῆρος τοῦ ἰδίου γράμματος τῶν Σπινέλλων."

¹² This *Menaion* and the *Menaia* of April-June, 1593 were printed at the expense and in partnership with Antonio Gemelli, Loukas Sougdouris, and Emmanouel Glyzounis.

¹³ Not extant. See M. Γεδεών, *Πατριαρχικαὶ ἐφημερίδες*, 35. An undated edition of Z. Skordylis *Περὶ τῶν τῆς συγγενείας βαθμῶν* attributed by E. Legrand (BH II no. 199=1593) to the press of Giovanni Aliprandi was actually printed c. 1581 by Z. B. Tauroceni. See under Z. B. Tauroceni in Part II.

Ioustinos Dekadios, c. 1472-after 1533

I OUSTINOS DEKADIOS, also spelled Dekadyos,¹ was born in Corfu and was educated there before going to Italy sometime in the early 1490s. Among his teachers in Corfu was the well-known and erudite Ioannes Moschos, who also taught some Italian humanists, among them Giovanni Bembo.² Dekadios was still a young man when he went to Italy, where he spent some years in Venice. He was one of the Greek scholars associated with the press and circle of Aldus Manutius. Aldus had nothing but praise for the young Dekadios for his excellent knowledge of Greek and characterized him thus: "Iustinus etiam Corcyraeus, miro ingenio adolescens Graeceque sane quam eruditus."³ Ioustinos Dekadios was considered to be one of the best-educated Greeks of his generation. Most of what we know of his activities is gleaned from his correspondence with other well-known intellectuals. Unfortunately, all of these letters are undated and thus prevent researchers from placing Dekadios's movements more precisely. The earliest letter we can date was written by the Italian humanist Ermolao Barbaro (1453-1493). Legrand⁴ states that the letter could not have been written later than 15 July, 1492, because Ermolao Barbaro died of the plague in June 1493.

Ioustinos Dekadios edited an undated *Psalterion* (BH I no. 11; ESSLING no. 169; RENOUEARD 260 no. 8; BMC V, 563; SANDER no. 5944) for Aldus Manutius. In a preface addressed to the Greeks of Greece, "Ἰουστῖνος ὁ δεκαδύος, τοῖς ἐν ἐλλάδι γραιοῖς, εὖ πράττειν,"⁵ (fig. 169), Dekadios announced plans by Aldus Manutius to publish a trilingual (Hebrew, Greek, and Latin) edition of the Old Testament, along with plans to bring out a series of Greek liturgical books such as the *Triodion*, the *Pentekostarion*, and the *Parakletike*. None of the Greek liturgical books announced were ever printed by Aldus, and of the trilingual edition of the Old Testament, only one folio leaf was ever printed.⁶ Not all agree on the dating of the *Psalterion*. Legrand (BH I no. 11) places the date of publication at 1494. A. F. Didot⁷ believes, like Legrand, that the work was printed c. 1494. Renouard,⁸ on the other hand, places the publication of the *Psalterion* between late 1497 and early 1498 because the smaller font with which the preface was printed appeared to be more used than in two other works known to be printed in 1497, the *Dictionarium* by Crastonus printed in December 1497, and the Urbano Bolzanio grammar printed in January 1497/98.⁹ Twentieth century catalogues of incunabula place the dating of the *Psalterion* sometime between 1496 and 1498.¹⁰ More recently, K. Rozemond¹¹ has tried to make a case that the Psalter was printed at the end of 1495. She bases this assumption on the use of a new sort (ος) found in the Psalter that was added by Aldus in 1495. However, more research needs to be done before this matter is resolved satisfactorily.¹²

A. Renouard believes that Dekadios was also perhaps the editor of the 1497 Aldine edition of the *Horae* (BMC V, 558; RENOUEARD 15 no. 13), although this cannot be substantiated.¹³ On the other hand, there is evidence that Ioustinos Dekadios was among the scholars who helped in the edition of the second volume of the Aristotle. This is mentioned by Aldus himself in a letter to Alberto Pio.¹⁴ Dekadios is often included in the list of members of the Aldine Academy, which was founded in 1500 or 1501.¹⁵ However, even if there was such a thing as a formalized "Academy," which is disputed by some scholars, Ioustinos Dekadios could not have been a member, since it is believed that he had already left Venice some years before its formation.¹⁶

Ἰουστίνος δέκαδύος, τοῖς ἐν ἑλλάδι γρά-
κοις, ὅντιν' ἔγραψεν.

Ἄλλοι μὲν αὖτα τῶν πρὸ ἑλλήνων σοφῶν τε καὶ διδασκάλων
συγγράμματα διαφόροις πραγματείαις ἐμπιέχοντα, εἰς
κοινὴν τοῖς φιλομάθεσιν ὀφέλειαν ἐν τῷ παλαιῷ ἑσπερίῳ δάκ-
σιν. ἐν δὲ νῦν ἀρετὰ μὲν τῶν τοῖς δὲ νῦν σεβασταῖς χειρὶ σμῆ-
ρα πρᾶξις οἰόμενος, εἰς ὧν πολλὰ κίς ἐν χεῖρα καθεύδονται,
τόντων αὐτοῦ δὲ πρὸς πρὸς νοσημαί, εἰς πολλοὺς μὲν ὁ δὲ
δύναμις τῶν πάντων τῶν θεῶν γράφων, μετακαλῶν. Διὰ
φροντίδος πεποιήμαι, σιωπῶν τῶν τοιούτων ἐφ' ὅσον τῇ τε
σοφῇ ἐκβαθύνει μόνι χροσάμενος. ὅς, ἵνα καὶ αὐτοὶ μὴ ἀγνοῦ-
τε τὸν αὐτὸν, τοῖς γὰρ ἐν Ἰταλία διαβόητος πᾶσι καθεύδ-
ειν, Ἄλλος τὸν πᾶν κλην μανούτιος ἐκ φιλοπαλαιᾶς ῥώμης
ἐλκων τὸ γὰρ. αὐτὸν βίω τε καὶ λόγῳ κεκοσμημένος. οὗτος, ἀ-
ρετῆς ζήλω ὅτι τῇ πρὸς τὰ ἡμέτερα κηδεμονία τε καὶ σφρηγὶ τὴν
τῶν γραμμάτων τούτων ἀρμολίαν καὶ συνθεσιν, τῇ τοῦ
οἰκείου μοῦς ἐφ' ὅσον ὅσον τῇ. ἐν τῇ λέγειν τὸν χαρακτῆρα,
οὗ περ οὐκ ἀντίς τῶν ἐπὶ τὸ καλλιγραφῆν χειρὶ σφωρ, ἐ-
χάρων ὡραιότερον. τόντων τοι γὰρ οὐ περὶ τούτων κοινῶ
λογούμενος, οὐ μόνον ξυμμοῦντα καὶ προσεπόμενον, ἀλ-
λὰ καὶ αὐτὸν οἰκοθερμώρμημένον ὅσον εἰς ταῦτα, καὶ τῶν
ἐμὴν ἐπὶ πολλὸν χροσάσας ἀγγελίας ὁρμὴν ἐπιτείνοντα.
τῶν γὰρ μωσέος πεντάτευχον, σὺν τῇ τῆς παλαιᾶς Δια-
θήκης πάσῃ λοιπῇ πραγματείᾳ, ἐβραϊστί. ἐλληνιστί. ρωμαϊ-
στί, ὅντιν' εἰς μακρὰν ἐκδῶσειν ὁρμηλίστα το σὺν θεῷ. ὡς ἂν

fig. 169

Until recently, there was no information of Dekadios's activities after he left Venice. Now, through the publication of some correspondence, we learn that Dekadios returned to Corfu where he taught side-by-side with his former teacher, Ioannes Moschos. This information comes from a letter by Hermodoros Lestarchos to Theophanes Eleavoulikos, where mention is made of Dekadios's teaching in Corfu.¹⁷ Although the letter is not dated, it could not have been written before 1495 and most probably was written sometime in 1498 or 1499.¹⁸

More information about Dekadios's life and activities can be gleaned from his own correspondence, which although undated, scholars have been able to date at least approximately from the contents and events described therein. For example, some time in 1518, he wrote the Italian humanist Vettore Fausto (Νικήτας Φαῦστος) to congratulate him on his appointment to the chair of Greek and Latin in Venice. The chair was previously held by Markos Mousouros, whom Fausto

succeeded in 1518.¹⁹ There is another letter of Dekadios to Arsenios Apostolis, whom Dekadios had known in Venice when they were both working as editors for Aldus Manutius in the 1490s. From the contents of the letter and the events described in it, scholars have decided that Dekadios was writing from Constantinople around 1532.²⁰

Ioustinos Dekadios was the author of some *Acolouthies* and *Troparia*, none of which were published during the sixteenth century.²¹

c.1496-98 Ψαλτήριον (BH I no. 11; BMC V, 563; ESSLING no. 169; RENOUARD 260, no. 8; SANDER no. 5944)

Preface: "Ἰουστίνος ὁ δεκαδύος, τοῖς ἐν ἐλλάδι γραιοῖς, εὖ πράττειν"

1497 Ὁραὶ τῆς ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας (BMC V, 558; RENOUARD, 15-16 no. 13) 5 Dec.
Edited by I. Dekadios?²²

1497 Aristoteles, Τῶν ἐν τῇδε τῇ βίβλῳ περιεχομένων ὀνόματα καὶ τάξεις (BMC V, 556; GW 2334; RENOUARD 10 no. 1) February
I. Dekadios was one of several editors.²³

NOTES

¹ In his autograph works, he spelled his name Δεκάδιος, see X. Γ. ΠΑΤΡΙΝΕΛΗΣ, Δύο ἀνέκδοτα κείμενα περὶ τοῦ Μανουὴλ Κορινθίου (Μιὰ ἐπιστολὴ τοῦ Ἰουστίνου Δεκαδίου καὶ μιὰ "ἐνθύμησις"), *Πελοποννησιακά*, 8(1971)139 note 2, while in the *Psalterion* he edited for Aldus Manutius his name is spelled Δεκαδύος. For Dekadios see SATHAS, 101; A. ΜΟΥΣΤΟΞΥΔΗΣ, Ἰουστίνος Δεκαδύος, *Ἑλληνομνήμων*, 4(1843)196-203; BH I, cii-cvii; K. Σ. ΣΤΑΙΚΟΣ, Χάρτα, 326-27.

² X. Γ. ΠΑΤΡΙΝΕΛΗΣ, *Op. cit.*, 139-40 and note 5.

³ B. BOTFIELD, *Praefationes et epistolae editionibus principibus auctorum veterum praepositae*. Cambridge, 1861, 199; see also BH I, cii. The above quotation was taken from Aldus's letter to Alberto Pio that appears in the edition of Aristotle, *Φυσικὴ ἀκρόασις*, 1497 (BMC V, 556; RENOUARD 10 no. 1) see folio *II; see also *Aldo Manuzio editore*, I, 16; N. Barker, *Aldus Manutius*, 65 note 2.

⁴ BH I, cii. The text of the letter is reproduced in A. ΜΟΥΣΤΟΞΥΔΗΣ, Ἰουστίνος Δεκαδύος, 202-3. The letter is only dated "15 July" without indication of the year.

⁵ The text is reproduced in A. ΜΟΥΣΤΟΞΥΔΗΣ, *Op. cit.*, 196-98; BH I, 24-25; partial translation in French given by A. F. DIDOT, *Alde Manuce*, 60-61.

⁶ The leaf is bound in a codex, the Parisinus graecus 3064, and reproduced in RENOUARD between pages 388 and 389.

⁷ *Alde Manuce*, 58-60.

⁸ *Annales*, 260 no. 8.

⁹ Urbano Bolzanio, *Institutiones graecae grammaticae* (RENOUARD 11 no. 4; BMC V, 558; SANDER no. 7436); Joannes Crastonus, *Dictionarium graecum cum interpretatione latina* (RENOUARD 13 no. 7; BMC V, 558; GW 7814).

¹⁰ BMC V, 563: "it cannot be later than about the middle of 1498" because the work was included in Aldus's 1498 price list and also because type Greek 146 went out of use after that. GOFF P-1033: "about 1496-98" and IGI no. 8122=1498.

¹¹ Het Psalterion van Aldus Manutius and her Vroege Griekse Drukken van Aldus Manutius, *Het Boek*, 36(1963)94-99, 233.

¹² N. BARKER, *Aldus Manutius*, 52 note 21.

¹³ See BH I, ciii-iv; RENOUARD, 259 no. 6.

¹⁴ See note 3 above.

¹⁵ A. A. RENOUEARD, *Annales*, 386. A. F. DIDOT, *Alde Manuce*, 150; D. J. GEANAKOPLOS, Erasmus and the Aldine Academy of Venice: A Neglected Chapter in the Transmission of Graeco-Byzantine Learning to the West, *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*, 3(1960)118; and his *Greek Scholars*, 130.

¹⁶ M. J. C. LOWRY, The "New Academy", 378-420.

¹⁷ F. M. PONTANI, Una lettera inedita di Listarchos, *Byzantion*, 33(1963)427-447 especially, 436, 438-39; X. Γ. ΠΑΤΡΙΝΕΛΗΣ, Δύο ανέκδοτα κείμενα, 141.

¹⁸ X. Γ. ΠΑΤΡΙΝΕΛΗΣ, Δύο ανέκδοτα κείμενα, 139-40.

¹⁹ M. SANUTO, *I diarii*. Venice, 1889, XXVI, cols. 107, 125, 127-28. The text of Dekadios's letter to Fausto has been reproduced in BH II, 347-48.

²⁰ M. I. ΜΑΝΟΥΣΑΚΑΣ, Ἀρσενίου Μονεμβασίας τοῦ Ἀποστόλη ἐπιστολαὶ ἀνέκδοτοι (1521-1534), Ἑπετηρὶς τοῦ Μεσαιωνικοῦ Ἀρχείου, 8/9(1958/59)15-23, 46-48.

²¹ For a list of his writings, see BH I, cvii and X. Γ. ΠΑΤΡΙΝΕΛΗΣ, Δύο ανέκδοτα κείμενα,, 142.

²² See RENOUEARD, 259 no. 6; BH I, ciii-iv.

²³ See note 3 above.

Demetrios Doukas, fl. 1508-1527

DEMETRIOS DOUKAS¹ came to Venice from Candia (Herakleion), Crete, some time after 1500. His name first appeared in Venice as editor of two Aldine editions. The first, a collection of treatises on rhetoric, *Rhetores in hoc volumine habentur* (BH I no. 32; RENOUARD 54 no. 4) is dated November 1508-May 1509. Doukas also edited another work for the Aldine press, Plutarch's *Opuscula* (BH I no. 33; RENOUARD 55 no. 1), dated March 1509. It has been suggested that during the years he was in Venice, Doukas was also a member of the Aldine Academy or *Neakademia*. However, there is no evidence confirming this.² After 1509, there is no mention of Doukas in Venice. This was a time when Venetian life was disrupted by the wars of the League of Cambrai, which forced even Aldus to interrupt his publishing activities and take refuge in Ferrara.³

Undoubtedly because of his experience as an editor and corrector for Aldus and for his knowledge of Greek, Demetrios Doukas was invited by Cardinal Francisco Jiménez, Archbishop of Toledo, (1436-1517) to be among the scholars to edit the Complutensian Polyglot Bible that the Archbishop wished to publish. There is information that Demetrios Doukas was in Spain in 1513, and it is quite possible that he had arrived there even earlier. During his stay in Spain, Doukas also taught Greek — from 1513 to 1517 — at the newly established University of Alcalá (Complutum), also known as the Trilingual College of San Ildefonso.⁴ Demetrios Doukas himself informs us that, when he arrived in Spain, he found that there were virtually no Greek books available for teaching purposes. Despite the fact that he was extremely busy with his editorial duties, he was forced to edit, correct, and publish two books at his own expense so that he could use them in his teaching (fig. 25). This information was furnished in the colophon of the first book he published, a collection of grammatical works beginning with the *Erotemata* of Manouel Chrysoloras (BH I no. 41; NORTONSP no. 30) that came out on 10 April 1514.⁵ The second work published by Doukas, also printed in 1514 and obviously to be used as an elementary reader, was the poem of Mousaios, *Tὰ κατ' Ἡρῶ καὶ Λέανδρον* (BH I no. 42; NORTONSP no. 31). Both works were printed by Arnao Guillén de Brocar with the Greek type that was used to print the New Testament section of the Complutensian Polyglot Bible.

Although Greek type had been used in Spain as early as 1475, it was used only for quotations in Latin books. Before the printing of the two works financed by Demetrios Doukas and of the New Testament volume (volume five) of the Complutensian Polyglot, which is dated 10 January 1514, Greek printing in Spain was virtually non-existent. The closest example to a Greek book up to that time was a Greek alphabet book, *De litteris graecis*, compiled by the Spanish humanist Antonio de Nebrija and printed c. 1507 (NORTONSP no. 392).⁶ Much has been written about the splendid Greek type that was cut for the printing of the New Testament section of the Complutensian Polyglot Bible. The font was cut by the Spanish printer Arnao Guillén de Brocar⁷ and was already in existence before Demetrios Doukas arrived in Spain, as he himself informs us in the colophon of the grammatical works he published there (BH I no. 41): "Summoned by the most reverend Cardinal of Spain because of my knowledge of Greek, I came here, and, finding a great want of Greek books, or rather, so to say, a desert (*eremia*) in this respect, I printed and offered to you, to the best of my ability, some texts on grammar and poetry, using letters [characters in Greek type] which I found here."⁸

After the completion of his editorial duties, Doukas's task was finished in Spain, and shortly after he must have left. The last payment of his salary from the University of Alcalà was recorded on 13 May 1518, and it covered the months from May to October 1517. This almost coincides with the death of Cardinal Jiménez, the man who had invited Doukas to Alcalà, that occurred in November 1517.⁹



fig. 170

There is a gap in our information about the activities and whereabouts of Doukas from 1517 until his appearance in Rome, where he edited and published the first edition of the liturgies of Saint John Chrysostom, Saint Basil the Great, and the liturgy of the Presunctified, *Θεῖαι Λειτουργεῖαι*, 1526 (BH I no. 76).¹⁰ The Greek type used for the printing of this last work seems to bear a very close resemblance to the cursive type which was used in Spain by Guillén de Brocar for the printing of the Old Testament section of the Complutensian Polyglot (fig. 26).¹¹ It measures 20 lines=90 mm (fig. 27). There is no information available about who was responsible for the cursive font that was used for the Old Testament.¹² It has been assumed that the type was designed and cut in Alcalà by Brocar himself. Some scholars thought that the printer had tried to "modernize" his type by adapting an Aldine cursive style to correspond to the scholarly productions set in Italy by Aldus Manutius.¹³ However, the Greek cursive font of the Complutensian Polyglot seems to have been imported from Italy and not cut in Spain as originally thought. It corresponds to the type used by the printer Giovanni Tacuino (Giovanni da Cerreto de Tridino detto Tacuino), who was active in Venice between 1492 and 1542.¹⁴ Tacuino used his Greek cursive fonts mostly for quotations in his Latin editions, as in the case of the Aulus Gellius *Noctes miscantissimae*, 1509¹⁵ (ISAAC no.12687), or in Urbano Bolzanio's *Grammaticae institutiones*, 1512 (ISAAC no. 12699). The Bolzanio grammar contains some verses of Vettore Fausto, another of the Greek editors of the Complutensian Polyglot, signed with the hellenized version of his name, Νικήτας Φαῦστος. It is possible then, that one of the editors of the Bible, possibly Vettore Fausto, was asked to bring with him matrices of a cursive Greek font from Italy on behalf of the Cardinal and his project.¹⁶

The preface of the liturgies of 1526 is addressed by Doukas to the Orthodox Christians everywhere "Τοῖς πανταχοῦ Ὁρθοδόξοις Χριστιανοῖς Δημήτριος Δουκάς ὁ Κρής εὖ πράττειν."¹⁷ The liturgies came out in two issues. The first issue is without the October 28 privilege of Pope Clement VII, perhaps because these books were to be sold to the Orthodox in the Greek-speaking world, while the issue with the papal privilege were to be sold in Italy. The decorative initials and headpieces in the book are fashioned in the style reminiscent of the early imprints of Zacharias Kallierges, which in their turn were based on Byzantine models (figs. 55, 170-71). It is unlikely that Demetrios Doukas was the actual printer of the work, although, given his considerable experience in editing and publishing, he must have been heavily involved in its preparation. As mentioned above, the Greek type used by Doukas to publish the liturgies is a cursive type (fig. 26), which bears a remarkable resemblance to the cursive used to print the Old Testament section of the Complutensian Polyglot. The printer, who is not mentioned in the colophon (fig. 172), was likely Marcello Silber who, in February 1527, also printed another book at the expense of

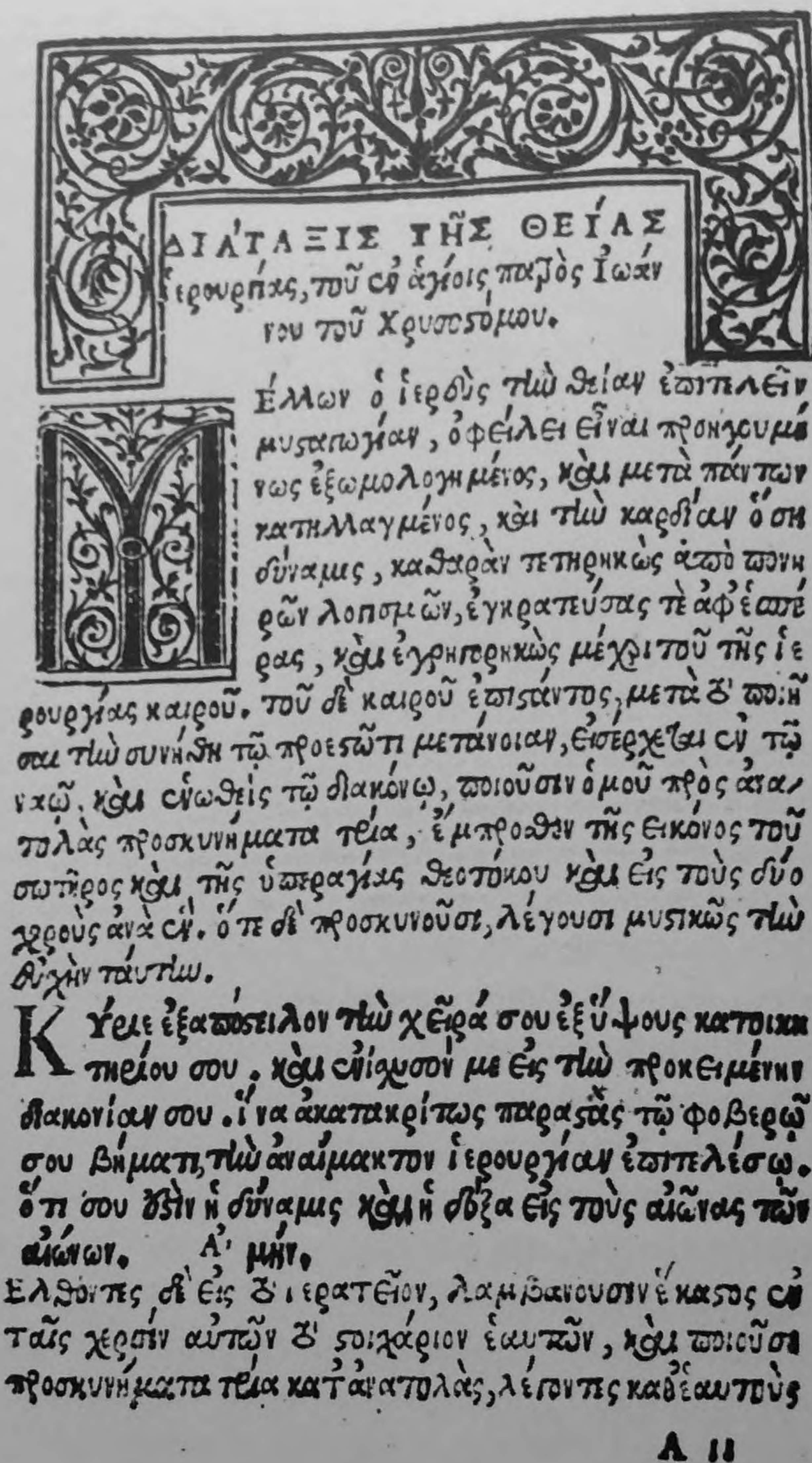


fig. 171

Demetrios Doukas. This was Alexander of Aphrodisias, *Commentaria in duodecim Aristotelis libros de prima philosophia* (BH III no. 292). This Latin translation of Alexander of Aphrodisias was made by Juan Sepúlveda, a Spanish humanist whom Doukas must have known in Spain.¹⁸

As we have mentioned earlier, although Demetrios Doukas must have left Spain in 1518 or soon after, we have no record of his activities between 1518 and 1526. Geanakoplos has suggested¹⁹ that it is possible that Demetrios Doukas was invited to Rome by Pope Leo X in order to teach Greek and that he was also perhaps involved in the activities of the Greek Gymnasium on the Quirinal Hill, along with Zacharias Kallierges and the other scholars connected with it. However, at the moment and until some document turns up to substantiate it, this suggestion re-

mains in the realm of conjecture. On the other hand, there is evidence that Doukas did teach as "publicus professor" of Greek letters at the university in Rome. This information is furnished in the two privileges granted to Demetrios Doukas by Pope Clement VII. Besides the one granted on 28 October 1526 for the Greek liturgies (BH I no. 76), he also received a privilege dated 22 January 1527 for the publication of Alexander of Aphrodisias.²⁰ This is the last mention of Demetrios Doukas in the sources. It is possible that Doukas had to flee

Rome along with many other humanists when the city was sacked in May 1527 by the armies of Emperor Charles V, or he may have perished there along with the other humanists and printers who lost their lives at the time.²¹

Works edited or published by Demetrios Doukas:

Venice, 1508-1509

- 1508-09 *Rhetores in hoc volumine habentur* (BH I no. 32; RENOUEARD, 54 no. 4) Aldus Manutius
 "Δημήτριος Δουκάς ὁ Κρής Μάρκῳ Μουσούρῳ τῷ Κρητὶ εὖ πράττειν"
- 1509 *Plvtarchi Opvscvla* (BH I no. 33; RENOUEARD, 55 no. 1) Aldus Manutius
 "Δημήτριος Δουκάς ὁ Κρής τοῖς σπουδαίοις εὖ πράττειν"

Alcalà de Henares (Complutum), 1514

- 1514 *Nouum Testamentum* (BH I no. 40; NORTONSP no. 27) Arnao Guillén de Brocar
 MM8^r: Epigram by Demetrios Doukas
- 1514 *Chrysoloras Ἑρωτήματα* (BH I no. 41; NORTONSP no. 30) Arnao Guillén de Brocar
 "Δημήτριος Δουκάς ὁ Κρής τοῖς ἐν κομπλούτου ἀκαδημίας σπουδαίοις εὖ πράττειν"
- 1514 *Mousaios Τὰ κατ' ἡρῶ καὶ λέανδρον* (BH I no. 42; NORTONSP no. 31) Arnao Guillén de Brocar
 "δεξιότητι δημητρίου δουκά τοῦ κρητός"

Rome, 1526-27

- 1526 *Αἱ Θεῖαι Λειτουργεῖαι* (BH I no. 76; EISS III no. 4009) No printer indicated
 "Δεξιότητι Δημητρίου Δουκά τοῦ κρητός"
- 1527 *Alexander of Aphrodisias Commentaria* (BH III no. 292; EISS I no. 922/1039)
 Marcello Silber
 Demetrios Doukas obtained privilege and defrayed cost of publication.

Εἰ τις εἰς αὐτοὺς δέκα πάντα σὶ τὰς θείας λει-
 τουργίας αὐτοῦ τολμήσει, ἢ ἄλλοθεν ποθεν
 αὐτετυπωμένας ὥνίας εἶχειν, ἐκ τοῦ προνομίου
 τοῦ Μακαριωτάτου ἄκρου ἀρχιερέως Κλη-
 μεντος ἐβδόμου ζημωθήσεται.

Ἐν ῥώμῃ χιλιοστῷ φ' κ' ε'. Μηνὸς ὀκτωβρίου.
 Δεξιότητι Δημητρίου Δουκά τοῦ κρητός.

fig. 172

NOTES

- ¹ On Demetrios Doukas see ASCARELLI-MENATO, 108; BH I, 194 note 2; BORSA I, 131; SATHAS, 227 and especially D. J. GEANAKOPOLOS, *Greek scholars*, 223-55.
- ² D. J. GEANAKOPOLOS, *Op. cit.*, 130; but see M. J. C. LOWRY, The "New Academy" of Aldus Manutius: a Renaissance Dream, *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*, 58(1975-76)378-420 who thinks that the Academy was more dream than fact and at any rate by 1508-09, the years of Doukas's stay in Venice, whatever earlier activity there was had already ceased.
- ³ D. J. GEANAKOPOLOS, *Greek Scholars*, 142 and note 117; M. J. C. LOWRY, *The World of Aldus Manutius*, 159.
- ⁴ BH I, 194 note 2; B. HALL, The Trilingual College of San Ildefonso and the Making of the Complutensian Polyglot Bible, *Studies in Church History*, 5(1969) 114-46.
- ⁵ The colophon is reproduced in BH I, 119.
- ⁶ D. E. RHODES, The First Use, 93-95; F. J. NORTON, *Printing in Spain*, 36-41; A. ALATORRE, Para la historia, 233-44.
- ⁷ For a description of the type see R. PROCTOR, *The Printing*, 144 and V. SCHOLDERER, *Greek Printing Types*, 10; K. M. WOODY, A Note, 143-49.
- ⁸ English translation of the colophon given in D. J. GEANAKOPOLOS, *Op. cit.*, 235. For another version in English see B. HALL, The Trilingual College, 133. The text of the Greek colophon is given in BH I, 119.
- ⁹ D. J. GEANAKOPOLOS, *Greek Scholars*, 246. B. HALL, The Trilingual College, 132-33 says that, according to surviving records, Doukas was probably the chief editor of the Greek parts of the Complutensian Polyglot and that he held the Chair of Greek at San Ildefonso from 1513 and was concerned with "la obra del cardenal." However, dissatisfied with the absence of a sufficient library of Greek books, he left Alcalá and went to Rome soon after the death of Cardinal Jiménez.
- ¹⁰ E. ΚΟΥΡΙΑΛΑΣ, Αἱ πρῶται ἐκδόσεις τῆς θείας λειτουργίας καὶ τὰ λειτουργικὰ εἰλητήρια τῆς μονῆς Μεγίστης Λαύρας τοῦ Ἀθῶνος, *Θεολογία*, 19(1941-48)650-55.
- ¹¹ Besides the Old Testament, the cursive font was used to print two more works in 1519. These were: Divvs Basilevs, *Λόγος παραινετικὸς πρὸς τοὺς νέους*. Compluti impressum per Egregium Virum Arnaldum Guillermum de Brocario, 1519 (NORTONSP no. 71) See also E. LEGRAND, *Bibliographie hispano-grecque*. New York, 1915-17, no. 40; Demetrios Moschos, *Τὸ καθ' Ἑλένην καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον*. Impressum Compluti per Egregium virum Arnaldum Guillermi de Brocario, 1519 (NORTONSP no. 74) and E. LEGRAND, *Ibidem*, no. 41. Both were edited with an interlineary Latin translation by Fernán Nuñez de Guzmán, one of the editors of the Complutensian Polyglot.
- ¹² For a description of the Complutensian Polyglot see T. H. DARLOW and H. F. MOULE, *Historical Catalogue of the Printed Editions of the Holy Scriptures in the Library of the British and Foreign Bible Society*. London, 1911, II, no. 1412. See also R. V. G. TASKER, The Complutensian Polyglot, 197-210.
- ¹³ K. M. WOODY, A Note, 145.
- ¹⁴ ASCARELLI, 171; ASCARELLI-MENATO, 335-36; BORSA I, 309; NORTON, 154; PASTORELLO, no. 102; STC, 962-63.
- ¹⁵ See folios I3^v and I4^r and L3^v-L4^r.
- ¹⁶ See folio A2^v which contains some Greek verses in a type which looks remarkably like that of the cursive of the Old Testament sections of the Complutensian Polyglot.
- ¹⁷ The entire preface is given in BH I, 193-94.
- ¹⁸ D. G. GEANAKOPOLOS, *Greek Scholars*, 249-50.
- ¹⁹ *Ibidem*, 248-49.
- ²⁰ For the text of the privilege of the Liturgies see BH I, 194-95; for a partial text of the other privilege see BH III, 317; English translation of the January 1527 privilege in D. J. GEANAKOPOLOS, *op. cit.*, 250.
- ²¹ GEANAKOPOLOS, 252.

Nathanael Emboros, fl. 1596-1625

NATHANAEL EMBOROS of Athens was active as an editor/corrector at the very end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries. He was a cleric, a *διάκονος* or *ιεροδιάκονος*, who was also a scribe and teacher. Between 1599 and 1603, he edited a small number of liturgical books printed in Venice. He has often been confused with a contemporary cleric from Athens of the same name, Nathanael Chikas (Χίκας, Χύκας), who lived and worked in Athens and Venice.¹ Like Emboros, Nathanael Chikas was also a cleric, an *hieromonachos*, and a teacher of Greek in Venice and a scribe. Because their handwriting has stylistic similarities, it is believed that they belonged to the same scriptorium in Athens.²

Nathanael Emboros went to Italy at the invitation of the ailing Maximos Margounios, Bishop of Kythera, who needed a young scholar who was also a cleric to reside with him and help him in copying texts.³ The earliest indication available that Emboros was in Italy is from a manuscript copied by him in Venice that is dated June 1598. This manuscript, 691(H 36), is now at the Great Lavra monastery on Mount Athos.⁴ It appears that Nathanael Emboros's stay with Maximos Margounios was very brief, for by February 1598, Margounios (who was residing in Mussolente at the time) had written to Emboros, then in Venice, urging him to return and work for him again. There are vague references to a disagreement between the two men, the cause of which is not at all clear. However, it seems that Emboros did not return to his post with Margounios but remained in Venice, for in May 1599 Margounios was again trying to engage the services of another young cleric to work for him.⁵ It was during this period that Nathanael Emboros, besides working as a scribe, also edited and corrected some liturgical books for an obscure Italian printer whose name is given in the Greek colophons as Δομίνικος Ντεπολώνιος, or Ητεπολώνιος.⁶ The last work Emboros edited was in 1603 for the publisher Antonio Pinelli.

Because Nathanael Emboros and Nathanael Chikas were both in Venice in the late 1590s and early 1600s, there has been some confusion as to who did what during that period. For example, one source assigns the post of teacher of Greek, preacher, and rector of the Greek Community between the years 1614 and 1617 to Nathanael Chikas,⁷ while a second source assigns it to Nathanael Emboros.⁸ More recent research has definitely assigned this post to Nathanael Chikas.⁹ This confusion often arises because both men, as clerics, often signed only their first names and their ecclesiastical titles. Nothing is known about the activities of Nathanael Emboros between 1603 and 1625, when his name reappears for the last time in Venice in a document now in the archives of the Greek Institute in Venice. In this document, he is listed as one of the candidates for the position of teacher in the Greek school run by the Greek Brotherhood.¹⁰

Books edited by Nathanael Emboros between 1599 and 1603:

- 1599 Ἀνθολόγιον (PAPADOPOULOS II no. 309^a)
 “Ἐπιμελῶς διορθωθέν, παρὰ Ναθαναήλου ἱεροδιακόνου ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν τοῦ Ἐμπόρου. Ἀκροατοῦ τοῦ σοφωτάτου καὶ θεολογικωτάτου Ἐπισκόπου κυθήρων, κυρίου Μαξίμου τοῦ Μαργουνίου.”

- 1599 Μὴν Φεβρουάριος (BH IV no. 857; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 311; EISS III no. 4014)
 “Ἐπιμελῶς διορθωθείς, παρὰ Ναθαναήλου...Μαξίμου τοῦ Μαργουνίου.”
- 1599 Εὐαγγέλιον (LADAS no. 99)
 “Ἐπιμελῶς διορθωθέν παρὰ Ναθαναήλου ἱεροδιακόνου ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν τοῦ Ἐμπορίου.”
- 1599 Τριώδιον (PAPADOPOULOS II no. 312)
 As above.
- 1599 Εὐχολόγιον (ILIOU, 319 no. 35)¹¹
- 1600 Παρακλητική (BH IV no. 863; PHOSKOLOS A no. 10; LADAS no. 101)
 “Ἐπιμελῶς διορθωθέν, παρὰ Ναθαναήλου ἱεροδιακόνου ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν τοῦ Ἐμπορίου.”
- 1600 Πεντηκοστάριον (BH IV no. 862)
 As above
- 1603 Βιβλίον τοῦ Ἀπριλλίου (BH XVIIIs. I no. 13)¹²
 “παρὰ Ναταναήλου [sic] ἱεροδιακόνου ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν τοῦ Ἐμπορίου.”

NOTES

¹ BH II, lxvi-lxvii; M. I. ΜΑΝΟΥΣΑΚΑΣ, Ναθαναήλ Χίκας ὁ Ἀθηναῖος καὶ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ, *Ἐπετηρὶς τοῦ Μεσαιωνικοῦ Ἀρχείου*, 4(1951-52)7-10; N. M. ΠΑΝΑΓΙΩΤΑΚΗΣ, Περὶ Ναθαναήλ Χίκα, *Μνημόσυνον Σοφίας Ἀντωνιάδου*. Βενετία, 1974, 265-75.

² B. L. FONKITCH, La Chronique de Michel Glykas: Note sur les origines du manuscrit de Leningrad. (Une fois de plus sur Nathanaël Emboros et Nathanaël Chicas), *Θησαυρίσματα*, 19(1982)78-89.

³ See BH II, lxvi-lxvii, where the text of the letter of Maximos Margounios dated January 1596 inviting Nathanael Emboros to come and reside with him is reproduced.

⁴ N. M. ΠΑΝΑΓΙΩΤΑΚΗΣ, Περὶ Ναθαναήλ Χίκα, 273 and note 28.

⁵ N. M. ΠΑΝΑΓΙΩΤΑΚΗΣ, Περὶ Ναθαναήλ Χίκα, 273 and note 29.

⁶ See also under Poloni in Part II. The name Domenico Poloni, Di Poloni, De Poloni, does not appear in any of the known compendia of Italian printers such as ASCARELLI, ASCARELLI-MENATO, BORSA, PASTORELLO or in the STC.

⁷ I. ΒΕΛΟΥΔΗΣ, *Ἑλλήνων Ὁρθοδόξων ἀποικία ἐν Βενετίᾳ*. 2. ἐκδ. ἀναθεωρηθεῖσα. Βενετία, 1893, 110.

⁸ K. Δ. ΜΕΡΤΖΙΟΣ, *Θωμᾶς Φλαγγίνης*, 174 note 1.

⁹ N. M. ΠΑΝΑΓΙΩΤΑΚΗΣ, Περὶ Ναθαναήλ Χίκα, 274.

¹⁰ K. Δ. ΜΕΡΤΖΙΟΣ, *Θωμᾶς Φλαγγίνης*, 174.

¹¹ According to ILIOU, 65 and 319 no. 35, Nathanael Emboros edited an *Euchologion* printed in 1599 by Domenico de Poloni that is still unrecorded.

¹² Legrand in BH XVIIIs. V, 211 quotes from a letter written by Metrophanes Kritopoulos on 14 May 1626 in which there is mention of an *Horologion* edited by Nathanael Emboros: "... quondam ab ipso auctore inscriptam Nathanaelis hierodiaconi, discipuli Maximi Margunii, *Horologio*, anno MDXXXIX typis Spinelli edito..." However, the dates do not coincide with either the Spinelli press or with N. Emboros's sojourn in Venice.

Venediktos Episkopoulos fl. 1568-1591

VENEDIKTOS EPISKOPOULOS (also Episkopopoulos) of Rethymnon, Crete, was the editor/corrector of a single book, an *Euchologion* printed in Venice by Zuan Battista Tauroceni (LADAS no. 74).¹ Venediktos Episkopoulos was primarily a musician and a scribe by profession. His father Antonios was also a scribe and a musician who, between 1565 and 1569 was the principal chanter (πρωτοψάλτης) of Kydonia in Crete.² It is not known when Venediktos became *Protopapas* of Rethymnon or any other details of his career beyond what is revealed in the manuscripts copied by him. Some codices listed in various catalogues contain music set by both father and son.³ It is said that Venediktos wanted to teach music at the Greek College of San Atanasio in Rome. However, this probably did not come to pass, as there is no mention of him among the pupils and teachers of the College.⁴

There is evidence that Venediktos was in Venice in 1568. He was one of three Greek readers — the others were Antonios Eparchos and Hieronymos Litarchos or Litarches — who were asked by the Capi del Consiglio dei Dieci to read and report on the contents of two Greek works submitted for publication permission by Nikolaos Papadopoulos. The task of the readers was to report on whether or not the works in question, a life of the Virgin Mary and the life of Saint Nikolaos, both in verse, contained anything offensive against the laws and religion of the Venetian Republic and the Catholic religion before permission could be granted to print.⁵

In 1563, Antonios Episkopoulos applied and obtained permission to publish an *Evangelistarion*, *Paschalion*, and *Kalendarion*.⁶ It is not known if these works were ever printed; no trace of them remains.

1580

Εὐχολόγιον (LADAS no. 74)

“Ἐπιδιορθώσει δὲ...παρὰ βενεδίκτου ἱερέως ἐπισκοπούλου, τοῦ κρητός”

NOTES

¹ D. E. RHODES, *Some Cretan Scholars in Italy, 1400-1600: with Special Reference to the Book-Trade, Κρητικά Χρονικά*, 25(1973)217; X. Γ. ΠΑΤΡΙΝΕΛΗΣ, ‘Επιστολαὶ Ἑλλήνων πρὸς τὸν Πάπαν Γρηγόριον ΙΓ’ (1572-1585) καὶ τὸν καρδινάλιον Σιρλέτον (+1585), *Ἐπετηρὶς τοῦ Μεσαιωνικοῦ Ἀρχείου*, 17(1967)107 note 5.

² N. B. ΤΩΜΑΔΑΚΗΣ, ‘Ἐπισκοπὴ καὶ ἐπίσκοποι Κυδωνίας, *Κρητικά Χρονικά*, 11(1957)30-31.

³ X. Γ. ΠΑΤΡΙΝΕΛΗΣ, ‘Επιστολαὶ Ἑλλήνων, 106-07. For his activities as a scribe see VG, 58; PATRINELIS, 83-84; GAMILLSCHEG-HALFINGER, I no. 38.

⁴ X. Γ. ΠΑΤΡΙΝΕΛΗΣ, ‘Επιστολαὶ Ἑλλήνων, 105. He is not listed in Z. N. ΤΣΙΡΠΙΑΝΛΗΣ, *Τὸ Ἑλληνικὸ Κολλέγιο τῆς Ρώμης καὶ οἱ μαθητὲς του (1576-1700)*. Θεσσαλονίκη, 1980.

⁵ N. M. ΠΑΝΑΓΙΩΤΑΚΗΣ, Νικόλαος Παπαδόπουλος, 115-16, 151 no. 3; see also K. Δ. ΜΕΡΤΖΙΟΣ, ‘Ὀκτὼ ἄδειαι διὰ τὴν ἐκτύπωσιν βιβλίων ἐν Βενετίᾳ (1559-1572), *Ἀθηνᾶ*, 69(1966-67)176.

⁶ ΜΕΡΤΖΙΟΣ, ‘Ὀκτὼ ἄδειαι, 175-76.

Vettore (Vittorio) Fausto, c. 1480-before 1551

VETTORE FAUSTO was a Venetian humanist who was frequently mistaken for a Greek because he usually signed his work with the hellenized form of his name, Νικήτας Φαῦστος.¹ Fausto was born after 1480 and studied Greek and Latin under Girolamo Maserio, who was Public Professor of Greek and Latin in Venice. He also studied mathematics and architecture. In his early years, Fausto travelled extensively throughout the Italian States and as far as France, Spain, and Germany, where he made the acquaintance of many scholars.² It was during his stay in Spain that Fausto participated, along with Demetrios Doukas, in the editing of the Greek text of the New Testament section of the Complutensian Polyglot Bible sponsored by Cardinal Francisco Jiménez. Both Doukas and Fausto, signing as Niketas Phaustos, have epigrams at the end of the volume.³

It appears that upon his return to Italy from abroad, Fausto found himself in financial difficulties and joined the Venetian army.⁴ When the chair of Public Professorship of Greek and Latin in Venice became vacant after the death of Markos Mousouros in October 1517, Fausto was one of three candidates who applied for the post. The other two contestants for the position were Konstantinos Palaiokapas⁵ of Kydonia in Crete, then a resident of Venice, and Giovanni Hector Lascaris, surnamed Pirgoteles. Fausto won the contest and was appointed to the Chair in October 1518.⁶

Fausto edited and corrected a handful of Greek works. His name appears in print as early as 1512 as editor of the Greek grammar of Urbano Bolzanio, *Grammaticae institutiones* (EISS II no. 2918; STC, 116), printed by Giovanni Tacuino. Although his name does not appear in the colophon of the work, he contributed an epigram (A2^v). In 1522, Vettore Fausto prepared the manuscript for the publication of the first edition of the *Parakletike* (BH I no. 65=LADAS no. 10). We glean this information from the preface of the work, which was written by Fausto.⁷ Ercole Girlandi was the corrector of the work when it went to press.

Fausto's greatest claim to fame was the design of a new type of war galley — a *guinquereme* — with five banks of oars for the Venetian navy. When built in 1529, the galley was much admired and at its launching, all Venice, even the Doge, Andrea Gritti, was present. The new boat was hailed as the new *Argo*. We do not know precisely when Fausto died, although it was definitely before 1551, when a posthumous collection of his orations was published.⁸

Greek works edited and corrected by Vettore Fausto, 1512-1523:

- 1512 Urbano Bolzanio, *Grammaticae institutiones* (EISS II no. 2918; STC, 116)
 A2^v: Epigram by Νικήτας Φαῦστος

- 1514 Nouum testamentum grece & latine (BH I no. 40)
 MM8^r: Epigram by Νικήτας Φαῦστος

- 1522 Παρακλητική (VRETOS I no. 4=BH I no. 65; LADAS no. 10)
 α1^v: "Νικήτας ὁ Φαῦστος δημόσιος ἐν Ἑνεταίαις διδάσκαλος, τοῖς καθ' Ἑλλάδα
 χριστιανοῖς εὖ πράττειν"
- 1523 Παρακλητική (ILIOU no. 2)⁹
 As above

¹ H. HODIUS, *De Grecis illustribus*. London, 1742, 321; G. DEGLI AGOSTINI, Vettore Fausto, *Notizie storico-critiche intorno la vita, e le opere degli scrittori Viniziani*. In Venezia, 1752-54, II, 448-72; G. J. GEANAKOPOLOS, *Greek Scholars*, 240.

² G. DEGLI AGOSTINI, *Op. cit.*, II, 449.

³ BH I, 115.

⁴ G. DEGLI AGOSTINI, *Op. cit.*, II 449-50.

⁵ See also under Konstantinos Palaiokapas in Part II. This is not the same Konstantinos Palaiokapas as the calligrapher and forger of Greek manuscripts, also from Kydonia in Crete, but they were probably related.

⁶ M. SANUTO, *I diarii*, XXVI,, cols. 52, 107-08, 125-26, 127-28. G. DEGLI AGOSTINI, *Op. cit.*, 451. E. LEGRAND, BH II, 347-48, published the text of the letter sent to Fausto by Ioustinos Dekadios congratulating him on his nomination to the chair of Greek and Latin.

⁷ The text of the preface is reproduced in LADAS, 8-9.

⁸ G. DEGLI AGOSTINI, *Op. cit.*, 455-69: V. FAUSTO, *Orationes quinque*. Venetiis, Apud Aldi filios, 1551. Reprinted in 1559 (STC, 244). Some of his letters are included in: *Epistolae clarorum uirorum*. Edited by P. Manuzio. Venetiis, 1556 (STC, 235); Reprinted in 1568.

⁹ Edition not extant. See also LADAS, 12-13, who believes that the 1523 edition described in ILIOU no. 2 is actually none other than that of 1522.

Augustin and Antonio Gemelli, or Zemelli

AUGUSTIN GEMELLI and his son Antonio were both involved in the financing of Greek books. Augustin Gemelli, who called himself "librar," a bookseller, married Dionora Kounadis, the daughter of Andreas Kounadis and granddaughter of Damiano di Santa Maria. In 1554, at the death of Damiano di Santa Maria, Augustin and his brother Nicola who had married Kounadis's daughter Elisabetta, were named executors of his will.¹ In 1561, Augustin Gemelli applied to the Council of Ten for an *imprimatur* to publish a Greek portulan at his own expense. In his application, he duly informs the authorities that such a book had never been printed before in Greek. On 29 November 1561, he was granted a ten-year copyright to publish the work. This copyright was granted, as was the custom, after the work submitted for publication was read by the *Riformatori dello Studio di Padova*, which gave its approval that the work did not contain any controversial material according to the laws of the Republic. It is doubtful that this portulan was ever published, for no trace of it exists today.² In a letter dated May 1566 written by Hippolitos Valeris in Venice to Emmanouel Provataris, the *scriptor graecus* of the Vatican in Rome, H. Valeris mentions that, in Venice, there were two portulans in the Greek vernacular available, but he was probably referring to manuscript rather than printed portulans.³

In 1572, Augustin Gemelli applied again to the appropriate authorities to obtain a new copyright to publish a portulan in modern Greek. The copyright was granted on 7 July 1572. The work was again examined by the *Riformatori dello Studio di Padova* on 12 May 1572. Gemelli requested a twenty-year copyright and was granted one for fifteen years. In his request, Gemelli says that he had spent a lot of money in order to compile the Greek portulan and that until now none had appeared in print.⁴

The *Portolanos* (BH II no. 152) finally came out in June 1573. On its title page, there is a large and elaborate coat of arms (fig. 173) with the word "ΤΕΜΕΛΟΣ" printed in the upper part and, under it, twin putti separated by two crosses, the whole enclosed within an ornate frame. The name of the printer is not given, but the type with which the portulan was printed is none other than the Zanetti-Le Bé type used by Cristoforo Zanetti. Although in his request to obtain permission to print the portulan, Augustin Gemelli presents himself as the compiler of the work, we know from the preface of the printed edition that the compiler and editor of this portulan was one Demetrios Tagias from Parga in Epirus. In his preface, Tagias informs the reader that the manuscript came to his attention in 1559 and that he had decided to have it published. Thus, it is obvious that Demetrios Tagias entered into a partnership agreement with Augustin Gemelli in order to finance the publication of the portulan.⁵ After the publication of this work, Augustin Gemelli's name disappears from the annals of Greek printing.

In 1584, Antonio Gemelli, the son of Augustin, became a partner in a firm that included the publisher Giacomo Leoncini, Loukas Sougdouris, and the brothers Angelo and Giambattista Zaguri. The purpose of this alliance was to publish a specific number of Greek liturgical books, a list of which is given in the agreement.⁶ The document of the agreement gives Antonio's profession as a notary practicing in Venice and says that he was the son of Augustin Gemelli.

ΠΟΡΤΟΛΑΝΟ



CON GRATIA, ET PRIVILEGIO
del Illustrissimo Dominio, che nessuno non
possi stampar la presente opera sotto le
pene contenute in esso privilegio.
IN VENETIA. 1573. Nel mese di Zugno.

Print. G. G.

*Adm. W. G.
fatta in Venezia
nell'ibid. Bist.
N. 24. xxiv.
B. 15.*

fig. 173

There is more information available about Antonio Gemelli and his involvement in financing the publication of Greek books. Although this partnership was to last for three years, it came to an end, for unknown reasons in or after 1585; no more books were published beyond this date.⁷ In 1591, Antonio Gemelli was again involved in a venture to print Greek liturgical books, this time six *Menaia*. The partners in this venture were besides Antonio Gemelli, Emmanouel Glyzounis, Loukas Sougdouris, and Giovanni Aliprandi. The company was dissolved shortly after the death, at the age of 44 of Antonio Gemelli which occurred on 9 March 1593.⁸

Augustin Gemelli then, was a bookseller and the financial backer of the Greek *Portolanos* of 1573 (BH II no. 152), while his son Antonio, a notary, was a partner in at least two "companies" formed for the express purpose of printing Greek liturgical books, the first lasting barely two years, 1584 to 1585, and the second in existence between 1591 and 1593. In both cases, the partnerships were formed, as was the custom of the time, to publish a specific number of books and then to dissolve. In the case of the 1584 partnership, the type and exact number of the books to be published were given in the document drawn for the partners by the notary Vincenzo Conti on 27 January 1584.⁹ The agreement was to publish, in the space of three years, the following liturgical books: sixteen hundred copies of the *Oktoechos*, eleven hundred copies of the *Horologion*, sixteen hundred copies of the *Psalterion*, eight hundred copies of the *Apostolos*, and six hundred copies each of the *Euchologion*, the *Triodion*, the *Evangelion*, the *Parakletike*, the *Anthologion*, and the *Pentekostarion*. As mentioned elsewhere,¹⁰ it is not known if all of the books listed in the agreement were actually printed. Of the ones listed above, only the *Horologion*, 1584 (BH II no. 277), the *Psalterion*, 1584 (PAPADOPOULOS II no. 274^a), the *Apostolos*, 1585 (PAPADOPOULOS A no. 28), and the *Euchologion*, 1585 (PHOSKOLOS A no. 9; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 276^a), are extant today, as well as possibly an *Anthologion* (STOYANOV no. 52)¹¹ and perhaps the *Evangelion*, 1584 (LADAS no. 83).¹²

As already mentioned, the 1591 agreement to publish the six *Menaia* of Spring and Summer was dissolved at the death of Antonio Gemelli. The *Menaia* that were printed during the duration of this agreement were all published under the name of Giovanni Aliprandi¹³ and were the *Menaia* of March, 1592 (LADAS no. 95), April, 1592 (BH IV no 833; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 295^a), June, 1592 (BH II no. 197), July, 1592 (BH IV no. 834), August, 1592 (BH IV no. 835), May, 1593 (BH II no. 198=IV no. 840).

The books published by the company formed in 1584 are listed under Giacomo Leoncini while the *Menaia* published by the company of 1591 are listed under Giovanni Aliprandi.

NOTES

¹ See Σ. Ε. ΚΑΚΛΑΜΑΝΗΣ, 'Αρχειακές μαρτυρίες για τη ζωή του Ἀνδρέα Κουνάδη καὶ τοῦ Δαμιανοῦ δι Santa Maria, 595-605.

² Σ. Ι. ΜΑΚΡΥΜΙΧΑΛΟΣ, 'Ο ἐκδότης, 75-85. On the Greek portulans, especially those in manuscript form, see A. DELATTE, *Les portulans grecs*. Liège, 1947-58, 2v.

³ I wish to express my thanks and gratitude to Professor Christos G. Patrinelis of the University of Thessaloniki for placing his transcription of this letter at my disposal before he published it. For further details see under Hippolytos Valeris in Part II.

⁴ Σ. Ι. ΜΑΚΡΥΜΙΧΑΛΟΣ, 'Ο ἐκδότης, 78-82, where all the documents concerning the transaction are published.

5 Σ. Ι ΜΑΚΡΥΜΙΧΑΛΟΣ, 'Ο ἐκδότης, 83-85 and his 'Ελληνικοὶ πορτολάνοι τοῦ 16ου, 17ου καὶ 18ου αἰῶνος. Συμπληρώματα, 'Ο Ἑρανιστής, 1(1963)211-15.

6 Κ. Δ. ΜΕΡΤΖΙΟΣ, Λουκᾶς Σουγδουρῆς, 8-10.

7 For further details, see under Giacomo Leoncini in Part II.

8 Κ. Δ. ΜΕΡΤΖΙΟΣ, Θωμᾶς Φλαγγίνης, 204-05.

9 Venice. A. S. Notarile Vincenzo de Conti. 1580-1588. Filza 3174. See also Κ. Δ. ΜΕΡΤΖΙΟΣ, Λουκᾶς Σουγδουρῆς, 6-8, where the document is given in a Greek translation.

10 See under Giacomo Leoncini in Part II.

11 The only extant copy is imperfect without colophon and date of publication, but the type is K. no. 1, which was one of the fonts used to publish the books. On the other hand, this *Anthologion* could also be one of the works published earlier by Giacomo Leoncini. Stoyanov believes that this work was printed in 1579 by Andrea Spinelli, which is impossible, as Spinelli ceased publishing in 1564. See also under G. Leoncini in Part II.

12 This *Evangelion* is not extant.

13 See also under Giovanni Aliprandi in Part II.

Ercole Girlandi or Girlando, fl. 1522-27

ABSOLUTELY nothing is known about Ercole Girlandi, or Girlando, who edited and corrected two liturgical books printed in 1522 by Giovanni Antonio and the brothers Nicolini da Sabbio for Andreas Kounadis, except that he was from Mantua. Girlandi stepped in when Andreas Kounadis's regular editor, Konstantinos Palaiokapas, was taken ill and then died. This information is furnished in the preface of the *Triodion* (BH I no. 66=III no. 242) written by Ercole Girlandi (Ἡρακλέης ὁ Γίρλανδος). In it, he informs the reader that he was the corrector of the book and the circumstances of his taking over the task: "Ὁ δὲ ταύτην τὴν διόρθωσιν πεποικώς, Ἡρακλέης ἐστίν, ὁ γίρλανδος, ὁ τὸ γένος Μαντώος...ἐν τῇ δε τῇ τυπουργίᾳ, καὶ πολὺ μογήσας οὐ μικρὸν ἡμῖν ἐπεβοήθησεν, Κονσταντῖνος ὁ παλαιόκαπος, ὁ κρής, ὁ ἐκ τῆς κυδωνίας...τῆς ταυτησὶ φιλοπονίας πρῶτος ἤρξατο." He then goes on to say that Palaiokapas had died and that he has taken over the editing of the work. He also mentions that there were plans for printing a *Parakletike* and a *Pentekostarion*.

Indeed, the *Parakletike* (BH I no. 65; LADAS no. 10) appeared soon after in 1522 and Girlandi was again the corrector of the work, as stated in the colophon. However, the preface was written by Vettore Fausto (Νικήτας ὁ Φαῦστος). The *Pentekostarion* (BH III no. 270) mentioned in Girlandi's preface was not printed until 1525, and its editor was Demetrios Zenos. In 1527, Girlandi translated Theodorus Gaza's grammar into Latin and also edited and corrected an edition of Isocrates and other speeches.

- | | |
|------|---|
| 1520 | Ἀλεξάνδρου Ἀφροδισιέως, Ἀποσημειώσεις εἰς τοὺς Σοφιστικούς ἐλέγχους (EISS I no. 919/1036; STC, 17)
"Hieronymo Canossio Abbati meritissimo, Hercvles Gyrlandvs bonam precatvr valetvdinem" |
| 1522 | Τριώδιον (BH I no. 66=III no. 242)
"πόνῳ καὶ δεξιότητι Ἡρακλέους τοῦ Γιρλάνδου" |
| 1522 | Παρακλητική (BH I no. 65; LADAS no. 10)
"πόνῳ καὶ δεξιότητι Ἡρακλέους τοῦ Γεράλδου" |
| 1523 | Παρακλητική (ILIOU no. 2)
As above |
| 1527 | Isocrates, Πρὸς Δημόνικον (STC, 342)
"Hercules Girlandus Mantuanus bonis studiosis bonam precatur Salutem...Venetiis in aedibus Francisci Garoni, 1527" |
| 1527 | Th. Gaza, Introductionis grammaticae libri quattuor (BH III no. 290; FINAZZI no. 57)
"cum interpretatione latina, nuper ab Hercule Girlando Mantuano... Venetijs, in aedibus Francisci Garoni, 1527" |

Francesco Giuliani, d. 1596

FRANCESCO GIULIANI¹ was also known in Venetian printing circles as Francesco da Padenghe, or Padenghi. Francesco's name appears for the first time in the sources when he and his son, Baldissera, were hired as journeymen printers on 27 January 1584 by a newly established firm consisting of the publisher Giacomo Leoncini, the notary Antonio Gemelli (Zemelli), and the brothers Angelo and Giambattista Zaguri. On April 19 of the same year, Loukas Sougdouris also joined the publishing firm as a partner. The purpose of the newly created company was to bring out a specific number of Greek liturgical books: 1600 copies of the *Oktoechos*, 1100 copies of the *Horologion*, 1600 copies of the *Psalterion*, 800 copies of the *Apostolos*, and 600 copies each of the *Anthologion*, *Euchologion*, *Evangelion*, *Parakletike*, *Pentekostarion* and *Triodion*. The firm was to last only three years, and its sole purpose was to print the books specified in the agreement. According to the sources, the firm engaged the services of two printers, father and son, called Francesco and Baldissera Padenghi, who were to print the above-mentioned books in red and black. The work was to begin in February and to proceed uninterruptedly until all of the specified works were printed. Besides the above books, the printers were also to complete, on behalf of the newly formed company, the printing of some unfinished books that were to be provided by Giacomo Leoncini. The types and the printing press were to be supplied by Giacomo Leoncini.² Although the printers' names were given as Padenghi, their real surname was Giuliani. This has been ascertained by the examination of documents which contain references to the late "Francesco de Zulian detto padega olim stampador." In the same entry, there is also mention of "madona Chiara relict a q. Baldissera del quondam Francesco de Zulian..."³

It is not known whether or not all the books enumerated in the 1584 agreement were printed because some have yet to be located. Thus far, only four of the ten books projected have survived or were actually printed; these are the *Horologion*, 1584 (BH II no. 277), the *Psalterion*, 1584 (PAPADOPOULOS II no. 274^a), the *Apostolos*, 1585 (PAPADOPOULOS, A no. 28), and the *Euchologion*, 1585 (PHOSKOLOS A no. 9).⁴ The works belonging to this group have many characteristics in common. They are all small octavos and have the familiar Leoncini title page ornamentation which consists of two anthropomorphic columns on either side and above an architectural headpiece with putti (fig. 133). Besides the type K no. 1 that was used to print the *Psalterion* and the *Euchologion*, another font (20 lines=91-92 mm), which was acquired by Leoncini probably from C. Zanetti, was also used.⁵ Another distinct characteristic of this group of books was the prominence given to the mark of Andreas Kounadis, the marten, often accompanied by the phrase: "Ἐκ τῶν τύπων τοῦ Κουνάδου" (fig. 133). It is displayed on the title pages of all of the imprints except the *Psalterion*, which is adorned with a small cut of David.⁶ Two other works, an *Heirmologion*, 1584 (BH II no. 169; FINAZZI no. 97), and the *Theiai Leitourgiai*, 1584 (BH II no. 276=IV no. 777), which have similar characteristics, were undoubtedly the unfinished works from the Leoncini press that were to be completed and sold on behalf of the partners. Neither the names of the printers nor the publishers are mentioned in any of the books.

Since by the time of his work in 1584 Francesco Giuliani had a grown son who was also a printer, his career as a printer must have started long before this date. However, it was not until

1586 that Francesco Giuliani became a member of the Guild of Printers and Booksellers.⁷ It is plausible therefore to suggest that perhaps the Giuliani were the printers employed by Giacomo Leoncini for the other books that appeared under his name. Leoncini, as we know, was definitely a publisher and a bookseller and not a printer. Although the name of Baldissera Giuliani disappears from the sources because of his premature death, the name of Francesco appears prominently in books printed from 1586 until his death in late 1596. Shortly after the dissolution of the firm of 1584, Francesco Giuliani began to work for Giovanni Aliprandi. At the same time, he also printed the occasional work for individual authors. Giuliani's name does not appear in all of the Aliprandi imprints, as some give only Aliprandi's name, but we know that, like Leoncini, Aliprandi was primarily a bookseller and businessman and not a professional printer.

One of the books printed independently by Giuliani was a work by Io. Dom. Trajani entitled *Funebria carmina in D. Aloisium Delphinem Venetum sepultum in aede Angelorum Murani*, 1587 (VACCARO, 284). The work was printed in Greek and Latin and used the mark of Andreas Kounadis at the end of the book (VACCARO no. 365). Thus it appears that the Kounadis mark, the type, and the other stock belonging to the firm of 1584 remained in the hands of Francesco Giuliani. As we will see later,⁸ one of the fonts that came from the Leoncini stock was used to some extent in the works published by Emmanouel Glyzounis in partnership with Francesco Giuliani. However, as far as can be ascertained, Giuliani did not use the Kounadis mark anywhere else. In 1588, Giuliani printed a small and very rare pamphlet by G. Orsini-Ducataris, *Λόγος ἱκετήριος εἰς τὸν... βασιλέα καὶ αὐτοκράτορα... Ποδοῦλφον δεύτερον* (BH IV no. 810).

Francesco Giuliani was also the printer contracted to work for a new firm consisting of Emmanouel Glyzounis, Loukas Sougdouris, Antonio Gemelli, and Giovanni Aliprandi. They joined forces on 5 February 1591 to finance the publication of the six *Menaia* of Spring and Summer. The partnership did not last long, but whether this was due to the death of one of the partners, Antonio Gemelli, who died on 9 March 1593, or because the six *Menaia* had been completed is not clear.⁹ Giuliani's most important client by far was Emmanouel Glyzounis at whose expense he printed a number of books between 1586 and 1596. In 1595 Glyzounis made him a partner along with one Giovanni Cerutto.¹⁰ This is mentioned in Glyzounis's will, written on 11 September 1596. In his will, Glyzounis says: "Lasso che il guadagno della compagnia che ho con Francesco di Giulian et messer Zuane Cerucha [sic] sia tutto di essi miei compagni, et il capital mio solamente sia per loro restituito come il tutto è notado nelli libri."¹¹ Between 1592 and 1594, Francesco Giuliani also printed a number of Italian books in partnership with G. Cerutto.¹² He died in late 1596, shortly after Glyzounis's death. The last book mentioning his name was printed by his heirs, *Men Noemvrios*, 1596 (BH II no. 217). Giovanni Cerutto printed at least three Greek books at the beginning of the seventeenth century before his name too disappears.¹³

Books printed by Francesco and Baldissera Giuliani for the company of 1584:¹⁴

- 1584 Εἰρημολόγιον (BH II no. 169; FINAZZI no. 97)
- 1584 Ὁρολόγιον (BH II no. 277; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 275)
- 1584 Ψαλτήριον (PAPADOPOULOS II no. 274^a; BEES I no. 616)
- 1584 Θεῖαι Λειτουργίαι (BH II no. 276=IV no. 777)

- 1585 Ἀπόστολος (PAPADOPOULOS A no. 28)
- 1585 Εὐχολόγιον (PHOSKOLOS A no. 9; ILIOU no. 19; LADAS no. 85; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 276^a)

Books printed by Francesco Giuliani alone:

- 1586 Αδίλογος [sic] (BH IV no. 802=C. Zanetti)¹⁵
No indication of place, printer, or publisher but Venice, Fr. Giuliani for G. Aliprandi.
- 1586 Ψαλτήριον (BH II no. 174; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 278)¹⁶
No indication of printer or publisher but Fr. Giuliani for E. Glyzounis.
- 1587 Ἀνθολόγιον (BH II no. 175; DELIALES no. 97?)¹⁷
No indication of printer or publisher but Fr. Giuliani for E. Glyzounis.
- 1587 I. D. Trajani, Funebria carmina (VACCARO, 284 fig. 365)¹⁸ Greek & Latin
Kounadis mark at end.
- 1587 Ὀκτώηχος (UNIVERSITÄTSBIBLIOTHEK TÜBINGEN)
“Ἐτυπώθη μετὰ πολλῆς ἐπιμελείας παρὰ Φραγγίσκῳ τῶν Ἰουλιανῶν”
- 1588 Εὐαγγελιστάριον (BH II no. 183; DROULIA no. 145; LADAS no. 90)
“Appresso Francesco di Giuliani ad instantia di misier Manoli Glinzoni.”
- 1588 Γεωργίου Οὐρσίνου τοῦ Δουκαταρίου, Λόγος (BH IV no. 810)
“παρὰ Φραγγίσκῳ τῶν Ἰουλιανῶν”
- 1588 Θεῖον καὶ ἱερὸν Εὐαγγέλιον (BH II no. 182=II no. 282; DROULIA no. 144)
“παρὰ Φραγγίσκῳ τῶν Ἰουλιανῶν”
- 1589 Τριώδιον (BH IV no. 815)
Title page 1580: Παρὰ Ἰωάννου βαπτιστοῦ Τοῦ ῥικαίνου
Colophon 1589: παρὰ Φραγκίσκῳ τῷ τῶν Ἰουλιανῶν
- 1589-90 Πεντηκοστάριον (PAPADOPOULOS II no. 292)
“Ἐτυπώθη ἐν ἐνετίαις μετὰ πολλῆς [sic] ἐπιμελείας παρὰ Φραγκίσκου τῶν Ἰουλιανῶν”
- 1590 Joannes Climacus, Saint, Κλίμαξ τοῦ Παραδείσου (BH II no. 185=IV no. 824)
“Appresso Francesco de' Giuliani, ad instantia del Reuerendissimo Vescouo di Cerigo, & di Misier Manoli Glinzoni”
- 1591 Παρακλητική (KORDOSIS B no. 4; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 294)
“παρὰ Φραγκίσκῳ τῶν Ἰουλιανῶν”
- 1592 Μὴν Μάρτιος (LADAS no. 95)
“παρὰ Φραγκίσκου τῷ Ἰουλιανῷ”

- 1592 Μὴν Ἀπρίλιος (BH IV no. 833; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 295^a)
 “παρὰ Φραγκίσκῳ τῶν Ἰουλιανῶν”
- 1592 Μὴν Ἰούνιος (BH II no. 197)
 [Francesco Giuliani]
- 1592 Μὴν Ἰούλιος (BH IV no. 834; EISS III no. 4013)
 [Francesco Giuliani]
- 1592 Μὴν Αὐγούστος (BH IV no. 835)
 [Francesco Giuliani]
- 1593 Μὴν Μάρτιος (MOSCHONAS II no. 541)
 “παρὰ Φραγγίσκῳ τῶν Ἰουλιανῶν”
- 1593 Μὴν Ἀπρίλιος (MOSCHONAS II no. 541)
 As above
- 1593 Μὴν Μάϊος (BH II no. 198=IV no. 840)
 As above
- 1593 Μὴν Ἰούνιος¹⁹
- 1594 Ἄνθος τῶν Χαρίτων (ILIOU no. 23; LADAS no. 97)
 As above
- 1594 Ἀπόκοπος²⁰
- 1594 Ἀπολώνιος
- 1594 Ἀπόστολος (PAPADOPOULOS II no. 301^a)
 As above
- 1594 Βίος τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ μεγάλου Νικολάου
- 1594 Δαμασκηνὸς Στουδίτης, Βιβλίον...Θησαυρός (PAPADOPOULOS II no. 302)
 As above
- 1594 Διήγησις...Βελισαρίου
- 1594 Ἠμπέριος
- 1594 Γαδάρου, λύκου κιαλουποῦς διήγησις ωραία
- 1594 Ἱστορία τῆς Σωσάννης
- 1594 Θεῖαι Λειτουργίαι (ILIOU, 319 no. 32)²¹
- 1595 Μὴν Αὐγούστος (SATHAS, 201)
 As above
- 1595 Μὴν Σεπτέμβριος (BH II no. 212)
 As above

- 1595 Μὴν Ὀκτώβριος (BH II no. 213)
As above
- 1595 Σύνταγμα...ἀκολουθιῶν (BH II no. 206; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 305)
As above
- 1595-96 Βιβλίον...Ἀναγνωστικόν (BH II no. 216)
"παρὰ Φραντζέσκου τῶν Ἰουλιανῶν, ἀναλώμασι μὲν κυρίου Εμμανουήλου
Γλυτζουνίου"
- Pre-1596 Ἀκολουθία τοῦ Ἀναγνώστου²²
- Pre-1596 Ἐξομολογητάριον
- Pre-1596 Ὡρολόγιον
- 1596 Βιβλίον...λογαριαστικὴν (PAPADOPOULOS II no. 305^a)
"Appresso Francesco Zuliani, Ad instantia di M. Manoli Glinzoni"
- 1596 Ὀκτώηχος (BH II no. 221)
"παρὰ φραγγίσκῳ τῶν Ἰουλιανῶν"
- 1596 Μὴν Νοέμβριος (BH II no. 217)²³
"παρὰ τῶν κληρονόμων Φραγγίσκου τῶν Ἰουλιανῶν ἀναλώμασι καὶ διορθώσει
κυροῦ Ἐμμανουήλ τοῦ Γλυτζωνίου"

NOTES

¹ ASCARELLI-MENATO, 433=1583-96; BORSA I, 167=1583-96; PASTORELLO nos. 492 and 493=with Giovanni Cerutto, 1592-93.

² Κ. Δ. ΜΕΡΤΖΙΟΣ, Λουκᾶς Σουγδουρής, 6-8. ASV. Vincenzo Conti. Filza 3174, 1580-88, fols. 30-33; see also Φ. ΗΛΙΟΥ, Σημειώσεις, 105-08; C. LECUIR, Les éditeurs Grecs, 103-06, 236-43.

³ Venice. Istituto Ellenico di Studi Bizantini e Postbizantini. Archivio. Commissaria Emanuele Glizuni : Processo contro Zuanne Aliprandi. See entry dated 12 June 1599.

⁴ There is mention of an *Evangelion*, 1584 (LADAS no. 83) but the citation is vague, and the *Evangelion* in question is not available for examination and may or may not belong to this group. There is also an *Anthologion* (STOYANOV no. 52) that Stoyanov lists as belonging to the year 1579 although the work lacks both the title page and the colophon and there is no date anywhere in the work. Stoyanov assigned it to the press of Andrea Spinelli, which is impossible, as the Spinelli ceased publishing in 1564. Upon examination of the type and decorations, it is certain that the work was published either by Giacomo Leoncini (1560-1580) or by the firm of 1584 that used the Leoncini type and decorations. The type of the *Anthologion* is K no. 1, which was acquired and used extensively by Leoncini. Thus the *Anthologion* may form part of the 1584 group or may be an unknown Leoncini imprint. I wish to express many thanks to Dr. Loukia Droulia, Director of the Center for Neohellenic Studies of the National Research Foundation in Athens, Greece, who was kind enough to examine and describe the *Anthologion* and send me photocopies while on a visit to Sofia, Bulgaria.

⁵ For further details see under G. Leoncini and C. Zanetti in Part II.

⁶ Reproduction in BEES I pl. LXX.

⁷ C. LECUIR, Les éditeurs Grecs, 105.

⁸ See under Emmanouel Glyzounis in Part II.

⁹ K. Δ. MEPTZIOS, *Θωμάς Φλαγγίνης*, 204-05; C. LECUIR, *Les éditeurs Grecs*, 121-24.

¹⁰ C. LECUIR, *Les éditeurs Grecs*, 126.

¹¹ The transcription is taken from J. BALL, *The Greek Community in Venice*, 210-11; see also K. Δ. MEPTZIOS, *Θωμάς Φλαγγίνης*, 214; BH II, 387. The name of Giovanni Cerutto is transcribed as "Cerucha" both in Mertzios and Ball and "Serniolla" in Legrand.

¹² STC, 844. VACCARO, 381; see also PASTORELLO nos. 492 and 493; ASCARELLI, 215; ASCARELLI-MENATO, 433.

¹³ BH XVIIIs. I nos. 39, 56; LADAS nos. 120, 125.

¹⁴ These liturgical works do not mention the name of the printers only "ἐτυπώθη ἐνετίησιν, ἐκ τῶν τύπων τοῦ Κουνάδου" or "ἔτει ἀπὸ τῆς ἐνσάρκου οἰκονομίας."

¹⁵ See also under Giovanni Aliprandi in Part II.

¹⁶ See also under Maximos Margounios in Part II.

¹⁷ See also under Maximos Margounios in Part II.

¹⁸ Apparently, after the dissolution of the firm of 1584, the Kounadis mark remained in the hands of Francesco Giuliani, who used it here.

¹⁹ Μ. ΓΕΔΕΩΝ, *Πατριαρχικαὶ ἐφημερίδες*, 35: "1593 ἐκδίδεται ἐν Βενετίᾳ Μηναῖον τοῦ ἰουνίου παρὰ Ἰωάννου Ἀλεξάνδρου [sic, read Ἀλιπράνδου] ὡς ἐστὶν ἐκ τοῦ χαρακτῆρος τοῦ ἰδίου γράμματος τῶν Σπινέλλων."

²⁰ Editions of the *Apokopos*, as well as the *Apolonios*, *Vios tou hagiou kai megalou Nikolaou*, *Diegesis...Belisariou* the *Imberios*, the story of the donkey and *Sosanne* that follow, were printed for Emmanouel Glyzounis by Francesco Giuliani around 1594. See C. LECUIR, *Les éditeurs Grecs*, 269-70. See also under Emmanouel Glyzounis in Part II.

²¹ See also Φ. ΗΛΙΟΥ, *Σημειώσεις*, 136 note 3.

²² Copies of editions of the *Akolouthia tou Anagnostou*, *Exomologetarion*, *Horologion* and the *Theiai Leitourgeiai* were found among the stock of Glyzounis after his death. See also under Emmanouel Glyzounis in Part II.

²³ According to Β. ΚΟΥΤΛΟΥΜΟΥΣΙΑΝΟΣ, *Μηναῖον Σεπτεμβρίου*. Ἀθήναι, 1959, κ', there is a *Menaion* of September, 1597 edited by G. Vlastos and printed by Francesco Giuliani. However, this work must have been printed by the heirs of Pietro Zanetti. G. Vlastos Pounialetos was employed by Pietro Zanetti as editor/corrector. As mentioned above, Francesco Giuliani died at the end of 1596.

The Giunti of Florence

The biggest publishers of Greek after Aldus Manutius were the Giunti,¹ a publishing family from Florence with centers established in Venice and Florence. In the sixteenth century, they also opened branches in Rome, France, England, and Spain, operated by members of the family. Lucantonio Giunta (1457-1538) headed the Venetian publishing firm and his brother Filippo (1450-1517) the Florentine. Both the Giunti began their careers as stationers and booksellers, but they branched out into publishing soon after. Both of the Giunti firms continued to operate throughout the sixteenth century, thus outlasting their main competitors of the fifteenth century, the Aldi and the Torresani.²

The Greek output of Lucantonio Giunta in Venice was negligible, but in Florence, Filippo, who was in partnership with Lucantonio, began his publishing career with the issuance of two or (some believe) three Greek books. The first of the two Greek books bearing Filippo's name was the Zenobios *Ἐπιτομή*, 1497 (BMC VI, 690; RENOUEARD, xxxiii no. 1; ANNALI I no. 1), and Orpheus's *Ἀργοναυτικά*, 1500 (BMC VI, 690; RENOUEARD, xxxiii no. 2; ANNALI I no. 2; fig. 9). Both were printed for Filippo Giunta by Benedictus Ricardinus with the type (Greek 121) of the Homer of 1488 (BMC VI, 678-79; BH I no. 5). L. S. Camerini believes that the undated Florentine edition of Manouel Chrysoloras's *Ἐρωτήματα*, c. 1498-1500 (BMC VI, 690; ANNALI (Giunta) I no. 1; GW no. 6695; BH I no. 2) that was printed by Ricardinus with the same type was also printed for Filippo Giunta.³ The type in question, Greek 121, was the one originally designed by Demetrios Damilas and used for the first time in the C. Lascaris *Ἐπιτομή*, 1476 (BMC VI, 731; BH I no. 1), printed in Milan by Dionysius Paravisinus (fig. 7). Later, Damilas brought the matrices to Florence, where a new font was cast for the printing of the Homer (fig. 8).⁴

It was not until 1514/15 that Filippo Giunta began publishing Greek again. His Greek series was inaugurated by a collection of grammatical works entitled *Encheiridion grammatikes*, 1 February 1514/15 (BH III no. 168; RENOUEARD, xxxviii, no. 58; ANNALI I no. 59), edited by the Italian humanist and pupil of Poliziano, Eufrosino Bonini.⁵ The printer of this work and the Th. Gaza *Γραμματική*, 1515 (RENOUEARD, xxxviii no. 63; BH III no. 171; ANNALI I no. 68), that followed was Bartolomeo Zanetti of Brescia in his first appearance as a printer. Opinions differ over the role of Zanetti in the printing of these works. NORTON⁶ thinks that B. Zanetti was an employee of the Giunti, perhaps trained by the firm and afterwards engaged as a foreman to print a series of Greek texts for them. W. A. Pettas,⁷ on the other hand, believes that the works were not printed in the Giunti establishment but that the Giunti commissioned Zanetti to print them for the firm. A third opinion is offered by R. Delfiol,⁸ who thinks that the Giunti had engaged Zanetti as a compositor and that perhaps he also fashioned the new Greek type with which the works were printed. However, it is well known that the type (Greek 90) with which all of the Giunti publications were printed between 1514/15 and 1542 was the type acquired by Filippo Giunta from Zacharias Kallierges (fig. 22)⁹. This is the Kallierges type of 1509, from his second Venetian press. The Giunti also acquired the Kallierges-Vlastos decorations and initials, which they used frequently even after 1542 when the Kallierges type was retired in 1542 (figs. 22, 52, 174, 175). These decorations and free imitations of them can be found in the Giunti Florentine imprints as late as the 1560s.

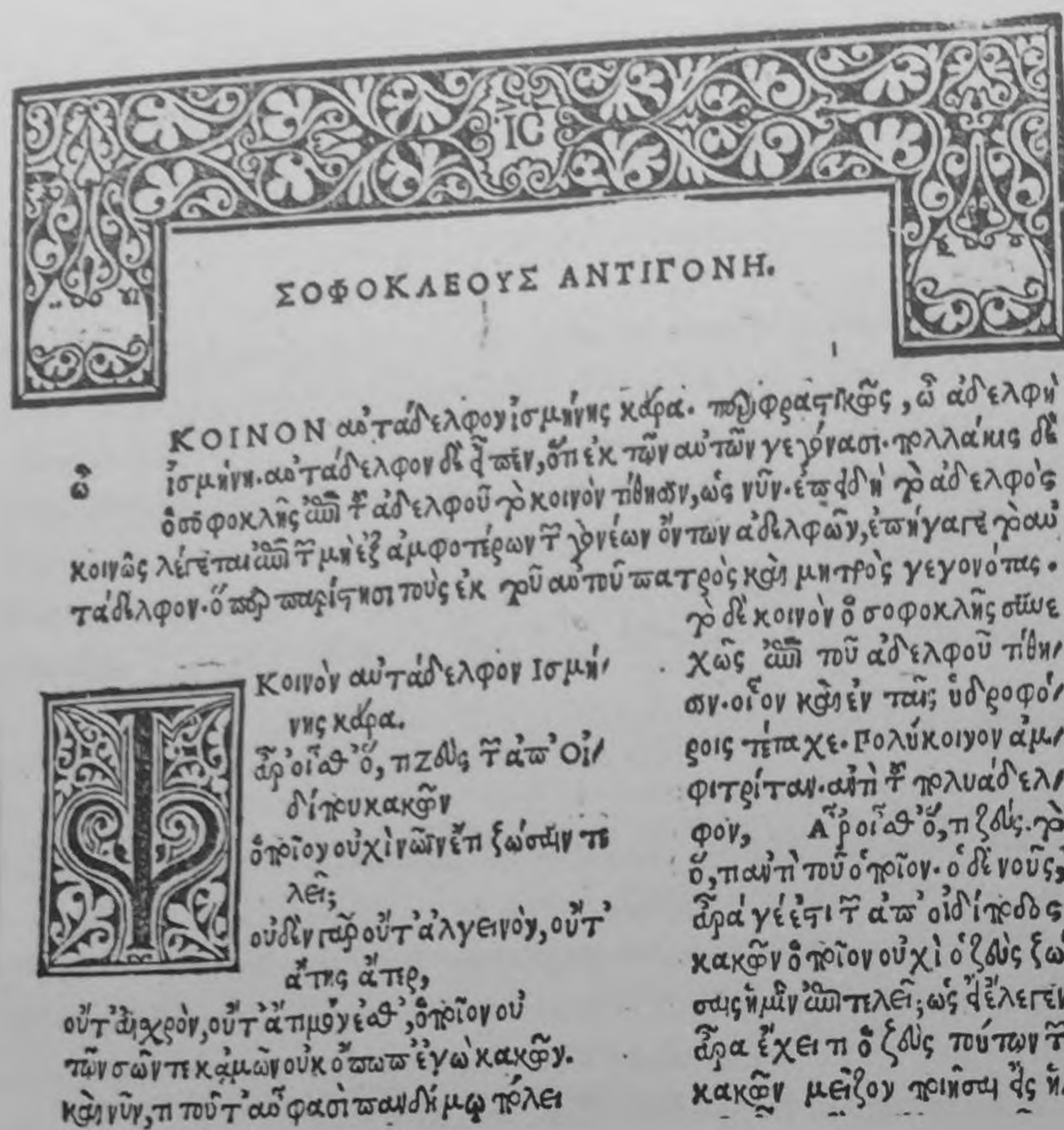


fig. 174

Filippo Giunta died in 1517, and the Florentine firm's operations were continued by his heirs, his sons Bernardo and Benedetto. Greek publishing continued to play a prominent role in their output. It was during this period that the Giunti published two works that were addressed to the Greeks exclusively. One was an *Horologion*, 1520/21 (BH I no. 63; RENOUEARD, xlv, no. 29; ANNALI (Giunta) I no. 9).¹⁰ According to E. Legrand,¹¹ the Giuntine edition of the *Horologion* is a copy of the one printed by Zacharias Kallierges in Venice in 1509 (BH I no. 36). However, the two works do not resemble each other in appearance, even though they both are printed with the same types. The initials and headpieces of the Giunti *Horologion* are those acquired from the Kallierges-Vlastos stock of 1499-1500. Some of the headpieces at the beginning of the work still bear the name of Nikolaos Vlastos, while in later pages, the name of Vlastos was scratched out (fig. 52a-b).¹² According to W. A. Pettas,¹³ the *Horologion* was most probably edited by Antonio Francini, a Greek scholar and former pupil of Poliziano who edited many of the Giunti Greek editions during this period. The second work that was addressed to the Uniate Greeks of Venice and Rome was the Greek edition of the *Horae in laudem beatiss. virginis*, 7 March 1520/21 (ESSLING no. 485; ANNALI (Giunta) I no. 10). Both works were intended for distribution in Venice at the shop of Lucantonio Giunta.

The Giunti presses of Florence continued to produce classical Greek editions with great regularity under various editors, among them Markos Mousouros who edited some works for them in 1515, after the death of Aldus Manutius.¹⁴ One of the classical scholars closely associated with the Giunti press from the 1530s to the 1570s was Piero Vettori (1499-1585). He edited many Greek



fig. 175

works for Bernardo Giunta, especially from 1547 on, and, after Bernardo's death in 1550, continued to do so for his heirs. Between 1497 and 1570, the Giunti produced more than sixty Greek editions.¹⁵

Unlike Aldus, their main competitor in the production of classical editions, the Giunti made no innovations in the field of type design. As we have already seen, the first Greek font they used in the books of 1497-1500 was that designed by Demetrios Damilas and brought to Florence from Milan for the first edition of the Homer. The type that was used to print their Greek editions between 1514/15 and 1542, Greek 90, was acquired from Zacharias Kallierges, probably through Lucantonio's services in Venice. In 1547, the Giunti briefly used a cursive Greek font (20 lines=90 mm) to print several books, including an edition of Aristotle, 1547 (RENOUARD, lv no. 140; ANNALI I no. 252; fig. 175), Sophocles, 1547 (RENOUARD, lvi no. 141; ANNALI I no. 251), and Porphyrius, 1548/49 (RENOUARD, lvi no. 143; ANNALI I no. 262; fig. 176).

After a lapse of some years, during which they did not print any Greek books, the Giunti began to publish Greek again in 1551 using yet a fourth Greek font (Greek 100). They continued to print Greek with it until as late as 1594. This last font used in the imprints of the Giunti was the



fig. 176

one especially designed for Cardinal Marcello Cervini by Nikolaos Sophianos. It was originally used by Antonio Blado in Rome to print two works for the cardinal in 1542, and was subsequently used by a number of printers in Rome connected with the Vatican. It was also used in Venice and Florence.¹⁶ The Giunti obtained matrices for the type from the Cardinal himself, who lent them the matrices with which they struck a new set of types. As early as 22 August 1552, Cardinal Cervini expressed the wish in a letter to Piero Vettori for the return of the matrices he had lent to the Giunti because he had promised to pass them on to Niccolò Maiorano.¹⁷ We should mention that the Giunti's main competitor in Florence, Lorenzo Torrentino (active 1547-1565),¹⁸ also used the Sophianos type, although it is not known how he was able to obtain the matrices for the font. A. Tinto¹⁹ believes that Torrentino borrowed the matrices from Nikolaos Sophianos himself, but this is only conjecture. The type appeared in the works of Torrentino as early as 1548. The Giunti continued to use the Sophianos type well into the 1590s.²⁰

The Giunti device was the famous Florentine lily, at times supported by two putti, at others with a serpent entwined around its stem (fig. 177).²¹



fig. 177

NOTES

¹ ASCARELLI, 133-37; ASCARELLI-MENATO, 271-73; BORSA I, 167-68; STC, 844-52.

² W. A. PETTAS, An International Renaissance Publishing Family: The Giunti, *The Library Quarterly*, 44(1974)334-49; W. A. PETTAS, *The Giunti of Florence*. San Francisco, 1980, 104-19. *I Giunti, tipografi, editori di Firenze*. Firenze, 1978-79, 2v.

³ *I Giunti, tipografi*, I, 211 note 18, 245 note 1, 276 note 1; for the career of Benedetto Ricardini as an editor for the Giunti see, W. A. PETTAS, *The Giunti*, 40-43; see also V. SCHOLDERER in BMC VI, xviii-xix and 690.

⁴ R. PROCTOR, *Greek Printing*, 66-69; see also N. BARKER, *Aldus*, 37, 41-42.

⁵ On E. Bonini, see W. A. PETTAS, *The Giunti*, 49-52; J. H. COTTON, Frosino Bonini: Politian's Protégé and Plagiarist?, *La bibliofilia*, 71(1969)157-75.

⁶ xv, 33-34.

⁷ *The Giunti*, 50.

⁸ *I Giunti*, 52.

⁹ The last work printed with the Kallierges type was in 1542. See Demetrius of Phaleron, *Περὶ ἐρμηνείας*, 1542 (ANNALI (Giunta) I no. 23).

¹⁰ ANNALI I no. 132 and BRUNET III, 339 list an *Horologion*, 1520, printed in April 1520, while the above give the date January 23, 1520/21.

¹¹ BH I, 172.

¹² See folios Al^r and F8^r.

¹³ *The Giunti*, 62-63.

¹⁴ D. J. GEANAKOPLOS, *Greek Scholars*, 156; W. A. PETTAS, *The Giunti*, 51.

- ¹⁵ For a list of the Florentine editions of the Giunti see A. A. RENOUEARD, *Notice sur la famille des Junte*, RENOUEARD, xxxiii-lix; W. A. PETTAS, *The Giunti*, 194-251; *I Giunti*, I, 65-203, 245-73 which cover the years 1497-1570 and II, 39-183 and 191-212, for the years 1571-1625.
- ¹⁶ For more information on Greek 100, see under Nikolaos Sophianos in Part II.
- ¹⁷ W. A. PETTAS, *The Giunti*, 88-89.
- ¹⁸ ASCARELLI-MENATO, 235-36; BORSA I, 315; STC, 965-66.
- ¹⁹ The History, 293 and note 2. For the rivalry between the Giunti and Torrentino, see C. DI FILIPPO BAREGGI, *Giunta, Doni, Torrentino: tre tipografie fiorentine fra Repubblica e principato*, *Nuova rivista storica*, 58(1974)318-48.
- ²⁰ A. TINTO, *The History*, 293.
- ²¹ For the Giunti devices, see DAVIES no. 66; *I Giunti*, I, nos. 1-12 between 92-93 and II, nos. 1-13 between 174-75; KRISTELLER nos 42-46; VACCARO nos. 68-71; ZAPPELLA nos. 644-658.

Emmanouel (Manolis) Glyzounis, c. 1540-1596

GLYZOUNIS's name varies in the sources. It appears as Glynzounios, Glytzounios, Glyzounis, Glynzonios, Glinzon, and other variations. In Greek, it appears as Γλυνζώνιος, Γλυνζούνιος, and Γλυντζούνης.¹ He was born on the island of Chios and must have gone to Italy when still rather young. Nothing is known about his early years. Most scholars place his date of birth around 1540 because when he died on 10 October, 1596 it was stated that he was fifty-six years old.² Some believe that he first came to Italy and studied medicine and philosophy at the University of Padua. However, this has not yet been established.³ K. Amantos says that in Chios Glyzounis studied with Michael Lestarchos or with Ignatios and then went to further his studies in Italy.⁴ According to Legrand⁵ although Glyzounis was not without education, he did not have the education of some of the intellectuals he associated and was friendly with, such as Gabriel Severos, Archbishop of Philadelphia, or Maximos Margounios, Bishop of Kythera. But whatever his education, Glyzounis was highly regarded by his intellectual friends. Maximos Margounios, in the preface to his translation of the Heavenly Ladder, *Κλίμαξ τοῦ παραδείσου*, 1590 (BH II no. 185=IV no. 824) published jointly by Maximos Margounios and Emmanouel Glyzounis states that nobody did as much for the betterment of his fellow Greeks than Glyzounis: "ἀνδρὸς τὰ τε ἄλλα καλοῦ κἀγαθοῦ καὶ οὐδενὸς δευτέρου τῶν τὴν τοῦ ἡμετέρου γένους ἐπὶ τοῖς καλοῖς ποθούντων βελτίωσιν."⁶

The earliest date on which Glyzounis's name appears in Venice is 1567, when his arithmetic, popularly known as *Λογαριαστική*, was submitted to the censor of the Capi del Consiglio dei Dieci, Antonios Eparchos, for examination prior to its publication in 1568: *Βιβλίον... λογαριαστικὴν* (PAPADOPOULOS II no. 235).⁷ However, it is quite possible that Glyzounis came to Venice before Chios passed from the Genoese to the Turks in 1566. Glyzounis's *Logariastike* was the first book on arithmetic to be published in modern Greek. Although only four editions survive from the sixteenth century we know that it was immensely popular and in great demand in the Greek schools until the beginning of the nineteenth century.⁸

Until recently, it was not clear what precisely Glyzounis's activities were during the late 1560s and in the 1570s. We only knew that he collected manuscripts and sold them to wealthy patrons. Recently, we have learned more of his activities as an agent on behalf of Spain in the eastern Mediterranean gathering information about Turkish movements in the Greek lands under Turkish rule.⁹ When Glyzounis's involvement with Spain began is not known, although it must have been well before 1570. Since Glyzounis provided manuscripts not only for the King of Spain but also for other noble Spanish collectors and for the Vatican, his movements back and forth from Venice to Constantinople and other parts of Greece were camouflaged by his trips to collect manuscripts and perhaps to sell books as well.¹⁰ At the suggestion of Gregorios Malaxos to the Council of Ten in 1570, the Venetian government entrusted Glyzounis with an important mission to the Patriarch of Constantinople Metrophanes III (1565-1572). The mission of Glyzounis to the Patriarch Metrophanes was to convey to him verbally the plans of the Venetian government on the eve of the fall of Cyprus and to tell him that Venice hoped that the Greek clergy and the population would participate in the name of Christianity in the Venetian attack against the Turks

in the Peloponnese. The Venetians also wanted to assure the Patriarch that Venice would respect the population's adherence to Eastern Orthodoxy.¹¹ Apparently, this secret mission to the Patriarch Metrophanes was so dangerous that Glyzounis asked the Venetian government, in the event that he did not return, to pay his brother Ioannis, who resided with his family in Venice.¹²

Glyzounis's activities as a dealer in manuscripts, especially for the King of Spain and other Spanish collectors, have been known for some time.¹³ Some scholars say that, toward the end of his reign, Charles V (1500-1556) decided to collect manuscripts for the royal library and commissioned Glyzounis specifically to collect Greek manuscripts for him.¹⁴ However, this seems improbable, since Glyzounis in 1556 must have been only sixteen or, at the most, seventeen years old. On the other hand, there is evidence that he collected manuscripts for Charles's son and successor, Philip II (1527-1598), for in Glyzounis's will written on 11 September 1596, he left his Greek manuscripts to Philip II because they had been collected for him: "Lasso tutti li mei libri scritti a mano in greco per lo nome che ho raccolto ch' è el serenissimo principe di Spagna, al serenissimo Re Catolico; avendoli per lui raccolti."¹⁵ Glyzounis also provided manuscripts for the Vatican. In an undated letter to Pope Gregory XIII, he mentions his connection with the Vatican and his services to Gregory's predecessor, Pope Pius V, and other important ecclesiastical figures, and he places himself at the disposal of the new Pope.¹⁶ He also had dealings with Cardinal Guglielmo Sirleto, who in 1572 became the Cardinal Librarian of the Vatican Library. Glyzounis had friendly relations and corresponded with Emmanouel Provataris, who was the Greek scribe, *scriptor graecus*, of the Vatican Library from 1556 until 1570.¹⁷ He not only provided manuscripts for these men but also the occasional book, as in the case of an edition of the *Triodion* he sent to Provataris.¹⁸ Glyzounis made at least two trips to Spain. In 1580-1581, he took with him a list of manuscripts for sale that he presented to the bibliophile Cardinal Antonio Augustin, Archbishop of Tarragon.¹⁹ There are indications that he was in Spain again in 1586-1587, but we have no information about his activities during this second trip.²⁰

Until recently, Glyzounis was considered only a publisher and dealer in manuscripts. Lately it has been confirmed that he was not only collecting and selling manuscripts but, as M. Sicherl²¹ and P. Canart²² have conclusively proved, was also a scribe himself. We have mentioned that Glyzounis first published his arithmetic, the *Logariastike*, in 1568. The work was so popular that it was reprinted the following year. However, it seems that his other activities as agent, collector of manuscripts, scribe, and his many trips abroad did not leave him much time for other publishing ventures during the 1560s and 1570s. It was not until much later that he became involved in publishing. His name reappears on books as publisher, compiler, and editor in 1586 with the publication of a *Psalterion* (BH II no. 174; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 278). Until recently, this work was only known from the dedicatory epistle to Gabriel Severos, Archbishop of Philadelphia.²³ Another work, an *Anthologion*, 1587 (BH II no. 175), is still known only by the preface written by Glyzounis. It was also dedicated to Gabriel Severos. This preface, as well as the one of the *Psalterion* of 1586, are supposed to have been prepared for Glyzounis by Maximos Margounios.²⁴ In 1587 or early 1588 Glyzounis made a request to the Council of Ten to obtain a copyright to print another work prepared by him. In the request, Glyzounis mentions that this was a work for which the Council of Ten had already granted him permission to print two years earlier. Unfortunately, as he explains, for reasons of health he was unable to carry out his plans at that time. The work in question is the *Evangelistarion*, finally printed in 1588 (BH II no. 183; LADAS II no. 90). Glyzounis describes his work in his petition thus: "un Indice greco con methodo, et ordine di poter commodamente ritrouar le epistole, et Euangeli nel testamento nuouo, et de tem-

pore, et de sanctis, et un' altra tauola, la quale serue all' istesso, et al giornal Euangelio, et Epistole, mai piu stampata."²⁵ In the preface to the printed edition of the *Evangelistarion*, Glyzounis apologizes for the errors in the text, giving as the reason his illness and the indifferent work of the printers.²⁶

In 1588 Glyzounis opened his own bookshop at the Rialto.²⁷ Although he continued to edit and publish books under his own name, he was also in partnership with Giovanni Aliprandi, Loukas Sougdouris, and Antonio Gemelli to publish six *Menaia*. The partnership was formed on 5 February 1591, and the books produced under this arrangement were published under the name of Giovanni Aliprandi, who was in charge of the operations.²⁸ The type employed to print the works was the one originally used by Andrea Spinelli that had been acquired later by Aliprandi's former partner, Z. B. Tauroceni. It passed into the hands of Giovanni Aliprandi at the end of 1584. This new partnership was dissolved soon after the death of one of the partners, Antonio Gemelli, on 9 March 1593.²⁹ But, although Aliprandi's dealings with E. Glyzounis ceased in 1593, long before Glyzounis's own death in October 1596, Giovanni Aliprandi presented himself to the executors of Glyzounis's estate and claimed that Glyzounis still owed him money. After long negotiations, on 3 August 1600 the executors of the estate, who were the *Gastaldo* of the Greek Brotherhood and two other appointed officials, paid Giovanni Aliprandi the sum of fifty-one ducats.³⁰

The *Menaia* published as a result of the partnership with Aliprandi, Sougdouris, and Gemelli were those of March-August, 1592-1593. As already mentioned, they were published under the name of Giovanni Aliprandi. The printer employed by the partners, Francesco Giuliani, was also the printer who produced all of the subsequent books financed by Glyzounis and who, in 1595, went into partnership with him.³¹ On 19 February 1593/1594, Glyzounis became a member of the Guild of Printers and Booksellers, after paying an initiation fee of 10 ducats and 62 lire and receiving the required approval of the *Proveditori di Comun*.³² According to C. Lecuir, Glyzounis did not have to take the entrance examination as required by the Guild because his membership to the Guild was mandated by the Venetian government perhaps as recompence for his earlier services to the Republic.

Some have claimed that Emmanouel Glyzounis designed and cut his own type and was also a printer,³³ but the information at our disposal does not substantiate this. By the middle of the sixteenth century, printing and typefounding had become two separate specialties, and both required lengthy apprenticeships. A small number of foundries or typefounders and punch-cutters sold matrices struck from one set of punches to many different printers and publishers, who would buy them either directly from the founder or at one of the bookfairs, such as those at Lyons, Paris, Cologne, Strasburg, Nuremberg, or Frankfurt-am-Main.³⁴ By examining the type used in the Glyzounis imprints, it is possible to trace the different typefaces to their makers or to their provenance. Except for the *Menaia* already mentioned, which were printed under Aliprandi's name using the large type of Andrea Spinelli, the remainder of the works published by Glyzounis used fonts acquired by Glyzounis himself or brought to the firm by his partner, Francesco Giuliani.

The majority of the liturgical folio editions were printed with the *parangon grec* of Robert Granjon (figs. 83, 178).³⁵ The *parangon grec*, or double pica Greek, was originally designed and cut by Granjon for Christopher Plantin in 1565 and was based on the larger-sized type of the Royal Greek types, the *grecs du roi*.³⁶ The matrices acquired by Glyzounis could be purchased easily at the Frankfurt fair or even from Robert Granjon himself, who was in Rome working at the Vatican



ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΤΟΥ ΜΑΤΑΙΟΥ ΒΙΟΥ
ἀποταγῆς λόγος, ἡ βαθμὸς πρῶτος.

10 Λόγος ἀσκητικὸς τοῦ ἀββᾶ Ἰωάννου, καὶ θηγουμνίου τῆς
ἐν τῇ Σινᾷ ὁρειμοναχῶν, τὴν ὁπτιὸν ἐξελεν εἰς τὴν ἀβ-
βαῖ Ἰωάννῳ τὸν καὶ θηγουμνιον τῆς Ρ' αἰθῆς, διηγεμνίος
15 εἰς τρεῖς ἀκόνη κεφάλαια, τὰ ὅποια καθ' ὁμοίωσιν τῇ
βαθμῶν μίας σκάλας, ἀναβάλλουσι τοὺς ἀκολουθοῦ-
ντας ἀπὸ τὰ χαμηλότερα εἰς τὰ ὑψηλότερα. διὰ τὴν
ὁπίαν αὐτῶν ὀνομάσθη καὶ κλίμαξ τὸ βιβλίον.

20



ΠΟ' ὅλα τὰ λογικὰ ποιήματα καὶ πλάσματα,
ὅπου ἔκπσιν ὁ ἀγαθὸς, καὶ ὑπεράγαθος, καὶ πανά-
γαθος θεὸς, καὶ βασιλεὺς ἡμῶν, καὶ τὰ ἐπέμνησεν με-
25 τὴν πρὸς, καὶ τὸ ἀξίωμα τοῦ αὐτεξούτου (ὅθεν π
καλὸν εἶναι νὰ κάμωμεν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ τὸν θεὸν, ὁμι-
λῶντας πρὸς τοὺς δέλους τοῦ θεοῦ) ἄλλοι εἶναι φί-
λοι τοῦ ἁλλοεγνήσιοι καὶ καθολικοὶ τοῦ δοῦλοι. ἄλλοι, δοῦλοί τοῦ
αἰοφιλεῖς. ἄλλοι καθόλου ξεῖροι ἀπὸ τοῦ λόγου τοῦ, καὶ ἄλλοι, καλὰ
30 ἐὰν ὡς αὐτοὶ, ὁ μὲν ἀντίδικος, ἐὰν ἄνθρωποι τοῦ. καὶ φίλους, ὡς ἀγία κεφα-
λὴ, καθολικὰ λογίζομεν ἡμεῖς σιμᾶ εἰς τὸν θεὸν, ἐκείνας τὰς νοεράς
ἀσωμάτους ὑπάρχεις, ὅπερ εἶναι ζῆλον τοῦ, ἡγοῦν τοὺς ἀγίους ἀγγέλους. καὶ
ὅλας τὰς ψυχὰς τῆς μακαρίων, καθὼς αὐτὸς ὁ σωτὴρ καὶ δεσπότης
ἡμῶν μᾶς διδάσκει εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν διαγγέλιον, ὁμιλῶντας ὅθεν τὸν ἀνθρώ-
πον ὅπερ εἶχεν ὡς τὸ ἀπολωλὸς πρόβατον, λέγωντας πῶς ἔπραξε
35 τοὺς φίλους τοῦ, καὶ τοὺς γείτονάς τοῦ νὰ συγχαροῦσι μετὰ τοῦ λόγου
τοῦ, συμπεράνουντας καὶ ἀποδείχνωντας, πῶς οἱ φίλοι καὶ οἱ γείτο-
νες

β

νες

from 1578 until his death in 1590.³⁷ The Glyzounis *parangon grec* (20 lines=126-127 mm) was the main font used in all the liturgical folio publications and was also used in other works as well. Mention of Glyzounis having acquired type is found in his request to the Council of Ten in 1588 and again in his will. In his request for an extension of the permission to print the *Evangelistarion*, Glyzounis says that one of the reasons he was delayed in printing the work, besides the fact that he was in poor health, was that "anco perche cercauo d'aueer littera che facesse à questo proposito, la quale à posta feci zitar personalmente."³⁸ In his will, he bequeathed his moulds and his punches to the church of San Giorgio dei Greci: "Lasso le mie madre e li mei polsoni alla chiesa di S. Zorzi dei Greci per far esircitar l'arte," and, a little further down, "la littera noua che ho fatto zittar per la stamparia voglio che li resti insieme con l'altra in casa mia per far esircitar l'arte."³⁹ He left his Latin letter to his godson "al fiolo che ho batizato Zan Antonio."⁴⁰ It appears that Giovanni Antonio was the son of Baldissera Giuliani and the grandson of Francesco Giuliani. Giovanni Antonio Giuliani was admitted to the Guild of Printers and Booksellers on 30 March, 1617.⁴¹

Glyzounis also acquired other type, all of it of French provenance except for one font, which was used minimally and came from the stock of Giacomo Leoncini via the 1584 publishing company and Francesco Giuliani, who was the printer employed in that enterprise.⁴² This type made its first appearance in two books published in 1543 and in 1546 by the Brucioli. It was subsequently used by Cristoforo Zanetti in 1546 and 1547 before it passed to the hands of Giacomo Leoncini. In the Glyzounis imprints, it was used usually only for tables of contents or other small subdivisions.⁴³ For the nonliturgical publications, the type used was the *augustine grec* of Pierre Haultin (20 lines=93-94 mm), usually without its most elaborate ligatures and contractions. This font was used extensively in the printing of two works written in the vernacular and aimed at a less educated and sophisticated readership. The works were the *Klimax tou paradeisou*, 1590 (BH II no. 185=IV no. 824; fig. 178), by Saint Joannes Climacus, translated into modern Greek by Maximos Margounios, and Glyzounis's own arithmetic, the *Logariastike*, 1596 (PAPADOPOULOS II no. 305^a; fig. 179). The font can also be found in some other works. Glyzounis had in his possession yet a fourth set of typefaces (20 lines=81-82 mm), which was used, again sparingly, for special sections.⁴⁴ The type corresponds to the *mediane grecque*, also called pica or *cicéro*, of Pierre Haultin (fig. 143).⁴⁵

Some of the decorations and woodcuts originally used by Z. B. Tauroceni and then by Giovanni Aliprandi passed into the hands of Emmanouel Glyzounis, especially the small cuts of the saints that were used in the *Menaia* (fig. 87). Other decorations included some that had been used as far back as 1549 by Andrea Spinelli, others originally belonged to Giacomo Leoncini. A third set of headpieces appear for the first time in Glyzounis's publications. However, even these must have been acquired secondhand, for they do not appear to be new. Most but not all of the publications financed by Glyzounis have variant forms of a Greek cross on their title pages that Glyzounis adopted as his publisher's device (figs. 124, 129). On the other hand, the *Logariastike*, 1596 (PAPADOPOULOS II no. 305^a), has on its title page a device associated with Francesco Rampazetto (VACCARO no. 439; fig. 165), although the work was not published by Rampazetto. However, Francesco Rampazetto who was long-dead by 1596, did print the 1569 edition of this work (BH IV no. 673). Besides the usual full-page woodcuts of the Crucifixion, the Resurrection, and that of Saint John of Damaskos common to some of the liturgical books, two of the Glyzounis publications introduced new features in the illustration of the Greek book. One of these books is the *Logariastike*, 1596 (PAPADOPOULOS II no. 305^a), which has a woodcut (A1^v) of a man seated

Ι' Σ' Χ Σ'.

68

Η' Α' ΝΑ'

ΤΗ' Σ Α' ΝΑΣΤΑ'
Ε' Ξ Ε' Λ Α Μ Ψ Ε.
ΤΟΥ' ΘΑΝΑΤΟΥ
ΘΗΜΕ' ΝΟΙΣ, Ο'
ΣΟΥ' Σ. ΚΑΙ' ΤΗ'
ΤΙ ΤΟ' Ν Γ' ΣΧΤ-
ΣΑ Σ ΤΟΥ' ΤΟΥ
ΠΑΣΕΝ.



ΣΤΑΣΙΣ

ΣΕΩΣ ΤΟ' ΦΩ' Σ
ΤΟΙ' Σ Ε' ΣΚΟ' ΤΕΙ
ΚΑΙ' ΣΚΙΑ' ΚΑ
ΘΕΟ' ΣΜΟΥ ΙΗ-
ΑΥΤΟΥ' ΘΕΟ' ΤΗ
ΡΟ' Ν ΔΕΣΜΕ' Τ-
ΤΑ' ΣΚΕΤΗ ΔΙΗΡ

ΠΕΡΙ' ΤΟΥ' ΠΩ' Σ ΝΑ' ΕΤ' ΡΙ' ΣΚΕΙ ΤΟ'

ἄγιον πάχα ὁ καθεὶς ἑκάστος χριστιανὸς αἰεὶ ἑ
πάντοτε. Κεφάλαιον α'.

Ε' Πειθὴ μὲ θεῶν βοήθειαν ἐδώσαμεν τέλος τῷ λογαριασμῷ ἐν ζωῇ μα.
ἀκόμι γράφωμεν ἑπταὶς ἐρμηνείας ἵνα διήσκει ὁ καθεὶς αὐτὸς τὸ ἄγιον
πάχα ἑ πάντα τὰ ἀκόλυθα αὐτῷ ἐν δικαλίᾳ. τὰ ὅποια δὲν εἶναι αἰαγ-
κάα εἰς τὸν ἱερεὺς μόνον ἀμὲ ἑ εἰς ὅλους τὸν αἶον. τοιοῦτον ὁποῖος θέλει ἰα-
καταλάβει τὰς ἐρμηνείας ἐν πρώτοις γρηναὶ ἡς ἔσθρη πόσας ἡμέρας ἔχει ὁ κα-
θε μῆνας, ἑ πόσας ἐπακτάς, ἑ ἡ ἔως ποῦ πατῆμεν. πόσας κύκλους ἔχει ὁ
ἥλιος, ἑ πόσας ἡ σελήνη, ἑ πόσον θεμέλιον, πότε γινεῖ βίσκεως, ἑ πότε εἶαι
εἰς ἱομικὸν φάσκα. ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐν δικαλίᾳ θέλη ἔσθρη τὸ ἄγιον πάχα ἑ πάντα τὰ
ἀκόλυθα αὐτῷ. ἑ δεῖτε τὰ γράφομεν ἑ ἡμεῖς ἐν ταύτῃ καὶ ἐν πρώτοις λείομεν.
Ὁ μάρτιος ἔχει ἡμέρας λ' ἡ ἡμέρα ἔχει ὥρας ιβ', ἑ ἡ νύξ ὥρ. ιβ'. ἔχει ἐπακτάς, ε.
Ἀπρίλιος ἡμέρας λ'. ἡ ἡμέρα ἔχει ὥρας ιγ'. ἑ ἡ νύξ ὥρ. ια. ἐπακτῶ δὲ, α.
Μαΐος ἡμέρας λ' α'. ἡ ἡμέρα ἔχει ὥρας ιδ', ἑ ἡ νύξ ὥρας ι. ἐπακτῶ δὲ, γ'.
Ιούνιος ἡμέρας λ'. ἡ ἡμέρα ἔχει ὥρας ιε', ἑ ἡ νύξ ὥρας θ'. ἐπακτῶ δὲ, σ'.
Ιούλιος ἡμέρας λ' α'. ἡ ἡμέρα ἔχει ὥρας ιδ', ἑ ἡ νύξ ὥρας ι. ἐπακτῶ δὲ, α'.
Αὐγύστος ἡμέρας λ' α'. ἡ ἡμέρα ἔχει ὥρας ιγ', ἑ ἡ νύξ ὥρ. ια. ἐπακτῶ δὲ, δ'.
Σεπτέμβριος ἡμέρας λ'. ἡ ἡμέρα ἔχει ὥρ. ιβ', ἑ ἡ νύξ ὥρ. ιβ'. ἐπακτῶ δὲ, ζ'.
Ὀκτώβριος ἡμέρας λ' α'. ἡ ἡμέρα ἔχει ὥρ. ια, ἑ ὁ νύξ ὥρ. ιγ'. ἐπακτῶ δὲ, β'.
Νεόμβριος ἡμέρας λ'. ἡ ἡμέρα ἔχει ὥρας ι, ἑ ἡ νύξ ὥρ. ιδ'. ἐπακτῶ δὲ, ε.
Δεκέμβριος ἡμέρας λ' α'. ἡ ἡμέρα ἔχει ὥρ. θ', ἑ ἡ νύξ ὥρας ιε'. ἐπακτῶ δὲ, ζ'.
Γαινναρίος ἡμέρας λ' α'. ἡ ἡμέρα ἔχει ὥρας ι. ἑ ἡ νύξ ὥρ. ιδ'. ἐπακτῶ δὲ, γ'.
Φεβρουάριος ἡμέρας κ' ἡ ἡμέρα ἔχει ὥρ. ια, ἡ νύξ ὥρας ιγ'. ἐπακτῶ δὲ, σ'.

Λ 4

Περὶ

Σημεία σθα-
τὰς ἐμπακ-
τὰς τῶν μη-
νῶν οὕτως ἀρ-
χεται εἰς θε-
μέλιον τοῦ
ἡλίου τὸ ὁκ-
τώβριον.
ὁκτώβρι. α'.
νοέμβρι. δ'.
δεκέμ. σ'.
ἰαννουά. β'.
φεβρουά. ε'.
μαρτί. ι.
ἀπρίλ. α'.
μαΐος. γ'.
ἰουνιος. σ'.
ἰούλ. δ'.
αὐγους. δ'.
σεπτέβ. ζ'.

looking at the stars with dividers in his left hand within an ornamental typeface border (fig. 109). This cut is similar to the 1569 woodcut of the *Logariastike*, 1569 (BH IV no. 673), which was printed for Glyzounis by Francesco Rampazetto (fig. 108a). The cut in the 1596 edition is a free copy of ESSLING no. 1335.⁴⁶ This type of woodcut was very common in Italy for illustrating astronomical and other scientific books, and, most probably, the cut was not made specifically for this edition.⁴⁷ On the other hand, the woodcut found in the *Klimax tou paradeisou*, 1590 (BH II no. 185=IV no. 824; fig. 112), is more likely to have been designed with this book in mind, for it is definitely Orthodox in iconography and illustrates the story of the book. The artist who designed the cut was familiar with the iconography of the heavenly ladder, which can be traced back to early Byzantine manuscript illustrations of the story.⁴⁸ During this period, there were several Greek artists, mostly painters, who resided and worked in Venice, who could have designed it.⁴⁹

From Glyzounis's will we have learned that at the time of his death he had two partners. One was Francesco Giuliani, who was the printer responsible for all of the Glyzounis books that came out between 1586 and 1596. The name of the second partner was more difficult to ascertain because his name never appears in the books themselves. In the transcription of the will given in Legrand⁵⁰ his name is given as "Zuane Serniolla." In the Mertzios⁵¹ and Ball⁵² renditions, the name is given as "Zuane Cerucha." However, the name of the partner was Zuane Cerutto or Cerutti. Giovanni Cerutto appears to have been in partnership with Francesco Giuliani in the early 1590s.⁵³ Among the books found in the stock of Glyzounis after his death were 268 copies of the popular work, *Amadis de Gaula*,⁵⁴ and 273 copies of its sequel, *Aggiunta al secondo uolume di don Rogiello di Grecia* also printed by his partners.⁵⁵

Glyzounis made his will on 11 September 1596 in the presence of the notary Vincenzo Conti. He died a month later. For the last year of his life, he had been confined to his bed in his house at Santa Trinità, not far from the Greek Church and Brotherhood buildings. He left as executors of his will the *gastaldo* of the Greek Scuola and two others, Domenico de Gaian and the ambassador of the King of Spain, Don Iñigo de Mendoza. The latter was named in order to take charge of the manuscripts Glyzounis had collected on behalf of the King of Spain. In his will, Glyzounis left a sum of one thousand ducats to provide for a free school on his native Chios. He also left his house on Chios near the church of Hagia Maria Thermiriotissa as the residence of the teacher of the school. The execution of his will was long and complicated because of his business interests and also because his wish to establish a school on Turkish-occupied Chios was a complicated matter. However, the successive *gastaldi* of the Greek Scuola persevered, and Glyzounis's school began functioning in the year 1603/04. Its first teacher was Phrankiskos Kokkos, who had finished his higher education in Rome at the Greek College of San Atanasio in 1601.⁵⁶

At the time of his death, Glyzounis left a fortune in excess of one thousand five hundred ducats. The bulk of the books left in his shop, some 9,764 volumes representing 279,894 *fogli*, were sold on 11 April 1600 to "Domenego stampador," who was none other than Domenico de Poloni.⁵⁷ The preponderance of the works were liturgical publications, as well as popular romances in modern Greek. However, the list also contained works of classical authors and grammars of ancient Greek. According to I. Veloudis,⁵⁸ some of the books from the Glyzounis estate were bought by the Greek Scuola and formed the nucleus of the library of the Greek Community. Unfortunately, there is no trace of them today in the library of the Greek Institute in Venice. Had these books survived, they might have provided a clue to some of the editions mentioned in the various sales of the Glyzounis estate that have completely disappeared. These books, now lost, include unknown, late sixteenth century editions of the popular chapbooks *Apokopos*, *Apolonios*,

Imberios, Gadaros, and the story of *Sosanne*.⁵⁹ The only chapbook printed by Francesco Giuliani that survived was the *Anthos ton Chariton*, 1594 (ILIOU no. 23). The only copy was recorded by Sp. Lambros in 1895.⁶⁰ Unfortunately, even this copy was lost when the library of the monastery of Simonos Petras on Mount Athos was destroyed in a fire.

In the Glyzounis sale, there is also mention of other works that bibliographers were hitherto unaware had been printed in the sixteenth century. One of these works was a rhymed version of the story of Saint Nicholas, referred to in the Glyzounis list as "Istorie de Santo Nicolo." It is listed among the chapbooks delivered to E. Glyzounis by Francesco Giuliani in 1594. The earliest surviving printed edition of the *Bíos τοῦ Ἁγίου καὶ μεγάλου Νικολάου* is the one printed by Antonio Pinelli in 1626 (BH XVIIIs. I no. 156). However, a version of this story must have been printed as early as 1568 or 1569, because a copyright was granted to Nikolaos Papadopoulos on November 20, 1568 to print it.⁶¹ On the other hand, the 100 copies found in the Glyzounis stock must have come from a later edition printed at Glyzounis's expense in the 1590s. Saint Nicholas was the patron saint of the Greek Scuola, and the work was undoubtedly very popular. Another work printed in 1594 is difficult to identify. It is listed right after the Saint Nicholas book and before the *Apolonios* as "vita di S. Justo." It is also called "Zan Justi" in a list enumerating the books found in cases in the Glyzounis bookshop after his death.⁶² Could this refer to the story of Belisarios? None of the sixteenth century editions of *Belisarios* have a conventional title page listing the title of the story. Instead, the title page consists of a woodcut illustration showing Justinian sitting on his throne flanked by courtiers. Above the illustration the words "Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως" appear. It is interesting to note that Martinus Crusius refers to the story of Belisarios as "Ἰουστινιανός"⁶³ In the same list, there is also mention of sixty copies of "confessionaria" (ἐξομολογητάρια) which cannot be accounted for. As far as is known, no books remotely resembling such a title are mentioned in the sources. The work must have been printed in Greek, since it is listed in the section of the inventory reserved for Greek imprints. Three other late editions of liturgical books are unaccounted for. These are an *Ἀκολουθία τοῦ Ἀναγνώστου*, designated in the list as "siliturgie," an unknown edition of an *Horologion*, of which there were a total of 579 copies as shown in two separate lists,⁶⁴ and 106 copies of "Messe," which must be interpreted as editions of the *Theiai Leitourgiai*, the last known edition of which was printed by Pietro Zanetti in 1589 (LAZAROU no. 388).⁶⁵

Books written, edited, compiled or financed fully or in part by Emmanouel Glyzounis:

- [1568?] Βιβλίον...λογαριαστικήν (PAPADOPOULOS II no. 235)
 C. Zanetti device on the title page
- 1569 Βιβλίον...λογαριαστικήν (BH IV no. 673; FINAZZI no. 95)
 "Appresso Francesco Rampazetto, Ad instantia di M. Manoli Glizoni"
- 1586 Ψαλτήριον τοῦ Δαβίδ (BH II no. 174; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 278)
 Dedicatory epistle: "Τῷ Πανιερωτάτῳ Ἀρχιεπισκόπῳ Φιλαδελφείας πατρι-
 αρχικῷ τε Ἐξάρχῳ καὶ παναιδεσιμωτάτῳ δεσπότῃ, κυρίῳ Γαβριήλῳ τῷ
 Σεβήρῳ. Μανουήλῳ ὁ Γλυνζώνιος ἐν κῷ χαίρειν"
- 1587 Ἀνθολόγιον (BH II no. 175)
 Dedicatory epistle: "Τῷ Πανιερωτάτῳ Ἀρχιεπισκόπῳ Φιλαδελφείας κυρίῳ
 Γαβριήλῳ τῷ Σεβήρῳ Μανουήλ ὁ Γλυνζούνιος εὖ πράττειν"

- 1587 Ὁκτώηχος (UNIVERSITÄTSBIBLIOTHEK TÜBINGEN)
“παρὰ Φραγγίσκῳ τῶν Ἰουλιανῶν, μετὰ πολλῆς ἐπιμελείας”
- 1588 Θεῖον καὶ ἱερὸν Εὐαγγέλιον (BH II no. 182=II no. 282)
“συνδρομὴ συνθέσει καὶ διορθώσει, Ἐμμανουήλ Γλυζωνίου”
- 1588 Εὐαγγελιστάριον (BH II no. 183; LADAS no. 90)
“Συντεθέν, διορθωθέν καὶ ἐκδοθέν, παρ’ Ἐμμανουήλου τοῦ Γλυζωνίου”
- 1590 Joannes Climacus, Saint, Κλίμαξ τοῦ παραδείσου (BH II no. 185=IV no. 824)
“ad instantia del Reuerendissimo Vescouo di Cerigo, & di Misier Manoli Glinzoni”
- 1592 Μὴν Μάρτιος (LADAS no. 95)⁶⁶
“ἀναλώμασι καὶ διορθώσει κυροῦ Ἐμμανουήλ Γλυζωνίου”
- 1592 Μὴν Ἀπρίλιος (BH IV no. 833; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 295^a)
Title page: “παρὰ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Ἀλιπράνδου ὅς ἐστιν ἐκ τοῦ χαρακτῆρος, τοῦ ἰδίου γράμματος τῶν σπινέλων ἀναλώμασι μὲν τοῖς αὐτοῦ”
Colophon: “παρὰ Φραγγίσκῳ τῶν Ἰουλιανῶν”
- 1592 Μὴν Ιούνιος (BH II no. 197)
As above
- 1592 Μὴν Ἰούλιος (BH IV no. 834; EISS III no. 4013)
As above
- 1592 Μὴν Αὐγούστος (B IV no. 835)
Title page: As above
Colophon: “ἐτυπώθη ἐν βενεταῖς, παρὰ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Ἀλιπράνδου”
- 1593 Μὴν Μάρτιος (MOSCHONAS II no. 541)
“παρὰ Φραγγίσκῳ τῶν Ἰουλιανῶν”
- 1593 Μὴν Ἀπρίλιος (MOSCHONAS II no. 541)
As above
- 1593 Μὴν Μάϊος (BH II no. 198=IV no. 840)
Title page: As above
Colophon: “Ἐτυπώθη ἐν βενεταῖς, παρὰ Φραγγίσκῳ τῶν Ἰουλιανῶν”
- 1593 Μὴν Ἰούνιος⁶⁷
- 1594 Ἄνθος τῶν Χαρίτων (ILIOU no. 23)⁶⁸
“παρὰ Φραγγίσκῳ τῶν Ἰουλιανῶν”
- 1594 Ἀπόκοπος⁶⁹
- 1594 Ἀπολώνιος
- 1594 Ἀπόστολος (PAPADOPOULOS II no. 301^a)
Title page: Glyzounis Cross device
Colophon: “παρὰ Φραγγίσκῳ τῶν Ἰουλιανῶν”

- 1594 Βίος τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ μεγάλου Νικολάου
- 1594 Δαμασκηνὸς Στουδίτης, Βιβλίον...Θησαυρός (PAPADOPOULOS II no. 302)
"παρὰ Φραγγίσκῳ τῶν Ἰουλιανῶν"
- 1594 Διήγησις...Βελισαρίου
- 1594 Ἡμέριος
- 1594 Γαδάρου, λύκου κιαλουποῦς διήγησις ὥραϊα
- 1594 Ἱστορία τῆς Σωσάννης
- 1594 Θεῖαι Λειτουργίαι (ILIOU, 319 no. 32)
- 1595 Μὴν Αὐγούστος (SATHAS, 201)⁷⁰
- 1595 Μὴν Σεπτέμβριος (BH II no. 212)
"παρὰ Φραγγίσκῳ τῶν Ἰουλιανῶν, ἀναλώμασι καὶ διορθώσει, κυροῦ Ἐμμανουήλ τοῦ Γλυνζωνίου"
- 1595 Μὴν Ὀκτώβριος (BH II no. 213)
As above
- 1595 Σύνταγμα...ἀκολουθιῶν (BH II no. 206; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 305)
"ἀναλώμασι, συνθέσει διορθώσει καὶ ἐκδιώσει [sic] κυρίου, Εμμανουήλου τοῦ Γλυνζωνίου"
- 1595-96 Βιβλίον...Ἀναγνωστικόν (BH II no. 216)
"Συντεθέν, διορθωθέν, καὶ ἐκδοθέν, παρ' Ἐμμανουήλῳ τῷ Γλυνζωνίῳ"
- Pre-1596 Ἀκολουθία τοῦ Ἀναγνώστου⁷¹
- Pre-1596 Ἐξομολογητάριον
- Pre-1596 Ὁρολόγιον
- 1596 Βιβλίον...λογαριαστικὴν (PAPADOPOULOS, II no. 305^a)
"Appresso Francesco Zuliani, ad instantia di M. Manoli Glinzoni"
- 1596 Βιβλίον...λογαριαστικὴν (BH II no. 219)
"παρὰ πέτρου, υἱοῦ τοῦ ποτέ, Χριστοφόρου τοῦ τζανέτου"
Compiled by E. Glyzounis. Preface by Glyzounis.
- 1596 Ὀκτώηχος (BH II no. 221)⁷²
"παρὰ φραγγίσκῳ τῶν Ἰουλιανῶν"
- 1596 Μὴν Νοέμβριος (BH II no. 217)⁷³
"ἀναλώμασι καὶ διορθώσει κυροῦ Ἐμμανουήλ τοῦ Γλυνζωνίου"

NOTES

- 1 BORSA I, 169 (Glinzoni, Emmanuele, 1595-96); KONTOSOPOULOS, 314-15; PASTORELLO no. 226 (Glizoni, Manoli, 1569); X. ΦΙΛΗΤΑΣ, Έμμανουήλ Γλυζώνιος, Πανδώρα, 9(1858)273-81; SATHAS, 204-06; BH II, 122-24, 384-88; Γ. Ι. ΖΑΒΙΡΑΣ, Νέα Έλλάς, 436-37; Κ. Ι. ΑΜΑΝΤΟΣ, 'Η ἄλωσις τῆς Χίου ὑπὸ τῶν Τούρκων (1566), Χιακὰ Χρονικά, 4(1919)75-76; Κ. Ι. ΑΜΑΝΤΟΣ, Τὰ γράμματα εἰς τὴν Χίον κατὰ τὴν Τουρκοκρατίαν 1566-1822. Πειραιεύς, 1946, 61-63 and his 'Η λογαριαστική τοῦ Γλυντζούνου, Ἡμερολόγιον τῆς Μεγάλης Ἑλλάδος 1934, 179-184; Κ. Δ. ΜΕΡΤΖΙΟΣ, Θωμᾶς Φλαγγίνης, 203-16; Χ. Γ. ΠΑΤΡΙΝΕΛΗΣ, Γλυζούνιος Έμμανουήλ, ΘΗΕ, 4(1964)567-68; Ν. Δ. ΣΩΤΗΡΑΚΗΣ, Μανουήλ Γλυζώνιος καὶ Δωρόθεος Πρώτος, Χιακὴ Ἐπιθεώρησις, 33(1973)183-98; J. BALL, The Greek Community, 166-75; C. LECUIR, Les éditeurs Grecs, 113-38, 243-77; S. G. Engberg, Greek Literacy During the Tourkokratia, 41-46; her Literacy and Liturgical Books, 31-41 and her The Greek Old Testament Lectionary, 39-47; Γ. ΚΑΡΑΣ, Γλυζώνιος (ἢ Γλυζούνης ἢ Γλυτζούνης) Μανουήλ (1530-1596) ἢ τὸ πρῶτο νεοελληνικὸ μαθηματικὸ βιβλίον, Ὁ Φυσικὸς Κόσμος, 81(Μάρτης 1982)10-12 and his Οἱ θετικὲς ἐπιστῆμες στὸν ἐλληνικὸ χῶρον (15ος-19ος αἰῶνας). Ἀθήνα, 1991, 189-91; see also T. E. ΣΚΛΑΒΕΝΙΤΗΣ, Τὰ ἐμπορικὰ ἐγχειρίδια τῆς Βενετοκρατίας καὶ τῆς Τουρκοκρατίας καὶ ἡ ἐμπορικὴ ἐγκυκλοπαίδεια τοῦ Νικολάου Παπαδοπούλου. Ἀθήνα, 1991, 16-20, 87-88.
- 2 Κ. Δ. ΜΕΡΤΖΙΟΣ, Θωμᾶς Φλαγγίνης, 203.
- 3 Ν. ΚΑΤΡΑΜΗΣ, Φιλολογικὰ ἀνάλεκτα, 211; Κ. Ι. ΑΜΑΝΤΟΣ, 'Η ἄλωσις τῆς Χίου, 75.
- 4 Τὰ γράμματα εἰς τὴν Χίον, 61-63.
- 5 BH II, 122.
- 6 BH II, 69.
- 7 Ν. Μ. ΠΑΝΑΓΙΩΤΑΚΗΣ, Νικόλαος Παπαδόπουλος, 115 note 9. See also C. LECUIR, Les éditeurs Grecs, 114, 243-44.
- 8 Κ. Ι. ΑΜΑΝΤΟΣ, 'Η λογαριαστική, 179-84; Γ. ΚΑΡΑΣ, Γλυζώνιος (ἢ Γλυζούνης ἢ Γλυτζούνης) Μανουήλ, 10-12; Τ. Ε. ΣΚΛΑΒΕΝΙΤΗΣ, Τὰ ἐμπορικὰ ἐγχειρίδια τῆς Βενετοκρατίας καὶ τῆς Τουρκοκρατίας, 16-20, 87-88. For a list of the editions before 1800, see PAPADOPOULOS I nos. 2481-2498 and II nos. 235 and 305^a. For the popularity of the work, see also ΧΡ. ΦΙΛΗΤΑΣ, Έμμανουήλ Γλυζώνιος, 274-75 and ILIOU, 94, 218.
- 9 Ι. Κ. ΧΑΣΙΩΤΗΣ, Οἱ Ἕλληνες στὶς παραμονὲς τῆς ναυμαχίας τῆς Ναυπάκτου. Θεσσαλονίκη, 1970, 32 note 5.
- 10 Ι. Κ. ΧΑΣΙΩΤΗΣ, *Ibidem*, 129-33 and his Venezia e i domini veneziani tramite di informazioni sui Turchi per gli Spagnoli nel sec. XVI, Venezia centro di mediazione tra Oriente e Occidente (secoli XV-XVI). Aspetti e problemi. Firenze, 1977, I, 126 and note 22. A number of other Greek scribes and dealers in manuscripts served as agents for either Venice or Spain, among them Gregorios Malaxos, who edited and corrected many liturgical editions for a number of printers. See also under his name in Part II.
- 11 V. LAMANSKI, *Secrets d'Etat de Venise*. St. Petersburg, 1884, 078-079 no. 23; Ι. Κ. ΧΑΣΙΩΤΗΣ, Οἱ Ἕλληνες, 129-34; Ζ. Ν. ΤΣΙΡΠΑΝΛΗΣ, Τὸ κληροδότημα, 162-64.
- 12 Ι. Κ. ΧΑΣΙΩΤΗΣ, Οἱ Ἕλληνες, 130.
- 13 C. GRAUX, *Essais sur les origines du fonds grec de l'Escorial*. Paris, 1880, 297-98, 442-43.
- 14 Ι. ΒΕΛΟΥΔΗΣ, Ἑλλήνων Ὁρθοδόξων, 123; Χ. ΦΙΛΗΤΑΣ, Έμμανουήλ Γλυζώνιος, 273; SATHAS, 204; see also C. GRAUX, *Ibidem*, 25 note 2 and 297.
- 15 For a transcription of the text of the Glyzounis last will and testament see BH II, 386-88; J. BALL, The Greek Community, 209-12; Κ. Δ. ΜΕΡΤΖΙΟΣ, Θωμᾶς Φλαγγίνης, 212-16. The three transcriptions vary especially in the transcription of proper names, spelling, capitalization and in other ways.
- 16 P. CANART, Nouveaux manuscrits copiés par Emmanuel Glynzounios, Ἐπετηρὶς Ἐταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν, 39-40(1972-73)544 where his letter to Pope Gregory XIII is given.
- 17 P. CANART, Un Crétois scribeur de la Bibliothèque vaticane: Emmanuel Provataris, Κρητικὰ Χρονικά, 15-16(1961-62)88-89; Ι. Κ. ΧΑΣΙΩΤΗΣ, Οἱ Ἕλληνες, 132 note 3.
- 18 P. CANART, Nouveaux manuscrits, 528-31. Χ. Γ. ΠΑΤΡΙΝΕΛΗΣ, Ἐπιστολὲς τοῦ Ἰππόλυτου Βάρελη, 312-14, 316.
- 19 C. GRAUX, *Op. cit.*, 297-98 and 442-43 where the letter of Glyzounis to Augustin written on 6 April 1581 from Saragossa is published.
- 20 M. SICHERL, Manuel Glynzunios als Schreiber griechischer Handschriften, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 49(1956)37. See also A. BRAVO GARCIA, Sobre algunos manuscritos de Manuel Glynzunio en la Real Biblioteca de El Escorial, *ΦΙΛΟΦΡΟΝΗΜΑ. Festschrift für Martin Sicherl zum 75. Geburtstag*. Paderborn, 1990, 313-31.
- 21 Manuel Glynzunios, 34-54 and his Parerga zu griechischen Kopisten der Renaissance, *Parerga. Studi in onore di Aristide Colonna*. Perugia, 1982, 276-81.

- 22 Nouveaux manuscrits, 527-44; see also PATRINELIS, 72-73; CANART, 60, 74; GAMILLSCHEG-HARLFINGER, I no. 248 and their Specimen eines Repertoriums der griechischen Kopisten, *Jahrbuch der Oesterreichischen Byzantinistik*, 27(1978)315-16.
- 23 BH II, 47-48.
- 24 BH II, 48-50.
- 25 Venice. Archivio di Stato. Senato Terra. Filza 106. Undated, placed between 1 February 1587 and 8 May 1588. The Council of Ten extended the privilege for one more year.
- 26 LADAS, 85. The *Evangelistarion* compiled by Glyzounis was extremely popular and was in use well into the nineteenth century. PAPADOPOULOS records thirty-eight editions printed between 1588 and 1799.
- 27 C. LECUIR, *Les éditeurs Grecs*, 120, 254-55.
- 28 C. LECUIR, *Les éditeurs Grecs*, 121-24, 256-58. See also under Giovanni Aliprandi in Part II.
- 29 K. Δ. MEPTZIOS, *Θωμάς Φλαγγίνης*, 204-05.
- 30 Venice. Istituto Ellenico di Studi Bizantini e Postbizantini. Archivio. Commissaria Emanuele Glizuni. Processo contro Zuanne Aliprandi.
- 31 C. LECUIR, *Les éditeurs Grecs*, 126.
- 32 Γ. ΚΕΧΑΓΙΟΓΛΟΥ, *Τρεῖς ἀβιβλιογράφητες ἐκδόσεις*, 465.
- 33 K. Δ. MEPTZIOS, *Θωμάς Φλαγγίνης*, 204.
- 34 A. F. JOHNSON, The Supply of Types in the Sixteenth Century, *The Library*, 4th ser., 24(1945)47-65; H. CARTER, *A View of Early Typography*, 66-67.
- 35 For the *parangon grec* see M. PARKER, K. MELIS, H. D. L. VERVLIT, Early Inventories, 28 (MA 16, 17); C. PLANTIN, *Index sive specimen characterum Christophori Plantini*. Antverpiae, 1567. Facsim. reprint *Plantin's Index Characterum of 1567*. New York, 1924, fol. [A4].
- 36 R. PROCTOR, The French Royal, 89-119; A. PARENT, Les "grecs du roi," 55-67 where the earlier bibliography is listed.
- 37 H. D. L. VERVLIT, Robert Granjon à Rome, 185; A. TINTO, Per una storia, 282 and note 19.
- 38 See note 25 above.
- 39 J. BALL, The Greek Community, 210-11; BH II, 387; K. Δ. MEPTZIOS, *Op. cit.*, 213-14.
- 40 BH II, 387; J. BALL, The Greek Community, 210; K. MEPTZIOS, *Θωμάς Φλαγγίνης*, 213-14.
- 41 C. LECUIR, *Les éditeurs Grecs*, 129, 260 no. XXX. He was admitted to the Guild as the heir to his grandfather "Francesco Zuliani da Padenghe."
- 42 For more particulars see under Francesco Giuliani and Giacomo Leoncini in Part II.
- 43 See *Evangelistarion*, 1588 (BH II no. 183; LADAS II no. 90) folio A2^r.
- 44 See folio a3^v of the *Evangelistarion*, 1588.
- 45 M. PARKER, K. MELIS, H. D. L. VERVLIT, Early Inventories, 13 (MA 142, 143); C. PLANTIN, *Index sive specimen characterum Christophori Plantini*. folio B[1] Menander apud Plut. See also the type of the Dioscorides, *Libri octo*. Paris, Benoît Prevost for Arnold Birkmann, 1549; H. CARTER, The Types of Christopher Plantin, 175; H. D. L. VERVLIT, *The Type Specimen*, 37 no. 66 and pl. 66.
- 46 Reproduction on page 39.
- 47 A similar cut can be seen on the verso of the title page of the 1641 edition of a *Portolanos* printed by Giovanni Antonio Giuliani (BH XVIIIs. I no. 306). See p. 421. See also the edition printed by Nikolaos Saros in 1729 (BH XVIIIIs. I no. 192) which has the cut on its title page.
- 48 J. R. MARTIN, *The Illustration*, 10-19.
- 49 M. I. MANOYΣAKAS, Ἑλληνες ζωγράφοι ἐν Βενετία μέλη τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Ἀδελφότητος κατὰ τὸν 15^ο αἰῶνα, *Μνημόσυνον Σοφίας Ἀντωνιάδης*. Βενετία, 1974, 212-26.
- 50 BH II, 387.
- 51 *Θωμάς Φλαγγίνης*, 214.
- 52 The Greek Community, 211.
- 53 ASCARELLI, 215 (1593); ASCARELLI-MENATO, 433; BORSA I, 108; PASTORELLO no. 492 (1593); STC, 844 (1592-94); VACCARO, 381 (1593).
- 54 Printed by Francesco Giuliani and Giovanni Cerutto in 1594 (EISS I no. 1277/1422).
- 55 In Venetia, appresso Franceso Giuliani & Giovanni Ceruto, 1594 (EISS I no. 1281/1428; STC, 23).

- 56 Γ. Σ. ΠΛΟΥΜΙΔΗΣ, Σχολεῖα στὴν Ἑλλάδα συντηρούμενα ἀπὸ κληροδοτήματα Ἑλλήνων τῆς Βενετίας (1603-1797), *Θησαυρίσματα*, 9(1972)237; K. I. AMANTOS, Τὰ γράμματα εἰς τὴν Χίον, 8; K. Δ. MEPTZIOS, *Op. cit.*, 209-11.
- 57 J. BALL, *The Greek Community*, 173-75; K. Δ. MEPTZIOS, *Op. cit.*, 208-09 transcribed a list of books which he says were sold on 11 April 1600 to Domenico Aliprandi. However, Aliprandi's name was Giovanni not Domenico. The original list says "Domenego stampador" i.e. Domenico de Poloni. I wish to express my gratitude and thanks to Dr. James Ball for not only placing his dissertation at my disposal but also his transcriptions from the Glyzounis documents now at the Istituto Ellenico di Studi Bizantini e Postbizantini in Venice.
- 58 Ἑλλήνων ὀρθοδόξων, 123; see also K. Θ. ΔΗΜΑΡΑΣ, Βενετία· 1477, 1828. Ἀνέκδοτα κείμενα, *Θησαυρίσματα*, 1(1962)9.
- 59 For a discussion of these missing editions see also Φ. Η. ΗΛΙΟΥ, Σημειώσεις, 119-27. See also C. LECUIR, *Les éditeurs Grecs*, 269-70.
- 60 *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts on Mount Athos*, I, 129 no. 1510(242); E. ΚΑΚΟΥΛΙΔΗ-ΠΑΝΟΥ, Fior di virtù - "Ἄνθος Χαρίτων, 275.
- 61 See N. Μ. ΠΑΝΑΓΙΩΤΑΚΗΣ, Νικόλαος Παπαδόπουλος, 151, no. 3. See also K. Δ. MEPTZIOS, Ὀκτὼ ἄδειαι, 176.
- 62 Venice. Istituto Ellenico di Studi Bizantini e Postbizantini. Archivio. Busta 1, fasc. 6, f. 1^v.
- 63 See his *Germanograeciae libri sex*. Basileae, 1585, 237. See also N. Μ. Παναγιωτάκης, Τὸ κείμενο τῆς πρώτης ἔκδοσης τοῦ "Ἀπόκοπου," 98 note 5.
- 64 Again, it is obvious that such a large number of copies must have come from an edition financed by Glyzounis himself.
- 65 ILIOU, 319, no. 32 lists a 1594 edition not yet cited. However, he does not attribute it to the Glyzounis group.
- 66 Edition not extant. Information given by LADAS no. 95 taken from the Preface of *Menaion* of March, Venice, 1852. This is one of the *Menaia* published by G. Aliprandi and printed by Fr. Giuliani for L. Sougdouris, A. Gemelli and E. Glyzounis see K. Δ. MEPTZIOS, *Θωμᾶς Φλαγγίνης*, 204-05.
- 67 Μ. Γεδεών, *Πατριαρχικαὶ ἐφημερίδες*, 35.
- 68 Σ. ΛΑΜΠΡΟΣ, Τὸ "Ἄνθος Χαρίτων καὶ τὸ "Ἄνθος Ἰωαννικίου Καρτάνου, 331.
- 69 Editions of the *Apokopos*, as well as the *Apolonios*, *Vios tou hagiou kai megalou Nikolaou*, *Imberios*, the stories of Belisarios, of the donkey and *Sosanne* that follow were found among the Glyzounis stock after his death in 1596. There is mention of them in the Glyzounis papers as early as 1594 when Francesco Giuliani delivered them to Glyzounis. See C. LECUIR, *Les éditeurs Grecs*, 269-70.
- 70 Edition not extant.
- 71 In the list of books from the Glyzounis stock sold to Domenico de Poloni in 1600 were copies of the *Akolouthia tou Anagnostou* (Siliturgie), *Exomologetaria* (Confessionaria), *Horologia* (Rologeti picoli), and *Theiai Leitourgeiai* (Messe).
- 72 The name of E. Glyzounis is not mentioned but it belongs to the group of books which were printed in partnership with Francesco Giuliani. Among the books sold to Domenico de Poloni from the Glyzounis stock were over 400 copies of an *Oktoechos*.
- 73 VRETOS I nos. 25 & 26 lists an *Evangelion* and *Evangelistarion* of 1599 as coming from the press of Glyzounis. This is doubtful since both Glyzounis and his partner Francesco Giuliani died in 1596 and the company ceased operations in 1596.

Bartolomeo Imperatore, fl. 1542-1559

BARTOLOMEO IMPERATORE, or detto l'Imperatore, also spelled Imperadore or Imperador, was a Venetian printer who had his shop at the sign of the Emperor "al segno dell' Imperatore sulla piazza di S. Marco appresso la chiesa di San Basso."¹ He was also known as Bartolomeo Da Lodrone detto l'Imperatore.² In the 1540s and 1550s, he printed a number of books in partnership with his son-in-law, who signed as Francesco Veneziano or "per Bartholomeum cognomento Imperatorem et Franciscum ejus generum." Is it possible that Francesco may be the same as Francesco Torresano, who was the eldest son of Andrea Torresano and Aldus Manutius's brother-in-law? Francesco Torresano married Bartolomeo's daughter Lia, or Rosalia.³

Bartolomeo Imperatore's printer's device depicted a man dressed as a Roman emperor holding, in his right hand, a shield with the head of Medusa and, in his left, a banner with the inscription "S.P.Q.R." His right foot rests on a small globe and an eagle stands beside him on the left.⁴

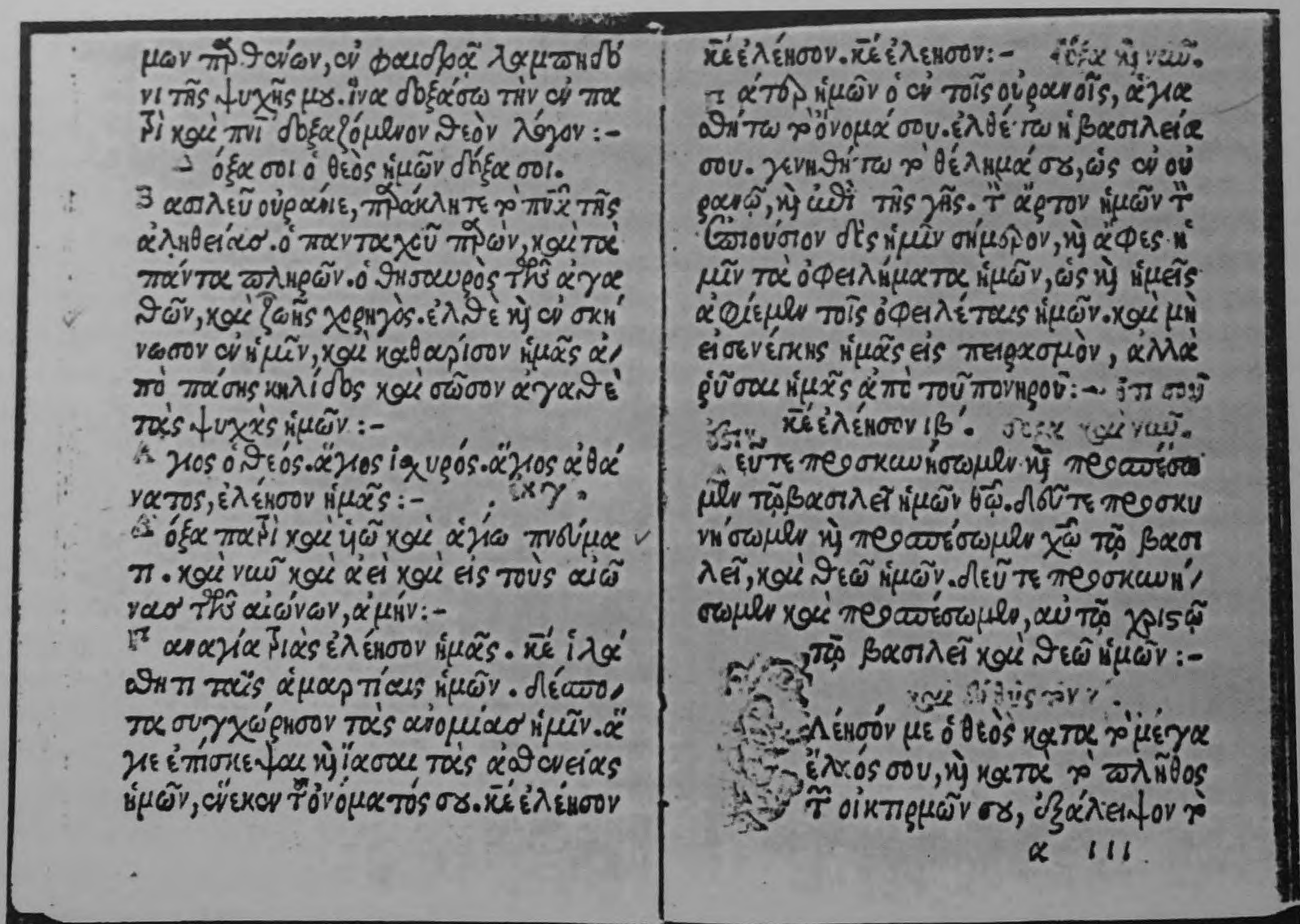


fig. 180

Bartolomeo Imperatore published only one Greek book, a pocket edition of an *Horologion*, 1552 (PHOSKOLOS A no. 3). It is not known who commissioned and financed this book. The type (fig. 180) used for the printing of this work, 20 lines=78-79 mm, is very similar to the Greek font designed by Giovanni Onorio for Cardinal Marcello Cervini.⁵ As far as can be ascertained, Bartolomeo Imperatore did not print any other Greek books.

1552 Ὡρολόγιον (PHOSKOLOS A no. 3)
Colophon: "Venetijs per Bartholomaeum imperatorem"

NOTES

¹ ASCARELLI, 198.

² ASCARELLI-MENATO, 382; BORSA, I, 182; ESSLING III, 306; PASTORELLO no. 243; STC, 863 (1544-56).

³ RENOUEARD, 128 no. 7; D. BERNONI, *Dei Torresani, Blado e Ragazzoni, celebri stampatori a Venezia e Roma nel XV e XVI secolo*. Milano, 1890, 93-94; see also C. Marciani, *Il testamento e altre notizie, di Federico Torresani, La bibliofilia*, 73(1971)168.

⁴ ASCARELLI no. 131; MORTIMER no. 25; VACCARO no. 268; ZAPPELLA nos. 735-736.

⁵ For further information about Cervini no. 2, see under Nikolaos Sophianos in Part II. See also A. TINTO, *The History*, 288-89.

Zacharias Kallierges, fl. 1490-1524

ZACHARIAS KALLIERGES was one of the most distinguished printers of Greek in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.¹ Along with his partner, Nikolaos Vlastos, he established a printing press exclusively devoted to the printing of Greek books. Information about his early life and activities is scant. He was the descendent of a distinguished family claiming lineage from imperial Byzantium, hence the double-headed eagle that he adopted as his printer's device. It is not known when his family settled in Crete.² Zacharias considered himself a Cretan, and in his books, he usually signed his name as "Ζαχαρίας ὁ Καλλιέργης ὁ Κρής." We can glean some information from the colophons of the books he printed in 1509, where he gives his place of birth as Rethymnon in Crete: "ζαχαρίας ὁ καλλιέργης ὁ ἐκ ρειθύμνης" (fig. 184).³ The dates of his birth and when his family moved to Italy are also a matter of conjecture. A tentative date for his birth was given as c. 1473. This was assumed on the basis of a remark made in a letter by Erasmus written in 1508, which refers to Zacharias Kallierges as a young man.⁴ However, now that we know that in 1509 Zacharias Kallierges had a grown son, his date of birth should be placed earlier than 1473.⁵ From a letter dated 12 April 1501 from Zacharias Kallierges to Ioannes Gregoropoulos, we learn that Kallierges had his family with him in Venice.⁶ In another letter of Giovanni Giacomo Arrigoni to Kallierges written in May 1501, Arrigoni sends his regards to Kallierges's mother and father and, in a postscript of the same letter, also mentions his wife.⁷

Kallierges's place of business, at least during the operation of his first press, was at the shop of the bookseller Luca Antonio. This information is given in the address of a letter sent to Kallierges on 21 July 1499 by Markos Mousouros, which reads: "Egregio et erudito viro domino Zacharie Calergi, impressori librorum graecorum diligentissimo. Ai Crucechieri, a la botega de Luca Antonio libraro." On the basis of this information, A. F. Didot, who was the first to translate and publish the letter, suggested that the Luca Antonio in question was Zacharias's brother, "en la boutique de Antoine [Calliergi] libraire."⁸ However, the "Luca Antonio libraro" here undoubtedly refers to Lucantonio Giunta, the well-known bookseller and publisher in Venice, who must have rented space on his premises to Kallierges and Vlastos. Lucantonio Giunta came to Venice in 1477 and began his career as a stationer and bookseller. Later, in 1489, he began publishing as well, and in 1491 he and his brother Filippo, a stationer in Florence, became partners in publishing.⁹ As we shall see later, when the Kallierges-Vlastos firm closed down, the Florentine branch of the Giunti firm, most likely through the intermediary of Lucantonio in Venice, bought the decorations of the first Kallierges press (figs. 52, 174-76) and probably also the type, although it was never used. They also acquired strikes or matrices of the 1509 type of Zacharias Kallierges, which the Giunti of Florence used extensively (figs. 22, 52, 174).¹⁰

Again, we know very little about when Kallierges began preparations to establish a printing press in Venice or his association with Nikolaos Vlastos, his partner and the man who financed this first Kallierges press in Venice. Nikolaos Vlastos was also from Rethymnon in Crete. Some maintain that Vlastos and Kallierges left their native Crete together and came to Venice with the express purpose of founding a Greek publishing firm.¹¹ However, this seems highly unlikely. Nikolaos Vlastos had been in Italy as early as 1487, the date on which a manuscript bears his

name. He might have been in Italy even earlier when he copied the Parisinus 2939, which was signed by Vlastos in 1484.¹²

There is a discrepancy in the sources as to how many years of preparation it took to design and cut the type and to generally prepare to start operating the printing establishment. Markos Mousouros, in his address to the scholars of Padua, "Τοῖς ἐν Παταβίῳ σχολαστικοῖς," printed at the beginning of the first book that was published by the press, the *Ἑτυμολογικὸν μέγα*, 1499 (BH I no. 23; BMC V, 580; ESSLING no. 1184; GW no. 9426; SANDER no. 7110), speaks of a six-year preparation, which would indicate that they began preliminary work as early as 1493.¹³ However, in a letter of Markos Mousouros to Nikolaos Vlastos written in the spring of 1499 while the *Etymologikon* was in press, he speaks of a ten-year preparation for the printing of the work.¹⁴

M. I. Manousakas and Ch. G. Patrinelis pointed out this discrepancy and also the mistake in the French translation by A. F. Didot, who translated "ἔτος δέκατον τουτί" as "cette dernière année" instead of "cette dixième année."¹⁵ From the correspondence of Mousouros and others of their circle, it becomes clear that Nikolaos Vlastos was not merely the financial backer (*χορηγός*), but that he also played an active role in other matters, such as the selection of works to be printed and the purchasing of manuscripts.¹⁶ It was Nikolaos Vlastos who applied and received the patent for the types designed and cast by Zacharias Kallierges. The application for the patent is dated 21 September 1498, and was for the duration of ten years for the "bellettissime lettere grece, unide cum i suo' accenti, cossa che non fu mai più facta nè si bona nè cussi bella."¹⁷ On 29 November 1498, N. Vlastos applied and received a twenty-year copyright for the two first publications of the firm.¹⁸

The font of Z. Kallierges for this first press was similar to that of Aldus Manutius, i.e., it was a cursive Greek font. However, his method for treating the accents and breathing marks was technically different from Aldus's. Thus, Vlastos was able to obtain a patent for the font without difficulty, and, as far as we know, there were no complications with Aldus or any fear of being accused of copying Aldus's method of designing and cutting type, as happened in the case of Gabriele Braccio of Brisichella and his partners Benedetto Mangio (Dolcibelli), Giovanni Bissoli, and Bartolomeo Pelusio, who were involved in a lawsuit with Aldus and had to eventually leave Venice for Milan.¹⁹ On 7 March 1498, Gabrielle Braccio of Brisichella applied on his behalf and that of his associates and received a ten-year license to print four Greek works — the letters of Phalaris and others, Pollux, Philostratos, and the fables of Aesopus — claiming to have acquired a new type that he described as "cum bellissima et nova inventione."²⁰ It appears, however, that Aldus Manutius, who had obtained a ten-year patent for his own cursive font in 1496, considered the new type sufficiently close to his to have challenged the claims of the partners.²¹ Of the four works projected by the partners, only two were published, Phalaris, *Ἐπιστολαί*, 18 June 1498 (BMC V, 578; FINAZZI no. 13), and the undated Aesopus *Βίος καὶ μῦθοι*, c. 1498 (BMC V, 578; GW no. 312; FINAZZI no. 12).²²

The first publication of the Kallierges-Vlastos press was the great *Etymologikon* (BH I no. 23; BMC V, 580), which came out on 8 July 1499. The colophon informs the reader that the work was



fig. 181

published at the expense of Nikolaos Vlastos of Crete and at the urging of Anna Notara, the daughter of the Grand Duke of Constantinople, Loukas Notaras, and was printed by the labor and skill of Zacharias Kallierges the Cretan.²³ D. J. Geanakoplos has suggested that there is a possibility that Anna Notara also helped financially in the printing of the *Etymologikon*, since she was very wealthy.²⁴ However, this is doubtful, and at any rate, she is not mentioned at all in the Mousouros poem on folio A1^r (fig. 20). This poem by Markos Mousouros has attracted a good deal of attention because it is one of the earliest contemporary documents on the technicalities of Greek printing. The poem reveals that the persons who took part in the enterprise were all Greeks from Crete, from the patron and publisher, Nikolaos Vlastos, to the designer of the type, the engraver, the punch-cutter, and the typefounder, as well as the printer, Zacharias Kallierges. The editor and corrector were also Greek, in this case Markos Mousouros and Ioannes Gregoropoulos. This was, in short, an entirely Greek (or rather, Cretan) enterprise.²⁵ On the basis of the Mousouros verses and the information supplied by Kallierges in the colophon of his 1509 *Exepsalmata*, where he says, "τουτονι τον χαρακτήρα και τύπον των γραμμάτων έποιήσατο,"²⁶ N. Barker came to the conclusion that Zacharias Kallierges was not only the designer of the type but also the engraver and punch-cutter and his own typefounder.²⁷

At the end of the *Etymologikon* are displayed the marks of the two partners: Zacharias Kallierges's device, the double-headed eagle within a shield (fig. 181),²⁸ and the floral mark of

Nikolaos Vlastos (fig. 182).²⁹ Between July 1499 and October 1500, the firm of Zacharias Kallierges and Nikolaos Vlastos published four large folio editions. After the *Etymologikon*, on 26 October 1499, they brought out Simplicius, *Υπόμνημα εις τας δέκα κατηγορίας του Αριστοτέλους* (BH I no. 24; BMC V, 580), on 22 May 1500, they published Ammonius Hermiae, *Υπόμνημα εις τας πέντε φωνάς Πορφυρίου* (BH I no. 27; BMC V, 580-81; ESSLING no. 1217; GW no. 1618; SANDER no. 325), and on 5 October 1500, Galen, *Θεραπευτική* (BH I no. 29; BMC V, 581). Although the name of Zacharias Kallierges does not appear in the colophons of the Ammonius and the Galen, most agree that he was the printer of both works.³⁰ In fact, as can be seen from the correspondence of M. Mousouros to Z. Kallierges, especially a letter dated 21 July 1499 about the purchase of a manuscript of Galen from Nicolò Leonicensio (1428-1524), Z. Kallierges was still very much involved in the projects of the press.³¹

After the publication of the Galen, the partnership was dissolved. Among the various theories put forth for the dissolution of the partnership was one that this happened because of the death of Nikolaos Vlastos.³² Actually, Nikolaos Vlastos was still alive in March of 1514, the last



fig. 182

year he is mentioned in the sources, as a legate of Anna Notara.³³ It is quite possible that, as M. Lowry³⁴ suggests, the press was engulfed along with many others in the commercial crisis that occurred in Venice at the close of the fifteenth century, resulting in a series of bankruptcies. It seems that Nikolaos Vlastos was one of the creditors of the Lippomano bank, which sustained huge losses during this period. Another explanation advanced for the cessation of the Kallierges-Vlastos press is that the partnership was formed most likely not on a continuous basis but as a temporary agreement designed to achieve only a specific goal, in this case, the publication of a specific number of books.³⁵ This was a frequent practice in the fifteenth century and was also prevalent in the sixteenth century, as can be seen in many of the transactions incurred to print Greek books.

The press of Zacharias Kallierges and Nikolaos Vlastos was the last and in many respects the most distinguished of the Greek presses of the fifteenth century. Here is what R. Proctor has to say with reference to the Kallierges productions of 1499-1500: "Thus the astonishing speed at which those responsible for them worked puts to shame the much-vaunted 'feverish activity' of the Aldine workshop...On the artistic aspect of these books all writers are agreed, that for the splendour of their ornamentation and the beauty of their press-work they stand in the very forefront of all books yet printed."³⁶ The type designed and cut by Zacharias Kallierges (20 lines=121-122 mm) was fashioned after his own handwriting. The decorative initials (fig. 183) and headpieces (figs. 50, 51) are very reminiscent of Byzantine manuscript decoration. The woodcut borders have elaborate arabesque designs usually white on red but also on gold, and the initials are similar in design and pattern. Zacharias Kallierges was the second printer — the first was Erhard Ratdolt — to print in gold.³⁷ The stock of this first press of Zacharias Kallierges and Nikolaos Vlastos passed into the hands of Filippo Giunta of Florence. The decorations and initials appear in many of their publications, sometimes as in the *Horologion*, 1520 (BH I no. 63), with the Vlastos name still visible on the headpieces (fig. 52a).³⁸ The Kallierges-Vlastos decorations had a great influence on many printers, especially those who produced Greek liturgical books.

The books produced by this press were listed for the first time in the 1503 Aldine catalogue. N. Barker has suggested that the printing of the four books produced by the Kallierges-Vlastos press was done with the knowledge and collusion of Aldus. He points out to the absence of overlap in their editions, which indicates a tacit division rather than competition. This theory is reinforced by the appearance of the Kallierges-Vlastos books in the Aldine catalogue of 22 June 1503. Barker goes on to say that Aldus would not have otherwise allowed Mousouros and Gregoropoulos to take part in the new partnership unless this was previously agreed upon. However, in the case of Ioannes Gregoropoulos, there is no evidence that Gregoropoulos was an employee of Aldus before 1500.³⁹ N. Barker considers that the Kallierges-Vlastos firm was not in competition with the Aldine, but that its operations occurred during a pause in the Aldine operations following the last Greek Aldines, such as the *Ἐπιστολαὶ διαφόρων φιλοσόφων*, 1499 (BMC V, 560; GW no. 9367) and the Dioscorides, *Περὶ ὕλης ἰατρικῆς*, July 1499 (BMC V, 560; GW no. 8435). The next Aldine Greek edition did not come out until 1501.⁴⁰

Soon after the cessation of operations of the press, Zacharias Kallierges took up residence in Padua, and, like most of the Greek intellectuals living in Italy during this period, he tried to earn a living copying manuscripts for various Italian patrons.⁴¹ Some once thought that Kallierges spent some time in Crete between 26 October 1499 and 12 April 1501.⁴² However, this is unlikely, as there is a letter (more of a note, actually) from Kallierges to Ioannes Gregoropoulos written from Venice and dated 12 April 1501, in which Kallierges informs Gregoropoulos that he had ar-



fig. 183a



fig. 183b



fig. 183c

rived in Venice in order to move his family to Padua.⁴³ It was during his stay in Padua in 1508 that Z. Kallierges met Erasmus at the house of Markos Mousouros.⁴⁴

In 1509, Zacharias Kallierges made a second attempt to establish a press in Venice. For this second press, he designed and cut a smaller font (20 lines=90 mm), also based on his own handwriting (figs. 21, 184). His ornaments and initials were very modest in comparison to the splendid decorations of his earlier period. It is obvious from this that his financial resources were very limited this time. He brought out three works: the *Ἐξεψάλματα*, 14 April 1509 (BH I no. 34), the Agapetos Diakonos, *Ἐκθεσις παραινετική*, 11 May 1509 (BH I no. 35), and the first edition of the *Ὠρολόγιον*, 23 August 1509 (BH I no. 36). None of these three works bear the noted Kallierges mark, the double-headed eagle. The *Horologion* was printed at the expense of another printer-publisher, Giacomo Pencio, of Lecco (fl. 1495-1527).⁴⁵ In the preface of the *Horologion*, Kallierges addressed "all the Orthodox Christians everywhere" and announced the launching of a series of liturgical books, the *Parakletike*, *Menaia*, *Triodion*, and *Pentekostarion*. The 1509 editions of Kallierges constituted a new direction for him. He was now trying to appeal to a different set of clients, or at least he was trying to widen his audience to include the growing number of the Greeks residing in Venice and to address the needs of the Greeks of the eastern Mediterranean. Until 1509, with the exception of two editions of the Psalter — one printed in 1486 by Alexandros Alexandrou and the other by Aldus Manutius c. 1496-1498 — all other Greek editions (with the possible exception of the *Batrachomyomachia*, 1486 (BH I no. 3; BMC V, 408), were primarily addressed to the humanist scholars of the West. Like the two previous attempts made by Alexandros Alexandrou and Aldus Manutius to launch a series of Greek liturgical books for the Orthodox Church, the Kallierges attempt was also destined to failure.

To the three works issued in 1509 by Zacharias Kallierges must be added one more, the first edition of the *Apokopos* of the Cretan poet Bergadis, which was printed under the name of Z. Kallierges's son, Nikolaos, in December of 1509 (figs. 145, 146). Until recently, this first edition of the Bergadis work had been known only from a brief entry in Michael Maittaire's sales catalogue.⁴⁶ Because the name of Nikolaos Kallierges was unknown in sixteenth century sources, it was suggested by some that the first edition of the *Apokopos* was printed by Zacharias Kallierges in 1519 in Rome.⁴⁷ With the

discovery of a copy of the first edition of the work,⁴⁸ we now know that Z. Kallierges had a son, Nikolaos, who was obviously trained or was training to become a printer or at least helping out in his father's shop and who was responsible for the printing of this last work to come out of the second Venetian press of Z. Kallierges in December 1509. It was Nikolaos Kallierges himself who most likely chose as his first publication a work in modern Greek.⁴⁹ This is the first time that a work in the vernacular was printed. After the publication of the Bergadìs work, the name of Nikolaos Kallierges once more sank into obscurity when this second Venetian press of Z. Kallierges ceased its operations. This was a trying period for the Venetian printers due to the war of the League of Cambrai and the economic woes of the Venetian Republic. It forced many printers to emigrate and others to suspend operations.⁵⁰ Even the economically secure Aldine press came to a virtual standstill during this period of uncertainty and political unrest.⁵¹

Again we lose sight of Z. Kallierges until he reappears in Rome a few years later. As early as 15 May 1511, the Italian humanist Angelo Colocci (1474-1549), in a letter to Scipione Forteguerrì, also known as Carteromachos, mentions plans to establish a Greek press in Rome and also to create an academy like that of Aldus's in Venice. However, he goes on to say, in order to accomplish this they need "quello Zacharia che fece lo Ethymologicon."⁵² Whether Zacharias Kallierges moved to Rome soon after this is not known. On 11 March 1513, Giovanni, the son of Lorenzo de' Medici, became Pope Leo X. Soon after, the Pope invited Ianos Lascaris, whom he had known in Florence, to join him in Rome. At Lascaris's suggestion, the Pope made plans to create a Greek school, to be called a college or gymnasium, where young Greeks could be educated. The school did not have Greek students exclusively but admitted pupils from other countries as well. In August 1513, Pietro Bembo, the Pope's secretary, wrote to Markos Mousouros in Padua on behalf of the Pope and urged him to select ten to twelve young Greeks to be sent to Rome to be educated at the Gymnasium.⁵³ Indeed, on 15 February 1514, Ianos Lascaris, the head of the school, presented the first twelve Greek pupils along with their teacher, Zacharias Kallierges, the man who was to be in charge of them, to the Pope.⁵⁴ Thus, it is known that Z. Kallierges was in Rome as early as the beginning of 1514 and probably had arrived sometime earlier. Moreover, he is found in a completely new role, that of a schoolmaster. Although Kallierges was now involved in teaching at the Greek Gymnasium, it was not long before he also became involved in printing.



fig. 183d



fig. 183e



fig. 183f

Zacharias Kallierges is credited for having introduced Greek printing in Rome. Up until then, although many printers had possessed Greek type and printed Greek passages in Latin books as early as 1468, with the exception of a booklet containing some prayers in Greek and Latin compiled by Paolo Enea,⁵⁵ nothing else in Greek was ever published there. Kallierges's press was located in one of the houses owned by the wealthy banker, Agostino Chigi. For this third press, Kallierges cast a new font with the punches or matrices of his 1509 Venetian font.⁵⁶ With it, Kallierges printed the following books: Pindar, *Olympia*, 13 August 1515 (BH I no. 47; fig. 185), and the *Idylls* of Theokritos, 15 January 1516 (BH I no. 49).⁵⁷ Both works were printed at the expense of Cornelio Benigno, the chancellor of Agostino Chigi, who had loaned Benigno four hundred ducats for these publications.⁵⁸ These first two books to come out of the press of Zacharias Kallierges in Rome have two devices on their title pages. A new version of the double-headed eagle device without a shield (KRISTELLER no. 206; MORTIMER no. 497; VACCARO no. 199), and the caduceus surmounted by a star, which is the mark of Cornelio Benigno (KRISTELLER no. 149; MORTIMER no. 497; VACCARO no. 199; ZAPPELLA no. 190bis). After the issuance of these two works, the partnership with Benigno seems to have come to an end. The remainder of the Kallierges imprints in Rome do not mention him. On 25 September 1516, Benigno sold to Francesco Calvo, a bookseller from Pavia, all of the unsold copies of the two works — 778 copies of the Pindar and 981 copies of the Theokritos — for the sum of 450 ducats, twenty of which were to go to Zacharias Kallierges.⁵⁹ Other works printed by Zacharias Kallierges in Rome include the *Horae*, 12 March 1516 (BH III no. 175), Thomas Magister, 4 March 1517 (BH I no. 52), and Phrynichos, 1 July 1517 (BH I no. 53). There is a gap of three years during which there were no books printed under the Kallierges name. The next book to come out was the first edition of the *Oktoechos*, 1520 (BH I no. 64=VRETOS I no. 3; LAYTON no. 7; fig. 186). E. Legrand was doubtful about the existence of this work, which he recorded from Vretos but about which he had this to say: "Sous la date 1520, nous avons enregistré, d'après Vréto, un 'Οκτώηχος dont l'existence nous paraît douteuse."⁶⁰ In 1520, Kallierges made arrangements to have his publications sold in the Lausanne fair by signing a contract on 17 November 1520 with Giorgio de Rostogni, or Rostang.⁶¹ There is again a gap of two years before his next work appeared. The *Erotemata* of Chrysoloras, which also included a work of Demetrios Chalcondyles (BH I no. 67=III no. 247), came out in 1522. Although the name of Kallierges is not mentioned in the colophon, which reads "Impressum Romae. M.D.XXIII mense Iunio," the type is unmistakably that of Zacharias

Kallierges.⁶² Finally, the *Lexicon* of Guarino of Favera, Bishop of Nocera, was issued on 27 May 1523 (BH I no. 68). It was the last work to appear from the Roman press of Zacharias Kallierges. His activities can only be traced after that to 1524 through a manuscript that is signed by him.⁶³

As we have seen from Angelo Colocci's letter mentioned earlier, Zacharias Kallierges was called to Rome because of his fame as a printer of Greek and in conjunction with the desire of some humanists and later of Pope Leo X and his circle to cultivate Greek letters there. In order to

Τὸ παρὸν ὀρολόγιον ἐν ἐτίαις ἐν τῷ παθὲν, πρὸς
εἰληφεν ἡ δὴ σὺν θεῷ. ἀναλώμασι μὲν, κυροῦ ἰα
κώβου δευτέρου, τοῦ ἐκ γῆς λέκου. πρὶν δὲ,
καὶ δεξιότητι, ζαχαρίου τοῦ καλλιόργου, τοῦ
ἐκ ἐριθύμνης. Ἐπὶ τῷ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκσάρκου οἰκα
νομίας τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ, χιλιοστῷ,
πεντακοστῷ, ἐννάτῳ. μηνὸς αὐγούστου, κ γ'.
Καὶ τοῦ τοῦ οὐκ ὀνομίου χωρὶς, τῶν νοσηφισμῶν
ἐνεκα, τοῖς πρὶν τῶν προαθλησάτων.

fig. 184

further these plans, the Greek Gymnasium was founded by Leo X with Ianos Lascaris as its director. Eventually, the Gymnasium also acquired its own press, which became the second Greek press to operate in Rome. It was installed in one of the houses that belonged to Angelo Colocci on the Quirinal Hill, where the school was also located and thus known as the "Gymnasium Caballini montis" or "Gymnasium Mediceum ad Caballinum Montem."⁶⁴ This information is given in the colophon of its first publication. But although the school had begun its operations in early 1514, its press did not begin functioning until late in 1517.⁶⁵ Why the Gymnasium press was so late in getting into service is not known. It may be because the first works that it printed were all edited by Ianos Lascaris, who was always very busy, not only as director of the school, but with other projects as well. The first work to come out of the Greek Gymnasium press was the *Scholia* to Homer's *Iliad*, published after 7 September 1517 (BH I no. 56). It was followed by Porphyrios on Homer, 1518 (BH I no. 59), and then the *Commentaries* on the seven tragedies of Sophocles, 1518 (BH I no. 60). All three were edited by Ianos Lascaris, who had borrowed some manuscripts from the Vatican Library for his edition of the *Scholia* on Homer.⁶⁶ Two undated editions were also assigned by Legrand to the Gymnasium press. One of them, an Isocrates, c. 1517 (BH I no. 57), has been considered by some to be an incunable from the Ianos Lascaris-Lorenzo di Alopa collaboration in Florence c. 1495.⁶⁷ However, G. Kokkonas has re-attributed the ascription of the Isocrates to the Greek Gymnasium press.⁶⁸ He pointed out that the work, unlike the Florence Alopa imprints, had a title page and catchwords, and also that the watermarks of the paper of the Isocrates were the same as the other group of books printed in Rome by the Gymnasium press. The second book attributed by Legrand to the Rome press is the undated Cebes (BH I no. 58). All agree that this work definitely belongs to the Alopa group in Florence and was printed c. 1496 (BMC VI, 668; GW no. 6442).⁶⁹ It should be pointed out here that all of the Greek Gymnasium press publications are printed with the types designed by Ianos Lascaris and cut for him in Florence. Two other works were edited by Arsenios Apostolis, who joined the Gymnasium staff after the departure of Ianos Lascaris for France in 1518.⁷⁰ These were *Γέρας*, c. 1519 (BH I no. 61), and the *Ἀποφθέγματα φιλοσόφων*, c. 1519 (BH I no. 62).



Impressi Romæ per Zachariam Calergi Cretensem, permissione S. D. N. Leonis. X. Pont. Max. ea etiam conditione, ut nequis alius per quinquennium hos imprimere, aut uenundare Libros possit: utq; qui secus fecerit, is ab universa dei Ecclesia toto orbe terrarum expers excommunicatusq; censetur.

fig. 185

As we have seen, not only are half of these books without date and place of publication, but they also have no indication of printer nor a printer's device. Who printed the books issued by the Greek Gymnasium press? Because the name of Angelo Colocci appears in the colophon of the first book, "Ἐτυπώθη ἐν Ῥώμῃ. παρὰ τὸν κυρίνου λόφον. ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ τοῦ εὐγενοῦς καὶ σοφοῦ ἀνδρός. προξένου τε τῶν λογίων καὶ κηδεμόνος ἀρίστου ἀγγέλου τοῦ κολλωτίου" (BH I no. 56), some considered him the printer of the books.⁷¹ This, however, seems highly unlikely in view of the fact that Colocci was a wealthy patron of letters and, according to some scholars, not even a very accomplished hellenist.⁷² Recently, Anthony Hobson⁷³ offered a new theory as to who printed these books. While searching the accounts of the Apostolic Chamber for information on the book trade in Rome during the pontificate of Leo X, he came across records of payments to a certain "Victorius Carmelius magister stampator Grechus"⁷⁴ who was paid by the Vatican a monthly salary of seven ducats from 22 September 1515 to 30 July 1517. On the basis of this, he advanced the following theory. Originally, Vittore Carmelio, or Vittore Venetiano, as he is also known, came to Rome as foreman of Zacharias Kallierges. According to Hobson, when Kallierges started

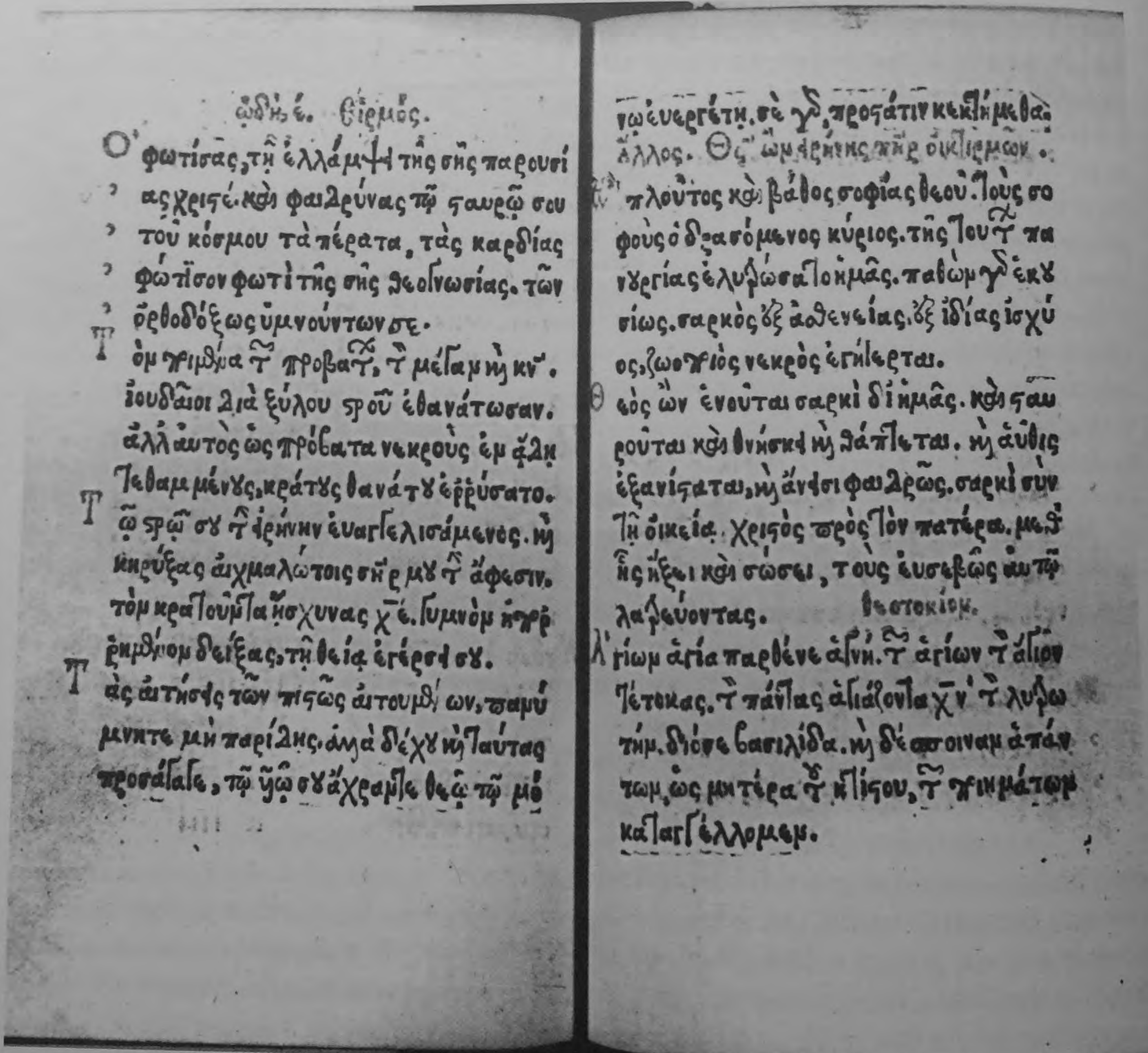


fig. 186

his own independent press before the Gymnasium press got under way, this action thwarted Angelo Colocci's plans to be the first to introduce Greek printing in Rome. Colocci retaliated by luring away Vittore Carmelio from Zacharias Kallierges. Colocci then persuaded the Pope to employ him as the printer of the Greek Gymnasium press in 1515. The gap of two years from the time Carmelio went to work for the Gymnasium press and the appearance of their first publication was due to the fact that Ianos Lascaris was delayed in preparing the *Scholia* to Homer, and, in addition, "a fount of type had to be cast to his specifications."⁷⁵ Since Carmelio was dropped from the payroll of the Apostolic Chamber in July 1517, shortly before the press began its operations, Hobson assumes that the printer's salary was paid by Colocci himself. He goes on to say that, if this assumption is correct, then Colocci is the true publisher of the Gymnasium press publications, and that is why Colocci's name appears in the colophon of the first book with so many flattering adjectives. It is then suggested that the colophons of the books should read "Vittore Carmelio for Angelo Colocci."

On the other hand, as we now know that Kallierges was officially connected with the Greek Gymnasium from its very beginning, it would seem obvious that he was the person most suited — indeed he was brought to Rome for that purpose — to take charge of the press. If one examines the dates of the publications of Kallierges's own press in Rome and those of the Greek Gymnasium press, it becomes evident that he could easily have managed to direct both. F. Barberi and E. Cerulli⁷⁶ observed that the press of Kallierges either stopped printing when the first publications of the Greek college appeared or that the Greek Gymnasium press waited for Kallierges's printing activities to stop before theirs were begun, Rome not being sufficiently advanced in Greek studies to absorb two Greek presses. However, there is another possibility worth considering, namely, that Kallierges interrupted his own printing because Lascaris's edition of the *Scholia* on Homer was now ready to go to press, and, Kallierges began directing the operations of the Gymnasium press as part of his term of employment both as teacher and printer. In the document describing the agreement of 17 November 1520 between Zacharias Kallierges and Giorgio de Rostogni, Zacharias Kallierges is referred to as "Zacharias Caliergius ad presens Romane Curie impressor principalis."⁷⁷ Angelo Colocci was obviously the person who financed some or all of the Greek Gymnasium publications. Hobson is probably correct in surmising that Vittore Carmelio was brought to Rome by Zacharias Kallierges to act as his foreman and was most likely involved in the operations of both presses as well. Further proof that Zacharias Kallierges was the printer of the Greek Gymnasium press publications is provided by the *Oktoechos*, 1520 (LAYTON no. 7) which is printed not with Kallierges's own type, Greek 90, but with the Lascaris-Alopa font, Greek 111-12, the type used by the Gymnasium press (fig. 186). Unfortunately, the colophon of the only copy in existence today is missing. However, the title page reads: "Ὀκτώηχος σὺν θεῷ, πλουσιοπάροχος./ οὐ χωρὶς τυπωθεῖσα προνομίου./ Leonis X pont. max. litteris cau/tum est: ne quis possit hanc Octoe/chum impressam per Zachariam/ Caliergium Cretensem per decennium/ imprimere, aut uenundare, sub poena excommunicationis latae senten/tiae & amissionis librorum" (fig. 118).⁷⁸ The *Oktoechos* is probably the last work issued by the Greek Gymnasium press and, according to Vretos,⁷⁹ it was corrected by Ianos Lascaris.

As already mentioned, the type used by the Greek Gymnasium Press was the one designed by Ianos Lascaris and used in Florence by Lorenzo di Alopa for the Lascaris publications of 1494-96. Lascaris must have owned punches or matrices of the type with which a new font was cast in Rome. The type used for the Latin passages was Roman 88 and 109 borrowed from the printer Marcello Silber.⁸⁰ Nicolas Barker⁸¹ believes that the Lascaris lower-case cursive was fashioned af-

ter the handwriting of Demetrios Damilas and furthermore, he maintains that it was cut by Zacharias Kallierges: "Looking at the two types, the Florentine lower-case of 1496 and Callierges' of 1499, I find it hard to believe that they are not cut by the same hand. Although the detail of individual letters differs...there is a similarity about the style of cutting and the stance of the letters on the page which makes the two printed books look more like each other than either is to the manuscripts written by those on whose hands the types are modelled... Either type would have been an impressive achievement: to have cut both required at once a deep understanding of Greek script and extreme skill in rendering it in typographic form. As a printer of Greek, the achievements of Callierges are second only to those of Aldus. As an engraver of Greek type he is in a class by himself."⁸² Both the Lascaris type used for the publications of the Greek Gymnasium press in Rome and the type used by Zacharias Kallierges for his Roman editions passed to the hands of Marcello Silber.⁸³

Books printed by Zacharias Kallierges, 1499-1523:

Venice, 1499-1500, 1509

- | | |
|------|---|
| 1499 | Ἑτυμολογικὸν μέγα (BH I no. 23; BMC V, 580; ESSLING no. 1184; SANDER no. 7110; GW no. 9426) 8 July
"πόνω δὲ καὶ δεξιότητι Ζαχαρίου καλλιέργου, τοῦ κρητός" |
| 1499 | Σιμπλικίου, Ὑπόμνημα (BH I no. 24; BMC V, 580) 26 October
As above |
| 1500 | Γαληνοῦ, Θεραπευτική (BH I no. 29; BMC V, 581) 5 October
No mention of Z. Kallierges |
| 1500 | Ἀμμωνίου τοῦ Ἑρμείου, Ὑπόμνημα (BH I no. 27; BMC V, 580-81; GW no. 1618; ESSLING no. 1217; SANDER no. 325) 22 May
No mention of Z. Kallierges |
| 1509 | Ἐξεψάλματα (BH I no. 34) 14 April
"ζαχαρίας ὁ καλλιέργης ὁ ἐκ ῥειθείμνης, τῇ αὐτοῦ δεξιότητι, καὶ ἀναλώμασιν ἰδίοις, εἰς κοινὴν ὠφέλειαν, τουτονὶ τὸν χαρακτῆρα καὶ τύπον τῶν γραμμάτων ἐποιήσατο" |
| 1509 | Ἀγαπητοῦ Διακόνου, Ἐκθεσις παραινετική (BH I no. 35) 11 May
"παρὰ ζαχαρία καλλιέργη τῷ ἐκ ῥειθείμνης" |
| 1509 | Ὡρολόγιον (BH I no. 36; EISS III no. 4001; FINAZZI no. 34) 23 August
"πόνω δέ, καὶ δεξιότητι, ζαχαρίου τοῦ καλλιέργου, τοῦ ἐκ ῥειθύμνης" |
| 1509 | Μπεργαδής, Ἀπόκοπος (BH III no. 217=1519 [sic]) ⁸⁴ Dec. 1509
"Νικόλαος ὁ καλλιέργης ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ζαχαρίου, ὁ τῶν γραμμάτων συνθετής, τούτου τοῦ τυπαρίου" |

Rome, 1515-1523

- | | |
|------|--|
| 1515 | Πινδάρου, Ὀλύμπια (BH I no. 47) 13 August
Title page: "Impressi Romae per Zachariam Calergi Cretensem"
Colophon: "πόνω δὲ καὶ δεξιότητι, Ζαχαρίου καλλιέργου τοῦ κρητός" |
|------|--|

- 1516 Θεοκρίτου, Ειδύλλια (BH I no. 49) 15 January
Colophon as above
- 1516 Horae (BH III no. 175) 12 March
"παρὰ Ζαχαρία τῷ καλλιέργῃ"
- 1517 Θωμᾶ Μαγίστρου, Κατὰ ἀλφάβητον (BH I no. 52) 4 March
"παρὰ Ζαχαρία καλλιέργῃ τῷ κρητὶ ἐτυπώθησαν"
- 1517 Φρυνίχου, Ἐκλογὴ ἀττικῶν ρημάτων (BH I no. 53) 1 July
"παρὰ Ζαχαρία τῷ καλλιέργῃ, σὺν Θεῷ ἀγίῳ ἐτυπώθη"
- 1522 Μ. Χρυσολωρᾶ, Ἑρωτήματα (BH I no. 67=III no. 247)⁸⁵ June
"Impressum Romae"
- 1523 Guarino of Favera, Λεξικόν (BH I no. 68) 27 May
"Χαλκοτύποις δὲ γλυφίσι, πόνῳ τε καὶ ἐπιδιορθώσει, Ζαχαρίου καλλιεργίου τοῦ κρητός"

Rome, 1517-1520: In gymnasio Mediceo ad Caballinum montem

- 1517 Σχόλια παλαιά...εἰς τὴν Ὀμήρου Ἰλιάδα (BH I no. 56)
"Ἐτυπώθη ἐν Ῥώμῃ. παρὰ τὸν κυρίνου λόφον. ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ...ἀγγέλου τοῦ κολλωτίου"
- [1517] Ἰσοκράτους, Λόγοι τρεῖς (BH I no. 57)
No indication of place, publisher or date
- 1518 Πορφυρίου, Ὀμηρικὰ ζητήματα (BH I no. 59)
"Impressumque Romae in gymnasio Mediceo ad Caballinum montem"
- 1518 Commentarii in septem tragedias Sophoclis (BH I no. 60)
Title page: "In Gymnasio Mediceo Caballini montis"
Colophon: "Ἐτυπώθη ἐν Ῥώμῃ, ἐν τῷ παρὰ τὸν κυρίνου λόφον γυμνασίῳ"
- [1519] Γέρας (BH I no. 61)
No indication of place, publisher or date
- [1519] Ἀποφθέγματα φιλοσόφων (BH I no. 62)
No indication of place, publisher or date
- 1520 Ὀκτώηχος (BH I no. 64=VRETOS I no. 3; LAYTON no. 7)
"impressam per Zachariam Caliergium Cretensem"

NOTES

- ¹ For Z. Kallierges see ASCARELLI, 64; ASCARELLI-MENATO, 99, 102, 353; KONTOSOPOULOS, 292-93; NORTON, 96-98; W. BELOE, Zacharias Caliergus, *his Anecdotes of Literature and Scarce Books*. London, 1811, V, 57-78; A. ΜΟΥΣΤΟΞΥΔΗΣ, Ζαχαρίας Καλλιέργης, *Ἑλληνομνήμων*, 6(1843)328-36; SATHAS, 120-23; A. F. DIDOT, *Alde Manuce et l'hellénisme a Venise*. Paris, 1875, 544-78; BH I, cxxv-cxxx; R. PROCTOR, *The Printing*, 21, 117-26; D. J. GEANAKOPOLOS, *Greek Scholars*, 201-22; A. RAES, *Les livres liturgiques grecs publiés à Venise*, *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant*. Città del Vaticano, 1964, III, 210-11; N. B. ΤΩΜΑΔΑΚΗΣ, 'Ἡ ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ ἔκδοσις ἑλληνικῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν βιβλίων (κυρίως λειτουργικῶν) γενομένη ἐπιμελεία Ἑλλήνων Ὁρθοδόξων κληρικῶν κατὰ τοὺς ιε'-ις' αἰῶνας, *Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν*, 37(1969-70)12-14=*La Chiesa greca in Italia dall' VIII al XVI secolo*. Padova, 1972, II, 694-97; E. FOLLIERI, *Il libro greco*, 483-88; E. MIONI, *Calliergi (Callergi)*, Zaccaria, *DBI*, 16(1973)750-53; N. BARKER, *Aldus Manutius*, 19-20, 65-75, 96-97; M. MANOUSSAKAS and C. STAIKOS, *L'attività editoriale dei Greci durante il Rinascimento italiano (1469-1523)*, 127-29; K. Σ. ΣΤΑΙΚΟΣ, *Χάρτα τῆς ἑλληνικῆς τυπογραφίας*. Ἀθήνα, 1989, I, 375-430; E. LAYTON, Zacharias and Nikolaos Kallierges and the First Edition of the *Apokorpos* of Bergadis, *Θησαυρίσματα*, 20(1990)206-17.
- ² There is documentation that there were Kallierges in Crete as early as the thirteenth century see D. J. GEANAKOPOLOS, *Greek Scholars*, 202 and note 8.
- ³ BH I, 94-95 nos. 34 and 35.
- ⁴ BH, I cxxii, cxxv; D. J. GEANAKOPOLOS, *Greek Scholars*, 202; M. I. ΜΑΝΟΥΣΑΚΑΣ-Χ. Γ. ΠΑΤΡΙΝΕΛΗΣ, 'Ἡ ἀλληλογραφία τοῦ Ἰωάννου Γρηγοροπούλου μετὰ τοῦ Μ. Μουσούρου, Α. Ἀποστόλη, Ζ. Καλλιέργη καὶ ἄλλων λογίων τῆς Ἀναγεννήσεως χρονολογούμενη (1494-1503), *Ἐπετηρὶς τοῦ Μεσαιωνικοῦ Ἀρχείου*, 10(1960)189-90; E. MIONI, *Calliergi (Callergi)*, Zaccaria, *DBI*, 16(1973)751.
- ⁵ N. Μ. ΠΑΝΑΓΙΩΤΑΚΗΣ, Τὸ κείμενο τῆς πρώτης ἔκδοσις τοῦ "Ἀπόκοπον," 92-93.
- ⁶ BH II, 297-98 nos. 1 and 2. A. F. DIDOT, *Op. cit.*, 525-26; M. I. ΜΑΝΟΥΣΑΚΑΣ-Χ. Γ. ΠΑΤΡΙΝΕΛΗΣ, 'Ἡ ἀλληλογραφία, 189 no. 16.
- ⁷ BH II, 298-99 no. 4. A. F. DIDOT, *Op. cit.*, 529-30; D. G. GEANAKOPOLOS, *Op. cit.*, 203; M. I. ΜΑΝΟΥΣΑΚΑΣ-Χ. Γ. ΠΑΤΡΙΝΕΛΗΣ, *Op. cit.*, 191-92 no. 18.
- ⁸ *Op. cit.*, 517, 548. The letter was also published in BH II, 312 no. 1; see also M. I. ΜΑΝΟΥΣΑΚΑΣ-Χ. Γ. ΠΑΤΡΙΝΕΛΗΣ, *Op. cit.*, 181-83, no. 10 and D. J. GEANAKOPOLOS, *Op. cit.*, 123 note 48a, 203, 208.
- ⁹ W. A. PETTAS, *An International*, 334-49 and his *The Giunti*, 30-33, 104-07.
- ¹⁰ See also under the Giunti in Part II.
- ¹¹ K. ΚΑΙΡΟΦΥΛΑΣ, Νικόλαος Βλαστός καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἑλληνικὸν τυπογραφεῖον, *Νέα Ἑστία*, 4(1928)796-99; see also his *Une famille patricienne crétoise, les Vlasto*. New York, 1932, 79-112.
- ¹² BH I, cxxviii; see also M. LOWRY, *The World of Aldus Manutius*, 184, 209, note 16.
- ¹³ A. F. DIDOT, *Op. cit.*, 553; BH I, 59.
- ¹⁴ The letter of Mousouros is given in A. F. DIDOT, 521, and a French translation, 556-57; see also BH II, 395.
- ¹⁵ *Op. cit.*, 178-79, no. 8.
- ¹⁶ See letter in A. F. DIDOT, 522-25 no. 8 and translation 558-61; see also D. J. GEANAKOPOLOS, *Op. cit.*, 205.
- ¹⁷ R. FULIN, *Documenti*, 135 no. 85; H. F. BROWN, *The Venetian Printing Press 1469-1800*, 54-55; N. BARKER, *Op. cit.*, 69, 106-07, nos. 5 and 6; D. J. GEANAKOPOLOS, *Op. cit.*, 205.
- ¹⁸ R. FULIN, *Documenti*, 136 no. 88.
- ¹⁹ R. PROCTOR, *The Printing*, 110-12; N. BARKER, *Op. cit.*, 65, 68-69, 105-06 nos. 2 and 3; see also L. V. GERULAITIS, *Printing and Publishing in Fifteenth-Century Venice*. Chicago, 1976, 41-43; M. LOWRY, *The World*, 126-27; A. CIONI, Bissoli, Giovanni, *DBI*, 10(1968)701-03.
- ²⁰ R. FULIN, *Documenti*, 131, no. 76; N. BARKER, *Aldus*, 105 no. 2.
- ²¹ For the similarities with the Aldine type see N. BARKER, *Op. cit.*, 65-69.
- ²² For the dating of the Aesop see M. MANOUSSAKAS, Una prefazione greca inedita di Giovanni Grigoropulos per una edizione veneziana del 1498, *Bizanzio e l'Italia. Raccolta di studi in memoria di Agostino Pertusi*. Milano, 1982, 218-28, who also presented a hitherto unknown preface of Ioannes Gregoropoulos that was to have been printed at the beginning of the Phalaris edition but for unknown reasons was omitted.
- ²³ Anna Notara (d. 1507) was the daughter of the last prime minister (Μέγας λογοθέτης) of the Byzantine Empire, Loukas Notaras; see BH I, cxxvi-cxxviii; G. CECCHINI, Anna Notara Paleologa: Una principessa greca in Italia e la politica senese di ripopolamento della Maremma, *Bollettino senese di storia patria*, n.s. 9(1938)1-41; D. J. GEANAKOPOLOS, *Op. cit.*, 62 and note 26, 207 note 20, 210; K. Δ. ΜΕΡΤΖΙΟΣ, 'Ἡ διαθήκη τῆς Ἀννας Παλαιολογίνας Νοταρᾶ, Ἀθηνᾶ, 53(1949)17-21; see also M. MANOUSSAKAS, Recherches sur la vie de Jean Plousiadénos (Joseph de Méthone) 1429?-1500, *Revue des études byzantines*, 17(1959)41-44.

- 24 D. J. GEANAKOPOLOS, 207 note 20.
- 25 The text of the poem by Mousouros is reproduced in A. F. DIDOT, *Alde Manuce*, 549-552 with a free French translation; see also BH I, 58-59; R. PROCTOR, *The Printing*, 121-22 with an English translation; D. J. GEANAKOPOLOS, *Greek Scholars*, 125 provides a partial English translation; a reproduction of the poem and the most recent English translation in N. BARKER, *Aldus Manutius*, 72-73; for a translation of the poem into modern Greek see Α. ΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ, *Ποιητική ανθολογία*. 2. έκδ. Ἀθήνα, 1975, II, 145-46.
- 26 BH I, 94.
- 27 *Aldus Manutius*, 73-74.
- 28 BH I, 58; ESSLING no. 1184; HUSUNG no. 176; KRISTELLER no. 206; MORTIMER no. 497; VACCARO no. 199; ZAPPELLA no. 111. See also K. Σ. ΣΤΑΙΚΟΣ, *Χάρτα*, nos. 122-24, 126.
- 29 BH I 57; ESSLING no. 1184; HUSUNG no. 133; KRISTELLER no. 196; ZAPPELLA no. 743. See also K. Σ. ΣΤΑΙΚΟΣ, *Χάρτα*, no. 121.
- 30 BH I, cxxviii, 75; A. F. DIDOT, 561-62; N. BARKER, *Aldus Manutius*, 74; but see also D. J. GEANAKOPOLOS, *Op. cit.*, 208-09 and M. MANOUSSAKAS & C. STAIKOS, *L'attività editoriale*, 127-28 who believe that the partnership had already dissolved before the printing of the Ammonius and the Galen.
- 31 A. F. DIDOT, *Op. cit.*, 516-17; BH I, 75 and II, 312; see also M. I. MANOYSAKAS-ΧΡ. Γ. ΠΑΤΡΙΝΕΛΗΣ, 'Η ἀλληλογραφία, 181-82 no. 10.
- 32 A. F. DIDOT, *Op. cit.*, 562; BH I, cxxviii; R. PROCTOR, *The Printing*, 117.
- 33 M. I. MANOYSAKAS, 'Η ἀλληλογραφία, 202-203 note 1; C. Kérofilas, *Une famille patricienne crétoise, les Vlasto*, 105; K. Δ. ΜΕΡΤΖΙΟΣ, 'Η διαθήκη, 18; see also D. J. GEANAKOPOLOS, 210.
- 34 *The World*, 127-28; see also M. I. MANOYSAKAS, 'Η ἀλληλογραφία, 203, note 1.
- 35 N. BARKER, *Aldus Manutius*, 69.
- 36 *The Printing*, 118-19.
- 37 R. PROCTOR, *Op. cit.*, 119. For a detailed account of the techniques used in printing with gold used by Ratdolt and Kallierges, see V. CARTER, L. HELLINGA and T. PARKER, Printing with Gold in the Fifteenth Century, *The British Library Journal*, 9(1983)1-13; C. W. GERHARDT, Wie haben Ratdolt und Callierges Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts in Venedig ihre Drucke mit Blattgold hergestellt?, *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* 1984, 145-50.
- 38 See especially folio A1^r and F8^r.
- 39 M. MANOUSSACAS, Una prefazione greca, 226-27.
- 40 N. BARKER, *Aldus Manutius*, 97.
- 41 For bibliographical information on Z. Kallierges's activities as a scribe see VG, 125-26; PATRINELIS, 89-90; CANART, 63; GAMILLSCHEG-HARLFINGER I no. 119 and II no. 156.
- 42 D. J. GEANAKOPOLOS, *Greek Scholars*, 209; E. DENISSOFF, *Maxime le Grec et l'Occident*. Paris, 1943, 90, 204; but see M. I. MANOYSAKAS - Χ. Γ. ΠΑΤΡΙΝΕΛΗΣ, 'Η ἀλληλογραφία, 189 note 4.
- 43 BH II, 297 no. 1; M. I. MANOYSAKAS - ΧΡ. Γ. ΠΑΤΡΙΝΕΛΗΣ, 'Η ἀλληλογραφία, 189 no. 16.
- 44 BH I, cxxii where Erasmus mentions Zacharias in a letter. See also D. J. GEANAKOPOLOS, *Greek Scholars*, 202, 211.
- 45 On Giacomo Pencio see ASCARELLI, 168; ASCARELLI-MENATO, 340; ISAAC no. 23; NORTON, 146; PASTORELLO no. 322; STC, 909-10.
- 46 *Catalogue*, pt 2, 141 no. 83: Απόκοπος τοῦ μπεργαδῆ &c. ἐκοπίασεν Νικόλαος ὁ Καλλιέργης 1519 [sic].
- 47 L. POLITIS, Venezia, 452-54; E. FOLLIERI, Il libro greco, 484-88; C. LUCIANI, L' 'Απόκοπος del 1519 e il suo editore, 159-63; see also E. LAYTON, Notes on Some Printers, 120-23; K. Σ. ΣΤΑΙΚΟΣ, *Χάρτα*, 412-17.
- 48 E. LAYTON, Zacharias and Nikolaos Kallierges and the first Edition of the *Apokopos* of Bergadis, 206-17. See also N. Μ. ΠΑΝΑΓΙΩΤΑΚΗΣ, Τό κείμενο, 89-97.
- 49 The colophon reads: Νικόλαος ὁ καλλιέργης ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ζαχαρίου, / ὁ τῶν γραμμάτων συνθετὴς, τούτου τοῦ τυπαρίου. / Ε'κόπιασεν γι'αὐτήν, τοῦ μπεργαδῆ τὴν ῥῆμα, / νὰ μὴν τῆς εὔρη οὐδὲ εἰς, διαβάζοντά την κρίμα. / Ω'σ'ἀν εὐρίσκονται τινὲς, πολλὰ κατεσφαλμένους, / οἱ ὁποῖαις τὸ δίκαιον ἤθελεν, νᾶσαν κατακαημέναις. / Εἰς χίλια πεντακόσια, καὶ θῆτα ἐξετυπώθη, / εἰς μῆνα τὸν δεκέμβριον, καὶ ἔξωθεν ἐδόθη.
- 50 D. J. GEANAKOPOLOS, *Greek Scholars*, 213; NORTON, xiii.
- 51 M. LOWRY, *The World*, 159-63.
- 52 P. DE NOLHAC, Les correspondants d'Alde Manuce, *Studi e documenti di storia e diritto*, 8(1887)296-97 no. 43; see also V. FANELLI, Il ginnasio greco di Leone X a Roma, *Studi romani*, 9(1961)380-81=his Ricerche su Angelo Colocci e sulla Roma cinquecentesca. Città del Vaticano, 1979, 93; D. J. GEANAKOPOLOS, *Greek Scholars*,

- 213; J. RUYSSCHAERT, *Trois recherches sur le XVI^e siècle romain*, *Archivio della Società romana di storia patria*, 3. ser. 25(1971)12-13; FR. BARBERI - E. CERULLI, *Le edizioni greche "in Gymnasio medico ad Caballinum montem"*, *Atti del Convegno di studi su Angelo Colocci. Jesi, 13-14 settembre 1969*. Jesi, 1972, 61=FR. BARBERI, *Tipografi romani del Cinquecento*. Firenze, 1983, 59.
- ⁵³ I. E. ΚΑΛΙΤΣΟΥΝΑΚΗΣ, Ματθαῖος Δεβαρῆς καὶ τὸ ἐν Ρώμῃ Ἑλληνικὸν Γυμνάσιον, *Ἀθηνᾶ*, 26(1914)84; BH II, 321; V. FANELLI, *Op. cit.*, 380, 382-83; B. KNÖS, *Un ambassadeur*, 141; D. J. GEANAKOPLOS, *Greek Scholars*, 147, 149; M. Mousouros refers to the Greek Gymnasium and its pupils in a letter to Ianos Lascaris in his edition of Pausanias, 1516, see BH I, 148-49.
- ⁵⁴ M. I. ΜΑΝΟΥΣΑΚΑΣ, Ἡ παρουσίαση, 161-72.
- ⁵⁵ *Operetta bellissima da imparare la lingua greca*. Roma, per mastro Stephano Guillireti e Hercule de Nani, 1510. See F. BARBERI, Stefano Guillery e le sue edizioni romane, 138.
- ⁵⁶ N. BARKER, *Aldus Manutius*, 74; ISAAC no. 30; R. PROCTOR, *The Printing*, 118 considered this third type "closely resembling it, but a different fount."
- ⁵⁷ Both the Pindar and the Theokritos are printed with scholia. According to E. MIONI, *Op. cit.*, 752, the Pindar edition of Kallierges remained for almost three centuries the most important text of the ancient scholia of Pindar.
- ⁵⁸ E. RODOCANACHI, *La première renaissance: Rome au temps de Jules II et de Léon X*. Paris, 1912, 264; J. RUYSSCHAERT, *Trois recherches*, 19-22; see also M. GIGANTE, Benigno, Cornelio, *DBI*, 6(1966)513-14.
- ⁵⁹ J. RUYSSCHAERT, *Trois recherches*, 22.
- ⁶⁰ BH I cxxix; but see PH. MEYER, *Die theologische Litteratur*, 145 who had examined an imperfect copy in Hanover (LAYTON no. 7). Recently this writer was able to locate the copy that is now in the Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek in Hanover.
- ⁶¹ E. RODOCANACHI, *Op. cit.*, 426 no. LXXVIII; see also D. J. GEANAKOPLOS, 219.
- ⁶² See K. Σ. ΣΤΑΙΚΟΣ, *Χάρτα*, 408-09 and note 124, who believes that although the Chrysoloras *Erotemata*, 1522 was printed with the Greek type of Zacharias Kallierges, the work was nevertheless not printed by Zacharias Kallierges but came out of the press of Marcello Silber, the Roman printer who had loaned Kallierges the use of his Roman fonts. However, it is also possible to assume that it was Zacharias Kallierges who printed the work for Marcello Silber.
- ⁶³ E. LOBEL, *The Greek Manuscripts of Aristotle's 'Poetics'*. Oxford, 1933, 49-51; D. J. GEANAKOPLOS, *Greek Scholars*, 220-21.
- ⁶⁴ BH I, 165; V. FANELLI, *Il ginnasio greco*, 384 and note 13; ASCARELLI-MENATO, 102.
- ⁶⁵ See colophon in BH I, 159; see also F. BARBERI - E. CERULLI, *Le edizioni greche*, 67.
- ⁶⁶ F. BARBERI - E. CERULLI, *Op. cit.*, 68 and note 7.
- ⁶⁷ D. E. RHODES, *Incunabula in Greece*, no. 13; see also his *Early Printed Books in Greece*, 191 and his *The Printing of a Group*, 242-44; LAYTON, no. 42. The Isocrates edition is extremely rare. There are at least two copies, one at the National Library of Greece and one other at the Beinecke Library, Yale University.
- ⁶⁸ Γ. ΚΟΚΚΩΝΑΣ, Ἰσοκράτους Λόγοι τρεῖς: Φλωρεντία c. 1495 ἢ Ρώμη c. 1517; γύρω ἀπὸ μιὰ διόρθωση στὸν Legrand, *Μνήμων*, 8(1980)314-17; see also D. E. RHODES, *Greece, The Library*, 6(1984)420 and his *Gli annali fiorentini del XV secolo*. Firenze, 1988, 132 no. 25.
- ⁶⁹ See also F. BARBERI - E. CERULLI, *Op. cit.*, 71.
- ⁷⁰ D. J. GEANAKOPLOS, *Greek Scholars*, 184-87; M. I. ΜΑΝΟΥΣΑΚΑΣ, Ἀρσενίου Μονεμβασίας τοῦ Ἀποστόλη ἐπιστολαὶ ἀνέκδοτοι (1521-1534), *Ἐπετηρὶς τοῦ Μεσαιωνικοῦ Ἀρχείου*, 8-9(1958-59)31-33, 52-53.
- ⁷¹ ISAAC no. 12: nos. 12303-12305; NORTON 97-98; STC, 809.
- ⁷² V. FANELLI, *Il ginnasio greco*, 385-86; D. E. RHODES, *The Printing*, 242-44.
- ⁷³ The Printer of the Greek Editions "In gymnasio Mediceo ad Caballinum montem," *Studi di biblioteconomia e storia del libro in onore di Francesco Barberi*. Roma, 1976, 331-35.
- ⁷⁴ A. HOBSON, *Op. cit.*, 333.
- ⁷⁵ *Op. cit.*, 335. The types used to print the Greek Gymnasium press books were the ones designed by Ianos Laskaris in Florence for the Greek publications he edited for Lorenzo di Alopa c. 1494-96.
- ⁷⁶ *Le edizioni greche*, 63.
- ⁷⁷ E. RODOCANACHI, *Op. cit.*, 426 no. LXXVIII; see also N. BARKER, *Op. cit.*, 75; E. LAYTON, Zacharias and Nikolaos Kallierges, 211-13.
- ⁷⁸ See also PH. MEYER, *Die theologische Litteratur*, 145.

79 VRETOS I no. 3: 'Οκτώηχος correctum a Jane Lascari et impressum per Zachariam Calliergum. Romae. M.D.XX.

80 F. BARBERI - E. CERULLI, Le edizioni greche, 72.

81 *Aldus Manutius*, 75.

82 *Ibidem*, 75.

83 A. TINTO, *Gli annali tipografici di Eucario e Marcello Silber (1501-1527)*. Firenze, 1968, 7.

84 See E. LAYTON, Zacharias and Nikolaos Kallierges and the First Edition of the *Apokopos* of Bergadis, 206-16.

85 No mention of Zacharias Kallierges but printed with Greek 90. See note 62 above.

Dionysios Katelianos, bishop of Kythera, c. 1540-after 1629

DIONYSIOS KATELIANOS was born in Zakynthos around 1540.¹ Originally, his name was spelled Katelanos (Κατηλάνος) and was later changed to Katelianos (Κατηλιανός). His father's brother Sophronios who was a monk at the Strophades monastery in Zakynthos, undertook to pay for Dionysios's education at the monastery. Dionysios took orders as a monk, an *hierodiakonos*.² When he edited his first two liturgical books in 1581 and 1582, he was still an *hierodiakonos*, but by 1589 and as late as 1599, he was addressed as *hieromonachos*.³ In order to further his education he went to Venice and became a pupil of Gabriel Severos, Archbishop of Philadelphia who was in charge of the Greek Scuola and the church of Saint George of the Greeks. In 1588, Gabriel Severos appointed Dionysios Katelianos to be one of the regular priests of Saint George in Venice. The priests of Saint George were usually elected for a two-year period by the General Assembly of the community (*capitolo generale*), and there are only two cases recorded in which this rule was waived by the Church's authorities. The exceptions to the rule occurred when Nikolaos Vlastos Pounialetos was appointed priest in 1579 and when Dionysios Katelianos was appointed in 1588. Both men were handpicked by Gabriel Severos.⁴

During the years he stayed in Venice, Dionysios Katelianos also made a name for himself as a teacher and came into contact with many of the other well-known intellectuals of his time, with whom he corresponded. Many of these letters have been published in Giovanni Lami.⁵ After the death of Maximos Margounios, Bishop of Kythera, in 1602, Dionysios Katelianos was elected to succeed him. However, Katelianos was not able to assume his post immediately after his nomination, because the Bishop of Cephalonia, Anthimos Antipas, claimed that the bishopric of Kythera had been placed under his jurisdiction by the Venetian government. Dionysios Katelianos was still in Venice in 1604; in some verses he dedicated to Gabriel Severos published that year his title is still given as *Protosynkellos* and not *Episkopos*.⁶ From his correspondence, one learns that by 1615, Katelianos was addressed as Bishop and residing in Kythera.⁷ K. Sathas mentions that, in letters addressed to Katelianos in 1614, his title is given as Bishop of Kythera.⁸

In 1617, the General Assembly of the Greek Community of Venice convened to choose a new Metropolitan of Philadelphia to succeed Gabriel Severos, who had died in 1616. One of the names on the ballot for the position was that of Dionysios Katelianos. However, he was not successful in procuring the position. The General Assembly chose another pupil of Gabriel Severos, Theophanes Xenakis from Cyprus.⁹

The year of Katelianos's death is not known. A document dated 3 July 1629 mentions that Dionysios Katelianos was still alive and was very old.¹⁰ Athanasios Valerianos (also spelled Vellerianos), who succeeded him as Bishop of Kythera and was later elected Metropolitan of Philadelphia, was Dionysios Katelianos's pupil. Valerianos considered Dionysios Katelianos his spiritual father.¹¹

Besides two epigrams on the verso of the title page of a book written by Gabriel Severos and published in 1604 (BH XVIIIs. I no. 24), there is no other evidence of Katelianos's writings except for his correspondence.¹² However, according to N. Katrames,¹³ Dionysios Katelianos was also the author of two theological treatises that are not extant today. Katelianos is also mentioned in

the preface of a book printed in 1641 (BH XVIIIs. I no. 301). Its author, Agapios Landos, speaks of Gabriel Severos and Dionysios Katelianos as "οἱ νέοι τῆς ἑλληνικῆς σοφίας σπινθῆρες."¹⁴

Very few books mention Dionysios Katelianos as their editor. Most of them were printed by Z. B. Tauroceni. The last work to claim him as editor, the *Evangelion*, 1599 (BH IV no. 856), was printed by the heirs of Pietro Zanetti.

- 1580 Τριώδιον (BH IV no. 739)
 "ἐπιμελεία δὲ καὶ ἐπιδιορθώσει Διονυσίου ἱεροδιακόνου, μαθητοῦ τοῦ πανιερωτάτου, καὶ λογιωτάτου μητροπολίτου φιλαδελφείας, κυρίου Γαβριήλ, ἐπιτρόπου καὶ ἐξάρχου τοῦ τῆς κωνσταντινουπόλεως νέας ῥώμης, οἰκουμενικοῦ πατριάρχου κυρίου Μητροφάνους"
- 1581 Παρακλητική (BH IV no. 749)
 As above except at the end: "...πατριάρχου κυρίου Ἱερεμίου"
- 1580-89 Τριώδιον (BH IV no. 815)
 Title page repeats the information given in the 1580 *Triodion*
 The colophon dated 1589 does not mention D. Katelianos
- 1599 Ἱερὸν Εὐαγγέλιον (BH IV no. 856; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 310)
 "ἐπιμελεία δὲ καὶ ἐπιδιορθώσει, Διονυσίου ἱερομονάχου τοῦ κατηλιανοῦ, μαθητοῦ τοῦ πανιερωτάτου καὶ σοφωτάτου φιλαδελφείας κυρίου Γαβριήλ"

NOTES

¹ SATHAS, 293-94; I. ΒΕΛΟΥΔΗΣ, *Ἑλλήνων Ὁρθοδόξων*, 69-70, 72, 181; N. ΚΑΤΡΑΜΗΣ, *Φιλολογικά ἀνάλεκτα*, 282-86; BH II, 146 note 6, 150 and BH XVIIIs. III, 174-79; Π. ΧΙΩΤΗΣ, *Ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς τὸν Ἅγιον Διονύσιον τὸν Σιγούρον*, 4-7; Σ. ΠΑΠΑΔΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ, *Κατηλιανὸς ἢ Κατηλάνος, Διονύσιος*, *ΘΗΕ*, 5(1966)39-40; Κ. ΚΥΡΙΑΚΟΥ, *Ἐπισκόπων Κυθήρων Διονυσίου Β΄*, 185-92 and her *Ἡ συλλογὴ προσωπογραφιῶν τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Ἰνστιτούτου Βενετίας, Θησαυρίσματα*, 20(1990)442-44, pls. Β΄-Γ΄; Λ. Χ. ΖΩΗΣ, *Λεξικὸν ἱστορικὸν καὶ λαογραφικὸν Ζακύνθου*, I, 281-82.

² N. ΚΑΤΡΑΜΗΣ, *Φιλολογικά*, 282.

³ N. ΚΑΤΡΑΜΗΣ, *Ibidem*, 283; Π. ΧΙΩΤΗΣ, *Ἐπιστολὴ*, 4-5; ΝΤ. ΚΟΝΟΜΟΣ, *Ἅγιος Διονύσιος ὁ πολιοῦχος Ζακύνθου*, 108-109, no. 16; see also the colophon of the *Evangelion*, 1599 (BH IV no. 856).

⁴ I. ΒΕΛΟΥΔΗΣ, *Ἑλλήνων Ὁρθοδόξων*, 70.

⁵ *Deliciae eruditorum*, IX, 62-76.

⁶ BH XVIIIs. I, 39: "Διονυσίου τοῦ Κατηλιανοῦ καὶ Πρωτοσυγκέλλου."

⁷ N. ΚΑΤΡΑΜΗΣ, *Φιλολογικά*, 285; BH XVIIIs. III, 175.

⁸ *Νεοελληνικὴ φιλολογία*, 294.

⁹ Μ. Ι. ΜΑΝΟΥΣΑΚΑΣ, *Συλλογὴ ἀνεκδότων*, 35-36.

¹⁰ N. ΚΑΤΡΑΜΗΣ, *Φιλολογικά*, 286 and note 1.

¹¹ Μ. Ι. ΜΑΝΟΥΣΑΚΑΣ, *Συλλογὴ ἀνεκδότων*, 55.

¹² For the names of his correspondents see BH XVIIIs, III, 176-179.

¹³ *Φιλολογικά*, 284.

¹⁴ BH XVIIIs. I, 415.

Michael Kontoleon or Konteleon

MICHAEL KONTOLEON, Konteleon, or Kontoleos was from Monemvasia in the Peloponnese and probably left his native land for Venice in 1540 when it passed from Venetian to Turkish hands. His name appears in the sources as Κοντολέων but also as Κοντελέων, as in the *Apostolos*, 1550 (BH I no. 126), and in a manuscript he copied that is mentioned in Legrand, where he signs his name as "Μιχαήλος Κοντελέων."¹ After the fall of Monemvasia to the Turks, his father, Theodoros Kontoleon, became a "provisionato" of the Venetian Republic.² Michael was probably related to the scribe Christophoros Kontoleon, also from Monemvasia.³ Michael Kontoleon became a member of the Greek Brotherhood in Venice on 23 April 1555.⁴ The *Apostolos* listed below was edited by Michael Kontoleon and printed by Cristoforo Zanetti for Damiano di Santa Maria:

1550 Ἀπόστολος (BH I no. 126)
 "ἐπιμελεία δὲ καὶ δεξιότητι μιχαήλου κοντελέοντος τοῦ ἐκ μονεμβασίας"

NOTES

¹ BH I, 284; PH. MEYER, *Die theologische Litteratur*, 158, 160; VG 313; PATRINELIS, 92; Φ. ΜΑΥΡΟΕΙΔΗ, *Συμβολή*, 100.

² Κ. ΣΑΘΑΣ, *Μνημεῖα τῆς ἑλληνικῆς ἱστορίας*. Paris, 1890, IX, 63-64; Φ. ΜΑΥΡΟΕΙΔΗ, *Ibidem*, 100.

³ On Christophoros Kontoleon see BH I, cli note 2; II, 55, 421; see also I. ΚΑΛΙΤΣΟΥΝΑΚΗΣ, Ματθαῖος Δεβαρῆς καὶ τὸ ἐν Ρώμῃ Ἑλληνικὸν Γυμνάσιον, *Ἀθηνᾶ*, 26(1914)85-86; V. FANELLI, Il ginnasio greco, 391-92; VG 430; PATRINELIS, 92; M. I. ΜΑΝΟΥΣΑΚΑΣ, Ἡ παρουσίαση, 169 and note 13; A. MESCHINI, *Cristoforo Kondoleon*. Padova, 1973, 9 (Università di Padova. Studi bizantini e neogreci, 6); A. PONTANI, Due scritti di Cristoforo Kondoleon sulle questioni religiose del secolo XVI, *Römische historische Mitteilungen*, 30(1988)113-76.

⁴ Φ. ΜΑΥΡΟΕΙΔΗ, *Συμβολή*, 100.

Andreas Kounadis and Damiano di Santa Maria, fl. 1521-1553

ANDREAS KOUNADIS¹ came to Venice from Patras in the Peloponnese. Details about his life either in Patras or in Venice are almost nonexistent. The earliest date his name is mentioned in the sources is 1516, when he paid his membership dues to the Greek Brotherhood in Venice. He continued to pay his dues through the year 1521.² There is equally scant information about his activities in Venice prior to the establishment of his publishing firm. The only information available comes from a document which mentions that he resided with his father-in-law, Damiano di Santa Maria, in the San Giovanni Crisostomo section of Venice.³ Some information about Andreas Kounadis is provided by the colophons of the liturgical books he financed. It is from these colophons that we learn that he belonged to an old family of Patras and that he had spent a considerable amount of money to print the books in question. This is clearly implied in the phrase "ἀναλώμασι δὲ καὶ πολλῇ χρυσῇ κυρίου Ἀνδρέου τοῦ Κουνάδου" (fig. 187).⁴ In another one of the colophons, Andreas Kounadis is described as a man of great virtue and deep piety.⁵

When Andreas Kounadis decided to finance the publication of a series of Greek liturgical books, he approached the brothers Nicolini da Sabbio, who were the most experienced printers of Greek in Venice at that time. Kounadis came into contact with the Nicolini da Sabbio sometime before 1521. At the time, they were working for Andrea Torresano of Asola. Andrea Torresano was in charge of operations for the Aldine press after Aldus's death in 1515. To induce the Nicolini da Sabbio to leave the employ of an established and famous press like the Aldine, Andreas Kounadis promised Stefano da Sabbio, the spokesman and leader of the brothers Nicolini da Sabbio, that he would make him a master printer. We know this from a deposition by Stefano himself during a 1527 interrogation about his activities.⁶

Andreas Kounadis had conceived the idea of establishing a press that would specialize in the printing of Greek books for Greek readers, the first such press to be founded. In order to understand the importance of such an enterprise, one should bear in mind that, until this time, very few books were printed with the Greeks in mind. As early as 1486, an attempt had been made by the Cretans Alexandros Alexandrou and Laonikos to print works that would attract the attention of a Greek clientele. One was an edition of the *Batrachomyomachia*, 1486 (BH I no. 3), a work which had been a popular schoolbook during Byzantine times and would also attract students of Greek in Italy. The other book was a *Psalterion*, 1486 (BH I no. 4). Sometime between 1496 and 1498, Aldus Manutius brought out another edition of the *Psalter* (BH I no. 11) and was planning to issue a series of Greek liturgical books. However, no other liturgical editions were published by his firm, although he did publish a Greek edition of the *Horae* in 1497 (BMC V, 558; RENOUEARD, 15 no. 13) for use by the Greek uniates of Venice and by Italian students of Greek. In 1509, Zacharias Kallierges tried to launch the printing of a series of liturgical books but, perhaps because of lack of financial backing coupled with the turbulent political conditions of the times, he succeeded in printing only two books in this category before his Venetian press ceased operations.⁷ Also in 1509, his son Nikolaos prepared and printed the very first text in modern Greek, the *Apokopos* of Bergadis.⁸ When Z. Kallierges was in Rome in 1516, he printed a Greek edition of the *Horae* (BH III no. 175), in which he addressed the Orthodox in his preface "Ζαχαρίας Καλλιέργης ὁ Κρής τοῖς ἑκασταχοῦ ὀρθοδόξοις χριστιανοῖς." In 1520, also in Rome, he printed the first edition of the

Το παρὸν βιβλίον πετύπωται μὲν ἐρεπίησι, πόρῳ, καὶ δεξιότητι
 Ἡρακλείου τῆς γερλαφίδου, ἀγαλώμασι δὲ, καὶ πολλῶν χρυ
 σῶν Κυρίου Ἀνδρείου, τῆς Κουμάδου, τοῦ τὸ παλαιὸν
 γένος ἑλκωτος, ἐκ τῆς τῶν πατρῶν πόλεως,
 τῆς πελοπονήσου. πέρας δὲ ξυλὴ θεῶν
 εἴληθεν, ἔπει, ἀπὸ τῆς χριστοῦ γε-
 μίσσεως, χιλιοσῶν πεντακωσιο
 τῶν εἰκοσῶν Δ' ἄνω,
 Μαρτίου ἑσπέρου
 τῆς Φθίμου
 τος ~

fig. 187

Oktoechos (BH I no. 64; LAYTON no. 7). The *Horologion* and the *Horae* were reprinted by the Giunti in Florence in 1520/21 for distribution to the Uniate Greeks of Venice and its territories by the Venetian office of Lucantonio Giunta.⁹

Thus when Andreas Kounadis began his printing activities in 1521, there was a scarcity of printed books both liturgical and secular that were addressed to an ever-growing Greek population in Venice and for export to the Greek-speaking lands. In order to establish his publishing enterprise Andreas Kounadis must have invested a considerable sum of money. It is unclear whether Damiano di Santa Maria, Kounadis's father-in-law, a clothmaker by profession, was a partner of Kounadis from the outset of the operations or if he took over the publishing operations after Kounadis's premature death. All that is known is that Kounadis resided with his father-in-law at San Giovanni Crisostomo.¹⁰

A. Kounadis began his publishing operations with the printing of a *Psalterion*, 1521 (BH III no. 230). The editor of the *Psalterion* of 1521 was Konstantinos Palaiokapas who was a close friend of Andreas Kounadis.¹¹ The *Psalterion* was followed in 1522 by the publication of a *Parakletike* (BH I no. 65; LADAS no. 10)¹² and a *Triodion* (BH I no. 66=III no. 242). After the death of Palaiokapas in 1522 while the *Triodion* was being prepared for publication or was perhaps already in press, one Ercole Girlandi or Girlando, a classical scholar took over the duties as editor and corrector.¹³ The 1522 edition of the *Parakletike* was also corrected by Girlandi while the address to the "Christians in Greece" was written by Vettore Fausto (Νικήτας Φαῦστος) who was Public professor of Greek in Venice.¹⁴ After the *Parakletike* and the *Triodion*, the name of Andreas Kounadis disappears from the colophons of Greek liturgical books.

Shortly after, toward the end of 1522 or the very beginning of 1523, Andreas Kounadis died prematurely. The information about his death can be found in two sources. In the March 1523 edition of the *Oktoechos* (ESSLING no. 2217; PHOSKOLOS B no. 1; SANDER no. 5025), its editor, Demetrios Zenos,¹⁵ in his introductory letter addressed to the readers laments the premature death of Andreas Kounadis and also announces that Kounadis's father-in-law, Damiano di Santa Maria has pledged to continue the work Kounadis had begun. The other source of information about the death of Kounadis comes from a deposition made in 1527 by Stefano Nicolini da Sabbio

that says that Kounadis had died and that it was Kounadis himself who had appointed Demetrios Zenos to work as editor for the press.¹⁶ Thus, beginning with the *Oktoechos* of 1523, the colophons of the works published by this firm, with the exception of two, that appeared in 1524, read (with slight variations) "sumptu & requisitione D. Damiani di S. Maria da Spici." The colophons of the two books published in 1524, another *Psalterion* (BH I no. 70) and the first edition of *Penthos thanatou* (BH I no. 69), read "sumptu & requisitione D. Petri Cunadi." Petros Kounadis was obviously a close relative, perhaps a brother, of Andreas Kounadis but, other than the mention of his name in the two books cited, nothing is known about him.

In 1524, with the issuance of the *Penthos thanatou*, the firm launched a new type of publication project, namely a series of works in modern Greek. Up until then, with the exception of the printing of the *Apokopos* of Bergadis in 1509, no other books had been printed in the vernacular unless one accepts the assumption of S. E. Kaklamanis that the *Historia tou Tagiapiera* of Iakovos Trivolis was first printed in 1523.¹⁷ However, thus far, this edition has been disputed by most scholars.¹⁸ From this point forward, the firm continued to publish both liturgical and secular works in modern Greek until it ceased its operations in 1553. In August of 1524, the firm introduced a new feature, a publisher's device, in the *Horologion* (BH I no. 71; figs. 149, 188). The publisher's device consisted of a marten or ferret — in modern Greek *κουνάδι* or *κουνάβι* — within a shield, the whole enclosed within a floral border. Above the ferret but within the border, the words "Ἀνδρέου Κουνάδου" were added. The mark is obviously, as Legrand observed, a "marque parlante."¹⁹ The device appeared usually on the title page and often at the end of the work as well, sometimes with and sometimes without the name of Andreas Kounadis. At times, the name appeared under the mark, as in *Λόγοι διδακτικοί*, 1543 (BH I no. 105; fig. 81), or with *Andreas* appearing outside the left border of the device and *Kounadis* outside the right border, as in *Ἀνθος τῶν Χαρίτων*, 1546 (BH I no. 119), or the *Ἱστορία τῶν γυναικῶν*, 1549 (BH I no. 123bis). But for the most part, the device was used without the name of Kounadis (fig. 189).²⁰ In 1549, a newly cut Kounadis mark, very similar to the first, appeared for the first time (fig. 190).²¹ The Kounadis mark was influenced by a device found in the publications of Troilus Zane, or Zani, a little-known Venetian printer of the fifteenth century who was active in 1492-1493. The marks are so similar that Émile Picot, in a review article of P. Kristeller's book²² where he saw a reproduction of the Zani mark for the first time, thought that the Zani mark was actually that of Kounadis and that the initial Z stood for *zibetto*.²³ However, in the Troilus Zani mark, the animal displayed is not a marten or ferret, but a hunting dog. Furthermore, the dog faces toward the left while the Kounadis marten faces toward the right.

Kounadis's device became identified with both the liturgical and the vernacular Greek books of the sixteenth century, and it was used by other printers long after the firm of Andreas Kounadis and Damiano di Santa Maria ceased to exist. Between 1560 and 1580, the mark often appeared in the publications of Giacomo Leoncini (fig. 195). Later, in 1584-85, it was used by a group of businessmen who formed a company to publish a series of liturgical books. Leoncini, who was a member of the newly founded company, supplied the type and the Kounadis mark, which became the distinguishing feature of the publications of the new company along with the logo "Τύπος Κουνάδου" or "Ἐκ τῶν τύπων τοῦ Κουνάδου" (fig. 133).²⁴ After the dissolution of the 1584-85 firm, the Kounadis device remained in the hands of the printer, Francesco Giuliani also known as Francesco da Padenghe. Giuliani used the device in at least one publication.²⁵ The mark appeared for the last time in 1600 in an edition of the Alexander the Great romance (ILIOU no. 25) published by Domenico de Poloni, this time as a purely decorative block.²⁶



fig. 188



fig. 189



fig. 190

Τὸ παρὸν ὥρολόγιον ἐνέπαις ἐντυπωθὲν, πέρας
 εἴληφεν ἤδη σὺν θεῷ. Πόνω καὶ δεξιότητι Δημη-
 τρίου τῆς ζωῆς, τῆς ζωοποιίας. ἀναλώμασι δὲ,
 κυρίου Δαμιανοῦ τῆς ἐκασπετζίου τῆς ἰλνυίδος
 "ἔπει ἀπὸ τῆς χῆς γεννήσεως, χλυστῶ, πεντακο-
 σιοτῶ εἰκοτῶ τετάρτω, μίωδς αὐγούτου, ι γ'.
 οἱ γοῦν ἀναγινώσκοντες ἀ' χεῖτε καὶ ὑποὶ ἀμ-
 φοτέρων

fig. 191

Most of what we know about Damiano di Santa Maria also comes from the colophons of the books he financed. From the colophon (fig. 191) of the *Horologion*, 1524 (BH I no. 71), we learn that he was from Spic in Illyria, "Δαμιανοῦ τοῦ ἐκ σπετζίου τῆς ἰλλυρίδος," and from the Latin colophon of the same work, his profession, "sumptu & requisitione D. Damiani de S. Maria da Spici Filatoio." Damiano was then a clothmaker by profession, perhaps he owned a spinning-mill. He was also a Venetian citizen, as his native Spic was under Venetian rule until 1571.²⁷ As mentioned earlier, he and his son-in-law lived in the section of Venice known as San Giovanni Crisostomo.²⁸ Under his direction, the publishing firm prospered. Its most innovative years were during Demetrios Zenos's tenure as editor and corrector, which lasted from 1523 through 1539 or early 1540. It was during this period, the most active of the firm, that a good number of the first editions of modern Greek texts as well as the first translation in modern Greek of Homer's *Iliad* were published. At the same time, an ever-increasing number of liturgical books made their first appearance in print.

It was also under D. Zenos's tenure as editor that the firm encountered difficulties with the Patriarch of Venice and the Catholic authorities, who objected to some verses inserted by D. Zenos at the end of the edition of the *Horologion*, 1524 (BH I no. 71).²⁹ The inquest took place in 1527, and the depositions of the printer of the *Horologion*, Stefano Nicolini da Sabbio, and of the publisher, Damiano di Santa Maria, have survived. Unfortunately, the deposition of its editor, Demetrios Zenos, who, if we are to believe Stefano and Damiano, inserted the offending verses, did not survive.³⁰ Both Stefano and Damiano in their depositions blamed the whole incident on Demetrios Zenos. From the deposition of Stefano da Sabbio, more particulars about the operation of the firm are revealed. For example, Stefano states that the publishers furnished him with the type, the paper, and the other necessary materials: "Et elli me dette le lettere, la carta et le altre cose necessarie a tal bisogno." He also mentions that a printing shop was set up for him by the publishers near Santa Maria Formosa "in case de miser Hieronymo Loredan."³¹

In 1526, Damiano di Santa Maria published a very ambitious work. This was the first modern Greek translation — the first translation in a modern language ever — of Homer's *Iliad* (BH I no. 75). The translation was the work of Nikolaos Loukanis of Zakynthos. Loukanis had studied at the Greek Gymnasium founded by Pope Leo X in Rome in 1514 and was among the first group of students sent from Greece to that school.³² The edition was lavishly illustrated by one hundred and thirty-eight woodcuts, five of which were repeats. These woodcuts were executed in the Venetian style of the period, to the dismay of later scholars, who were horrified to see their Greek heroes dressed in Renaissance garb (figs. 93, 192).³³ The illustrations of the modern Greek *Iliad* were very much in the style and tradition of the sixteenth century woodcuts adorning secular books printed in Venice during this period. According to a manuscript note on the flyleaf of the *Iliad* copy now at the Biblioteca Nazionale in Rome, the woodcuts were supposedly the work of an Italian artist by the name of Carnesecca and were commissioned by Damiano di Santa Maria himself. The manuscript notation gives as its source of information a work by Christoph August Heumann.³⁴ It appears, however, that the second volume of Heumann's book was never published, and the information as given by the manuscript note is not contained in Volume One of the Heumann work.³⁵ According to Heumann, the flyleaf note goes on to report, a large shipment of copies of the *Iliad* destined for Greek lands was seized by pirates and was destroyed. Despite this incident, if it did occur, more copies of the *Iliad* edition have come down to us than any of the other works, both liturgical and secular, published by Andreas Kounadis and Damiano di Santa Maria.³⁶



fig. 192a



fig. 192b



fig. 192c



fig. 192d

Some of the woodcuts from the *Iliad* of 1526 were used extensively to illustrate some of the works of popular literature in modern Greek published by Damiano di Santa Maria. They can be found as late as 1640, when the last edition of the Loukanis *Iliad* was printed.³⁷ The other works published by Damiano di Santa Maria that used at least one or more of the *Iliad* woodcuts were *Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μακεδών*, 1529 and 1553 (BH I nos. 83 and 129), *Ἄνθος τῶν Χαρίτων*, 1529, 1537, and 1546 (BH III nos. 305 and 366 and BH I no. 119), *Ἀπόκοπος*, 1534, and 1543 (BH I nos. 90 and 104), *Ἰμπέριος*, 1543 (PAPADOPOULOS I no. 6108),³⁸ *Βελισάριος*, 1548 (BH I no. 122) and *Θησηίς*, 1529 (BH I no. 84). Some of the publications financed by Damiano di Santa Maria contain woodcut illustrations that do not come from the *Iliad* group. Others are illustrated with both cuts from the *Iliad* group and new illustrations, such as in the *Θησηίς* and the *Βελισάριος*, which contain one new woodcut each. *Πένθος θανάτου*, 1524, 1528, and 1543 (BH I no. 69; LAYTON no. 12; BH I no. 102), which was the first modern Greek text to come out of this press, is illustrated with a single woodcut that was expressly made for this work and faithfully depicts the picture of death as described in the text.³⁹ The new woodcuts in the *Theseid* and the *Belisarios* may or may not have been expressly made to illustrate those stories.⁴⁰

Only one liturgical work, the 1523 edition of the *Oktoechos* (ESSLING no. 2217; PHOSKOLOS B no. 1), contains woodcut illustrations. These are cuts of Saint John of Damaskos, the Crucifixion, and the Resurrection (fig. 59a-c). Unlike the woodcuts in the vernacular works, which were purely Italian Renaissance in style, these three woodcuts have Byzantine overtones and are very much in the Orthodox iconographic tradition.⁴¹ Three of the earlier imprints of the firm have small cuts displayed on the title pages.⁴² These cuts, however, came from the stock of the Nicolini da Sabbio and can also be found in many of their publications commissioned by other publishers. The three full-page illustrations of the 1523 *Oktoechos* were imitated and copied by virtually every subsequent printer who brought out Greek liturgical editions, especially editions of the *Oktoechos*.

After the departure of Demetrios Zenos in late 1539 or early 1540, Damiano di Santa Maria employed a succession of editors, most of them members of the Greek community of Venice. The most important after Demetrios Zenos was Andronikos Noukios⁴³ of Corfu, who worked for Damiano between 1542 and 1545. It is not clear how many books Noukios edited or corrected for the press. Only three mention his name, an *Apostolos*, 1542 (BH II no. 238), his translation into modern Greek of one hundred and fifty fables of Aesop, *Mythoi*, 1543 (BH I no. 103), and the first edition of the *Typikon*, 1545 (BH I no. 114).⁴⁴ However, one must bear in mind that printed vernacular texts almost never mentioned the names of their editors.

The period of Andronikos Noukios's tenure as editor/corrector were very active years for the firm, which brought out several chapbooks. Besides reissues of the *Apokopos*, 1543 (BH I no. 104), and *Penthos*, 1543 (BH I no. 102), three new modern Greek works appeared for the first time in 1543. Two of these were the *Λόγοι διδακτικοί* (BH I no. 105; fig. 81) of Markos Depharanas of Zakynthos and the first edition of the *Ἱστορία τοῦ ῥὲ τῆς Σκότζιας* (BH I no. 106=EHINGER, 129)⁴⁵ by Iakovos Trivolis of Corfu. Although the names of the printer and publisher are omitted in the Ehinger citation of the Trivolis work, it was undoubtedly printed for Damiano di Santa Maria for, at this time, no one else was publishing modern Greek texts in Venice. It must also be noted that the author of the work, Iakovos Trivolis, and Andronikos Noukios, the work's probable editor, were both from Corfu. The third work published in 1543 was the first edition of the Byzantine romance popularly known as *Ἰμπέριος καὶ Μαργαρώνα* (PAPADOPOULOS I no. 6108; fig. 156).⁴⁶ Two other chapbooks published in 1544 that are not extant today were also included in the Augsburg library catalogue.⁴⁷ These were an edition of *Ἱστορία τοῦ Ταγιαπιέρα* by Iakovos

Trivolis (BH I no. 112=EHINGER, 129) and the poem, *Σταύρωσις τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*, by Marinos Phalieros (BH I no. 113=EHINGER, 129). The work by Marinos Phalieros is known today from a manuscript made from the printed edition in 1585 by one of Martinus Crusius's pupils, Daniel Schuhmaier.⁴⁸ A new edition of the *Pentekostarion* was also brought out in 1544 (BH I no. 109). In this case too, however, there is no mention of who was the editor of the work.

After the departure of Andronikos Noukios from Venice, Vasileios Valeris was responsible for the edition of the 1546 *Psalterion* (LAYTON no. 17). Valeris was also responsible for preparing the sixty *Paschalia* included in the *Typikon*, 1545 (BH I no. 114), whose general editor was Andronikos Noukios. The only other work from this press in 1546 was a reissue of the *Anthos Chariton* (BH I no. 119), again without indication of editor. An edition of the story of the Byzantine general Belisarios, *Διήγησις Βελισσαρίου* (BH I no. 122), was published in 1548 (fig. 31).⁴⁹ The last new vernacular text financed by Damiano was the *Ἱστορία τῶν γυναικῶν*, 1549 (BH I no. 123bis), by Tzanes Ventramos. Damiano di Santa Maria also purchased the unsold stock of an edition of Ioannikios Kartanos's *Παλαιά τε καὶ Νέα Διαθήκη*, printed before 1540 by Bartolomeo Zanetti. He published it under his name in 1549 (PAPADOPOULOS I no. 3038; fig. 135), supplying a new title page and colophon.⁵⁰ The last chapbook and the last work to be printed under his name was a reprint of the Alexander the Great romance that came out in 1553 (BH I no. 129). Michael Kontoleon of Monemvasia, who also copied manuscripts in Venice during this period, was the last editor/corrector employed by Damiano di Santa Maria. His name appears in the *Apostolos*, 1550 (BH I no. 126). A *Parakletike*, 1550 (KORDOSIS B no. 1; PAPADOPOULOS II 141^a) and a *Triodion*, 1551 (BH II no. 240) give no information about an editor/corrector.

As mentioned earlier, the firm of Andreas Kounadis and Damiano di Santa Maria was associated with the brothers Nicolini da Sabbio, who printed almost all of their publications. Those members of the Nicolini da Sabbio who appear most frequently in the imprints are Giovanni Antonio and unspecified brothers usually indicated as "per Io. Antonium et fratres de Sabio" or "per Giovan Antonio & fratelli da Sabio." Stefano's name appears for the first time in the *Horologion*, 1524 (BH I no. 71): "in aedibus Stephani." Later, in the early 1540s, Pietro's name also appears: "per Giouann' Antonio & Pietro fratelli di Nicolini da Sabio."⁵¹ The year 1549 marks the end of the association between the Nicolini da Sabbio and Damiano di Santa Maria. The few works published by Damiano after 1549 were printed by others. Cristoforo Zanetti printed three liturgical works for Damiano in 1550 and 1551. These were the *Apostolos*, 1550 (BH I no. 126), the *Parakletike*, 1550 (KORDOSIS B no. 1; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 141^a), and the *Triodion*, 1551 (BH II no. 240). Judging from an unspecified reference in Mario Cosenza,⁵² there is a possibility that in 1553, C. Zanetti also printed another work for Damiano. However, if that was actually the case, there is no such book extant at present. Francesco Rampazetto was the last printer contracted by Damiano di Santa Maria, he printed the very last book to come out under Damiano's name, the 1553 edition of the Alexander the Great romance (BH I no. 129).

As indicated from the deposition of Stefano da Sabbio at the inquest of 1527, the publishers owned and supplied their own type to the printers. The first font used in the Andreas Kounadis imprints was a distinctive upright miniscule K no. 1 (20 lines=114-115 mm) with a minimum of ligatures that was used, with very few exceptions, in all subsequent liturgical books issued by this press (figs. 28, 187). The few exceptions to this were three editions of the *Penthos thanatou*, 1524, 1528, and 1543 (BH I no. 69; LAYTON no. 12; BH I no. 102).⁵³ The only other secular editions printed with this font, K no. 1, came out in 1543, a year of great activity in the printing of vernacular texts. These were the translation of the Aesop fables (BH I no. 103) and the story of

ληφόσιμ' ἐπιτιμῶν οἱ τῷ μὲν ἀδικίᾳ, κερδαλίᾳ ἢ γινώτο. καὶ
 πρὸς τὸν βίον τὸν καθ' ἡμέραν συμφέρονται. τῷ δὲ δικαιοσύ-
 νῃ αὐλοσιτελῇ, καὶ μάλλον ἐπεί τοις ἔχουσιν ὠφέλι-
 μόν. τούτων γὰρ οὐκ οἶδ' εἴπαι ἢ βελτίους ἢ ἀληθεύουσιν ἢ
 μάλλον πρίπομπας φιλοσοφίας, δύναιτο λόγους εἶπαι. τίς δὲ
 τὸν δρεασιπικὸν ἀγαγόντος λόγον, οὐκ ἂν γένοιτο κοσμιώτε-
 ρος. ἢ τίς οὐκ ἂν θαυμάσειε τῷ ὑποβολῇ τῷ ῥήτορος. ὅς ἐτόλ-
 μησε διαλεχθῆναι περὶ πολιτείας ἀθηναίοις, ἀξιῶν μεταθέσθαι
 μὲν τῷ τότε καθεστῶσαν δημοκρατίᾳ. ὡς μέγιστα βλάβη
 σαρ τῷ πόλει. ὑπὲρ ἧς δημαγωγῶν οὐθεὶς ἐπεχείρησεν, ἀλλ' ἐ-
 θεωρῶν εἰς τοσαύτην αὐτῇ προεληλυθῆσαν ἀκοσμίαν, ὥστε μὴ
 δὲ τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἐπὶ τῶν ἰδίων τῶν κρατῶν. ἀλλ' ἐκαστον ὅτι
 καθ' ἡδονὴν αὐτῷ γένοιτο καὶ ποιῶντα καὶ λέγοντα. καὶ τῷ ἄ-
 καιρον παρρησίᾳ, δημοτικὴν ὄξουσίαν ὑπὸ πάντων νομιζο-
 μένην. ἀφαστοῦσθαι δὲ τὴν ὑπὸ σόλωνος τε καὶ κλεόφειδους
 καταθεθεῖσαν πολιτείαν. ἧς τὴν προαίρεσιν καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ διεξιῶν,
 ὁμοῦ περὶ μὲν ἡγεῖσθαι φησὶ τοὺς τότε ἀνθρώποις τὸ τοῖς πρὸς
 βυτίοις ἀντιπεῖν ἢ τὴν τάξιν λύνειν. δημοκρατίᾳ δὲ αὐτοῖς
 νομίζειν οὐ τὴν ἀκολασίαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν στοφροσύνην. τὸ δὲ ἐ-
 λάνθον, οὐκ ἐν τῷ καταφροσύνῃ τῶν ἀρχόντων. ἀλλ' ἐν
 τῷ τὰ κελάνόμενα ποιεῖν πθεσθαι. ὄξουσίαν τε οὐθεὶς τῶν ἀ-
 κολάσιων ἐπιτρέπει. ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς βελτίστοις ἀναπθεῖναι τὰς ἀρ-
 χάς. τοιούτοις εἶσθαι τοὺς ἄλλους ὑπολαμβάνοντες οἱ οἱ
 περὶ αὐτῶν οἱ τὴν πόλιν διοικούντες. ἀπὲρ δὲ τῶν τὰς ἰδίας οὐ-
 σίας ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων ἐπαγορευοῦν, τοὺς ἰδίους πλούτους εἰς τὰ
 κοινὰ καταχορηγῆσαι. χωρὶς δὲ τούτων, πλείω τὴν ἐπιμέ-
 λειαν ποιεῖσθαι τοῖς πατέρας τῶν ἡμῶν ἀνδρῶν γενομένων ἢ
 παίδων οὕτως ἐποιούτω. ἐρυθρομύρους ὡς οὐκ ὄξουσι
 τῆς παιδείας, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς τῆς στοφροσύνης μάλλον ὠφέ-
 ληται τὸ κοινόν. κρείττονα τε ὑπολαμβάνειν τὰ χρηστὰ ἐπιτη-
 δεύματα τῆς ἀκριβοῦς νομοθεσίας. σκοποῦντας, οὐχ ὅπως
 ταῖς τιμωρίαις τοὺς ἀμαρτάνοντας ἀφείρξουσιν. ἀλλ' ὡς μὴδὲν ἄ-
 ξιον ζῆμίας ἐκαστον ἐπιτηδεύειν. καὶ τῷ μὲν πατρίδα δεῖν οἰομέ-
 ρους ἐν ὄξουσίᾳ διάγειν μεγάλην. τοῖς δὲ ἰδιώταις μὴδὲν ὄξουσαι

Imberios (PAPADOPOULOS I no. 6108; fig. 156).⁵⁴ There are strong indications that this font and a second type associated with the books issued by Damiano di Santa Maria were engraved and cut by Stefano Nicolini da Sabbio. Although there is no specific reference to back up this assumption, it is known from other sources that Stefano Nicolini da Sabbio was also an engraver and punch-cutter.⁵⁵ K no. 1 was used continuously through 1546, when the type was retired. It was never used by anyone else during this period, with one exception. The only time it can be found without the publisher's name accompanying it is in the 1535 reissue of Isocrates, *Λόγοι* (STC, 342). Folio A8^v was reprinted with K no. 1 when the remainder of the unsold copies of the 1493 edition of the Isocrates printed in Milan by H. Scinzenzeler were given a new title page and colophon and presented as a new edition in 1535 (fig. 193).⁵⁶ The work does not supply the name of the printer or publisher. However, one can surmise that it was the Nicolini da Sabbio who printed the cancels, since they were the only printers to have use of this font at the time. K no. 1 reappeared some years later in the imprints of the publisher Giacomo Leoncini (fl. 1560-1580), along with the Kounadis device.⁵⁷ Its last appearance was in 1585 in an *Euchologion* (PHOSKOLOS A no. 9) with the phrase "ἐκ τῶν τύπων κουνάδου" on the title page.⁵⁸

A smaller font (20 lines=88-89 mm), K no. 2, was introduced by the press in 1524 (figs. 29, 150, 154, 158). It was a cursive font with the minimum of ligatures. Although the first work printed with it was a liturgical work, the *Horologion*, 1524 (BH I no. 71), it was subsequently used almost exclusively to print the modern Greek texts issued by the firm. The only other non-secular work to use the type was the edition of Saint Basil (EISS II no. 767; LADAS no. 24; FINAZZI no. 66) that was primarily a project of Stefano Nicolini da Sabbio's and in which Damiano di Santa Maria had only a partial investment.⁵⁹ The exclusion of ligatures and contractions in K no. 2 was probably done on purpose by the publisher or more likely by the editor, Demetrios Zenos, who played an important role during this period. The decision to obtain a simple and legible font was made because the works printed with it were directed towards a less sophisticated and educated public. K no. 2 was used for the last time in the reissue of the *Anthos Chariton*, 1546 (BH I no. 119), after it disappears completely. Thus far, the works printed for Damiano di Santa Maria used either K no. 1 or K no. 2 consistently. Beginning in 1548, the works financed by him continued to be printed by the Nicolini da Sabbio, who used a third type, DS no. 3 (20 lines=88-89 mm), which must have belonged to the printers (fig. 135). The Nicolini da Sabbio began using this font as early as 1543, when they printed Greek books commissioned by other publishers. This type was purchased either from Germany or Basel. Several printers in Venice must have bought punches or matrices. It was used by, among others, Francesco Rampazetto, Cristoforo Zanetti, and later Giacomo Leoncini.⁶⁰

It has been suggested that Damiano di Santa Maria was not merely the publisher, i.e., the man who provided the funds for the printing of the books. That he also played an active role in helping to edit the works published under his name can be interpreted by Andronikos Noukios's words in the preface of the *Typikon*, 1545 (BH I no. 114): "συνεργῶ χρησάμενοι καὶ χορηγῶ τῆς δαπάνης ἀπάσης Δαμιανῶ τῷ φιλοχρίστῳ ἀνδρί." It is not clear from this statement, however, what kind of help Damiano gave. Perhaps it refers to the fact that Damiano himself applied for and obtained a copyright for the printing of the *Typikon*.⁶¹ The copyright is displayed on the title page of the work. Another copyright obtained by Damiano di Santa Maria is included in the first edition of the *Evangelion*, 1539 (BH I no. 99). On folio Φ5^r, after the colophon and Stefano da Sabbio's printer's mark, one can find the following: "Non sine priuilegio, multaque pecuniaria, & excommunicationis poena, prout in multis nostris Priuilegiis continetur."⁶² The *Evangelion* is one of

three books published by Damiano di Santa Maria in which he shared the expenses with a partner, one Geronimo Giraldi de Marendellis, from Vicenza. Furthermore, instead of the Kounadis device that usually accompanied all of the Damiano di Santa Maria imprints, the *Evangelion* displays the device of Stefano Nicolini da Sabbio (fig. 207). Thus perhaps Stefano too was involved as a partner in this case. The other two works that were published in partnership with Geronimo Giraldi were the *Triodion*, 1538 (BH I no. 96), and the *Parakletike*, 1538 (BH I no. 97).

In summary, the Kounadis-Damiano di Santa Maria firm were the first publishers to specialize in the printing of liturgical and modern Greek books for Greek readers. When Andreas Kounadis began his publishing activities in 1521, there were only a handful of Greek liturgical books in print, two editions of the *Psalterion*,⁶³ two of the *Horologion*, and one of the *Oktoechos*. By 1553, when the firm ceased its operations, there were some thirty more liturgical works printed, many of them first editions.⁶⁴ With modern Greek texts, the firm's results were even more impressive for, before 1521, there was only one modern Greek text in existence, the 1509 *Apokopos* (BH III no. 217) of Bergadis. The firm of Andreas Kounadis and Damiano di Santa Maria brought out over twenty editions of modern Greek literature and the first modern Greek translation — indeed the first translation in a vernacular edition ever — of Homer's *Iliad*.⁶⁵ They also published a modern Greek translation of the *Batrachomyomachia* and the fables of Aesop.

Works printed by the firm of Andreas Kounadis and Damiano di Santa Maria, 1521-1553:

- | | |
|------|--|
| 1521 | Ψαλτήριον (BH III no. 230)
"sumptu et requisitione D. Andreae Cunadi" |
| 1522 | Παρακλητική (BH I no. 65; LADAS no. 10)
"Impensis ac cura Domini Andreae Cunadi" |
| 1522 | Τριώδιον (BH I no. 66=III no. 242)
"Impensis & cura Dñi Andreae Cunadi" |
| 1523 | Ὁκτώηχος (ESSLING no. 2217; PHOSKOLOS B no. 1; SANDER no. 5025)
"Sumptu & requisitione D. Damiani di Sancta Maria" |
| 1523 | Παρακλητική (ILIOU no. 2; LADAS 13) ⁶⁶ |
| 1524 | Ἀπολώνιος (EISS I no. 1933/2133; LAYTON no. 15=1534 [sic])
"Sumptu & requisitione D. Damiani de sancta Maria da spici filatoio" |
| 1524 | Ὡρολόγιον (BH I no. 71)
"sumptu & requisitione D. Damiani de S. Maria da Spici Filatoio" |
| 1524 | Πένθος θανάτου (BH I no. 69)
"sumptu & requisitione D. Petri Cunadi" |
| 1524 | Ψαλτήριον (BH I no. 70)
"sumptu & requisitione D. Petri Cunadi" |

- 1525 Αἵσωπος (EISS I no. 328/351)
"Sumptu & requisitione D. Damiani de santa Maria da Spici"
- 1525 Ἀπόστολος (KORDOSIS A no. 1; LADAS no. 14)
As above
- 1525 Διήγησις...Βελισαρίου⁶⁷
- 1525 Πεντηκοστάριον (BH III no. 270)
As above
- 1526 Εὐχολόγιον (BH I no. 7=VRETOS I no. 7)⁶⁸
- 1526 Ὅμηρου, Ἰλιάς (BH I no. 75; FINAZZI no. 54)
"Ad instantia di miser Damian di santa Maria da Spici"
- 1526 Σεπτέμβριος (BH III no. 279; LADAS no. 16)
As above
- 1527 Ὀκτώβριος (BH III no. 285; LADAS no. 17)
"Impensis vero Dñi Damiani de Santa Maria"
- 1527 Νοέμβριος (BH III no. 286)
"Sumptu & requisitione D. Damiani de Sancta Maria"
- 1528 Δεκέμβριος (BEES I no. 495; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 49)
As above
- 1528 Ἱστορία τοῦ Ταγιαπιέρα (BH I no. 81=VRETOS II no. 31)⁶⁹
- 1528 Πένθος θανάτου (LAYTON no. 12)
"Sumptu & requisitione D. Damiani de sancta Maria"
- 1529 Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μακεδών (BH I no. 83; ILIOU no. 3)
"Ad instantia di M. Damiano de Santa Maria"
- 1529 Ἄνθος τῶν Χαρίτων (BH III no. 305)
As above
- 1529 Θησέος καὶ γάμοι τῆς Ἑμήλιας (BH I no. 84)
"A requisitione de M. Damiano de Santa Maria da Spici"
- 1533 Δεκέμβριος (STOYANOV no. 10)
- 1533 Ἰαννουάριος (BH III no. 327)
"Sumptu & requisitione D. Damiani de Sancta Maria"
- 1533 Φευρουάριος (PAVLOPOULOS no. A 40)
As above?
- 1534 Ἀπόκοπος (BH I no. 90; EISS II no. 1617)
"A instantia di M. Damian di santa Maria"

- 1534 Ἀπολώνιος (BH I no. 91=VRETOS II no. 36)⁷⁰
A instantia di M. Damian di santa Maria
- 1534 Ἀπόστολος (BH III no. 334; DELIALES no. 106)
As above
- 1534 Ψαλτήριον (BH III no. 333=BEES I no. 157)
As above
- 1535 Basilius Caesariensis, Opera (LADAS no. 24; EISS II no. 767; FINAZZI no. 66)⁷¹
"Sumptu expensis vero D. Damiani de Sancta Maria"
- 1536 Φευρουάριος (BH III no. 351; EISS III no. 4011)⁷²
"Sumptu & requisitione domini Damiani de sancta Maria"
- 1537 Ἄνθος τῶν Χαρίτων (BH III no. 366)
"Ad instantia di M. Damiano de santa Maria"
- 1538 Ὠρολόγιον (BEES I no. 170)⁷³
"Ἀναλώμασι δέ, κυρίου Δαμιανοῦ τοῦ ἐκ σπετζίου τῆς ἱλλυρίδος"
- 1538 Παρακλητική (BH I no. 97)
"Sumptu domino Hieronymo Giraldo de Marendelli, & domino Damiano de
santa Maria da Spici, socii in solidum"
- 1538 Τριώδιον (BH I no. 96)
"Impensis vero Dñi Damiani de Santa Maria & Dñi Hieronymi Geraldi socii"
- [1539] Βατραχομυομαχία (BH I no. 100)
Mark of Andreas Kounadis on the title page
- 1539 Γαδάρου, Λύκου Κιαλουποῦς, διήγησις ὥραϊα (BH I no. 98)
"A instantia di M. Damiano di santa Maria"
- 1539 Ἱερὸν Εὐαγγέλιον (BH I no. 99)
"Sumptu vero Dñi Hieronymi Giraldi de Marendellis Vicentini, & Dñi
Damiani de sancta Maria"
- 1540 Ὀκτώηχος (BEES I no. 170)⁷⁴
- 1542 Ἀπόστολος (BH II no. 238)
"A instantia di M. Damian di santa Maria"
- 1543 Αἰσώπου Μῦθοι (BH I no. 103)
"Ad instantia di M. Damian di santa maria"
- 1543 Ἀπόκοπος (BH I no. 104)
"Per M. Damian di Santa Maria"
- 1543 Λόγοι διδακτικοί (BH I no. 105)
As above

- 1543 Πένθος θανάτου (BH I no. 102)
Per M. Damian di Santa Maria
- 1543 Ἐξήγησις... Ἡμπερίου (PAPADOPOULOS I no. 6108)⁷⁵
"Ad instantia di M. Damian di santa Maria"
- 1543 Ἱστορία τοῦ ῥὲ τῆς σκότζιας (BH I no. 106=EHINGER, 129)
- 1544 Ἱστορία τοῦ ταγιαπιέρα (BH I no. 112=EHINGER 129)⁷⁶
- 1544 Μ. Φαλιέρος, Σταύρωσις τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ (BH I no. 113=EHINGER, 129)⁷⁷
- 1544 Πεντηκοστάριον (BH I no. 109)
"Sumptu & requisitione D. Damiani de Sancta Maria da Spici"
- 1545 Τυπικόν (BH I no. 114; EISS III no. 4023)
Preface: "χορηγῶ τῆς δαπάνης ἀπάσης Δαμιανῶ τῷ φιλοχρίστῳ ἀνδρί"
- 1546 Ἄνθος τῶν Χαρίτων (BH I no. 119)
"Ad instantia di M. Damian di santa Maria"
- 1546 Ψαλτήριον (LAYTON no. 17)
"A instantia de M. Damian di santa Maria"
- 1548 Διήγησις...Βελισαρίου (BH I no. 122)
As above
- 1549 Ἱστορία τῶν γυναικῶν (BH I no. 123bis)
"Ad instantia de Messer Damian de Santa Maria"
- 1549 Ι. Καρτάνος, Τὸ παρὸν βιβλίον...Ἄνθος (ADAMS K no. 6; PAPADOPOULOS I no. 3038)⁷⁸
"Per M. Damian di Santa Maria"
- 1550 Ἀπόστολος (BH I no. 126)
"ἀναλώμασι μὲν Κυρίου δαμιανοῦ, τοῦ ἐξ ἐπετίου τῆς ἰλλυρίδος"
- 1550 Παρακλητική (KORDOSIS B no. 1; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 141^a)
"ἀναλώμασι μὲν κῦ δαμιανοῦ, τοῦ ἐκ Σπετζίου τῆς ἰλλυρίδος"
- 1551 Τριώδιον (BH II no. 240)
As above
- 1553 Ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μακεδών (BH I no. 129)
"Ad instantia di M. Damian di Santa Maria"

NOTES

- ¹ ASCARELLI-MENATO, 360; BORSA I, 121; KONTOSOPOULOS, 300-01; ZAPPELLA no. 504. For Damiano di Santa Maria see BORSA I, 291; PASTORELLO no. 169.
- ² E. FOLLIERI, *Su alcuni libri*, 145-56; A. Δ. ΠΑΡΔΟΣ, 'Αλφαβητικὸς κατάλογος τῶν πρώτων μελῶν τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Ἀδελφότητος Βενετίας ἀπὸ τὸ κατάστιχο 129(1498-1530), *Θησαυρίσματα*, 16(1979)343; 17 (1980)187; see also SATHAS, 229; Σ. ΘΩΜΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, *Ἱστορία τῆς πόλεως Πατρῶν ἀπὸ ἀρχαιοτάτων χρόνων μέχρι τοῦ 1821*. Πάτριαι, 1950, 407-08; K. N. ΤΡΙΑΝΤΑΦΥΛΛΟΥ, *Ἱστορικὸν λεξικὸν τῶν Πατρῶν*. 2. ἔκδ. Πάτριαι, 1959, 320. See also C. LECUIR, *Les éditeurs Grecs*, 62-84 and Σ. Ε. ΚΑΚΛΑΜΑΝΗΣ, *Ἀρχειακὲς μαρτυρίες*, 595-605.
- ³ F. MAVROIDI, "Inquisitio" patriarchale, 45-46.
- ⁴ See colophons of *Parakletike*, 1522 (BH I no. 65; LADAS no. 10), and *Triodion*, 1522 (BH III no. 242).
- ⁵ *Psalterion*, 1521 (BH III no. 230).
- ⁶ MAVROIDI, "Inquisitio" patriarchale, 44-45, 50-51.
- ⁷ The works were the *Exepsalmata* (BH I no. 34) and the first edition of the *Horologion* (BH I no. 36; FINAZZI no. 34),
- ⁸ E. LAYTON, Zacharias and Nikolaos Kallierges and the First Edition of the *Apokopos* of Bergadis, *Θησαυρίσματα*, 20(1990)206-17.
- ⁹ *Horologion*, 1520 (BH I no. 63; ANNALI (Giunta) I no. 9; *Horae*, 1520 (ESSLING no. 485; ANNALI (Giunta) I no. 1. See W. A. PETTAS, *The Giunti of Florence*, 63.
- ¹⁰ MAVROIDI, "Inquisitio", 45, 51.
- ¹¹ This Konstantinos Palaiokapas is not to be confused with the scribe and forger of the same name who was active some twenty years later. The assumption that the two were the same had prompted A. Raes to question the reliability and quality of editing of the first editions of the Greek liturgical books; see his *Les livres liturgiques*, 214. For further details on K. Palaiokapas see under his name in Part II.
- ¹² ILIOU no. 2 lists a *Parakletike* of May 1523, a copy of which has yet to be found. It is quite possible that this work was erroneously reported to Legrand as having been printed in 1523 instead of 1522. Except for the difference in the date of publication, all other information given is exactly the same as in the 1522 edition.
- ¹³ See also under Ercole Girlandi in Part II.
- ¹⁴ See under his name in Part II.
- ¹⁵ See also under his name in Part II.
- ¹⁶ MAVROIDI, *Op. cit.*, 51-52.
- ¹⁷ Τριβώλης-Δεφαράνας-Βεντράμος, 149-50, 179-80 notes 27-42.
- ¹⁸ See Part I, Chapter IV where the editions of this work are discussed.
- ¹⁹ BH I, 181, where the device is reproduced.
- ²⁰ BH I, 188.
- ²¹ Its first appearance occurs on the title page of *Historia ton gynaiikon* (BH I no. 123bis).
- ²² *Die italienischen Buchdrucker- und Verlegenzeichen bis 1525*. Strassburg, 1893, *Revue critique d'histoire et de littérature*, n. s., 38(1894)147-52, see especially 151 no. 344.
- ²³ For a reproduction of the Zani device, see KRISTELLER no. 344; HUSUNG no. 241; ZAPPELLA no. 506; see also A. ΛΟΥΚΟΥ-ΔΟΥΡΔΟΥΝΗ, *31 ἀρχέτυπα λατινικῆς φιλολογίας (ἀπὸ τῆ συλλογῆ τῆς Ἑθνικῆς Βιβλιοθήκης τῆς Ἑλλάδος)*. Ἀθήνα, 1975, 21; Γ. ΚΟΚΚΩΝΑΣ, *Κατάλογος τῶν ἀρχετύπων τῆς Ἑθνικῆς Βιβλιοθήκης τῆς Ἑλλάδος*. Ἀθήνα, 1983, 70 no. 25.
- ²⁴ For details on the formation of the company and its members and other particulars, see under Giacomo Leoncini in Part II.
- ²⁵ VACCARO 284 no. 365. See also under Francesco Giuliani in Part II.
- ²⁶ See also under Domenico de Poloni in Part II.
- ²⁷ E. FOLLIERI, *Su alcuni libri greci*, 156-61. Although in his colophons Damiano always calls himself "filatoio" in some of the documents he identifies himself as "libraro" or "venditor librorum impressionis greci prope campanile Sancti Marci Venetiarum." See C. LECUIR, *Les éditeurs Grecs*, 222; Σ. Ε. ΚΑΚΛΑΜΑΝΗΣ, *Ἀρχειακὲς μαρτυρίες*, 603.
- ²⁸ F. MAVROIDI, "Inquisitio" patriarchale, 45, 51.
- ²⁹ E. FOLLIERI, *Il libro greco*, 492-98.
- ³⁰ MAVROIDI, "Inquisitio", 50-53; see also G. FEDALTO, *Ricerche storiche*, 64, 86-7.

- 31 MAVROIDI, "Inquisitio," 51.
- 32 M. I. MANOYΣAKAS, 'H παρουσίαση, 165.
- 33 E. FOLLIERI, Su alcuni libri, 122. The comments in note 6 attributed to E. Legrand were actually made by Konstantinos Sathas.
- 34 *Sylloge Dissertationum*. Tome 2 pt. 2a: *De libris quibusdam rarioribus*, p. 113 see E. FOLLIERI, Su alcuni libri, 124 and note 9.
- 35 J. G. MEUSEL, *Lexikon der vom Jahr 1750 bis 1800 verstorbenen teutschen Schriftsteller*. Leipzig, 1805, V, 460, which says that only volume one, parts 1-4 (1743-1750), of this work was ever printed.
- 36 At last count, by no means complete, there were at least twenty-six copies of the 1526 *Iliad* in existence today. Most of the books from this press, especially those in modern Greek, survive in only one or two copies, and a number of them have disappeared completely.
- 37 E. FOLLIERI, Su alcuni libri, 119-64; D. W. HOLTON, A Set of Sixteenth Century Woodcuts, 371-76; E. LAYTON, Notes on the Illustration (in press).
- 38 See E. LAYTON, Notes on Some Printers, 133-35. See also her Notes on the Illustration (in press).
- 39 Γ. Θ. ΖΩΠΑΣ, Πένθος θανάτου, 21-35.
- 40 For the *Theseid* see E. FOLLIERI, Su alcuni libri, 130-36.
- 41 For reproductions of the three woodcuts, see also ESSLING no. 2217.
- 42 These are the *Psalterion*, 1521 (BH III no. 230); *Oktoechos*, 1523 (Phoskolos B no. 1), and the *Psalterion*, 1524 (BH I no. 70).
- 43 See also under Andronikos Noukios in Part II.
- 44 Damiano di Santa Maria obtained a copyright and imprimatur to print the work. See Venice. Archivio di Stato. Capi del Consiglio dei Dieci. Notatorio, 22 December 1544 and Senato Terra. Registro. 20 February 1544 (Venetian year). In these documents, Damiano di Santa Maria is listed as "libraro."
- 45 Not all scholars agree on the date of publication of this chapbook. See Part I, Chapter IV. The only known copy of the 1543 edition was known from an entry in E. EHINGER, cols. 129-30 no. XLII: 'Ιστορία τοῦ ῥὲ τῆς σκότζιας. Venetiis 1543. Unfortunately the book is no longer in the Augusburg library and cannot be traced.
- 46 See E. LAYTON, Notes on Some Printers, 133-35.
- 47 They are all listed together in the Ehinger catalogue.
- 48 M. I. MANOYΣAKAS, 'Ελληνικά ποιήματα, 49-74, see especially, 51-60.
- 49 The first edition of this work is not extant. See Part I, Chapter IV.
- 50 E. LAYTON, Notes on Some Printers, 138-43.
- 51 See the *Apostolos*, 1542 (BH II no. 238).
- 52 *Biographical and Bibliographical Dictionary of the Italian Printers and of Foreign Printers in Italy from the Introduction of Printing into Italy to 1800*. Boston, 1968, 668.
- 53 Although the 1524 edition is not extant, it was definitely printed with this type because it was the only one owned by the publishers at that time. The 1528 and 1543 editions were also printed with K no. 1.
- 54 See E. LAYTON, Notes on Some Printers, 133-35.
- 55 See under the Nicolini da Sabbio in Part II.
- 56 V. SCHOLDERER, *Greek Printing Types*, 4 and fig. 11b.
- 57 See Σ. Ε. ΚΑΚΛΑΜΑΝΗΣ, ἀρχειακὲς μαρτυρίες, 604.
- 58 See also under Giacomo Leoncini in Part II.
- 59 The copyright was issued to Stefano Nicolini da Sabbio and only a certain number of copies give Damiano's name as publisher; see E. FOLLIERI, Su alcuni libri, 143-45 and her *Il libro greco*, 505-06; see also under Nicolini da Sabbio in Part II.
- 60 For more on this type, see under Nicolini da Sabbio in Part II.
- 61 Venice. Archivio di Stato. Capi del Consiglio dei Dieci. Notatorio. 22 December 1544 and Senato Terra. Registro 20 February 1544 (Venetian year).
- 62 BH I, 235.
- 63 The *Psalter* printed at Milan by Bonus Accursius on 20 September 1481 (BMC VI, 756) in a Greek and Latin edition is not included in the count, for the publication was clearly not addressed to the Greeks and was not intended for Greek consumption.

- ⁶⁴ First editions include the *Triodion*, 1522 (BH III no. 242), the *Parakletike*, 1522 (BH I no. 65); the *Apostolos*, 1525 (KORDOSIS A no. 1); the *Pentekostarion*, 1525 (BH III no. 270) six of the *Menaia* (September-February) published between 1526 and 1536, the *Evangelion*, 1539 (BH I no. 99) and the *Typikon*, 1545 (BH I no. 114).
- ⁶⁵ G. FISCHETTI, *La prima traduzione*, 11-20; E. FOLLIERI, *Su alcuni libri*, 119-26.
- ⁶⁶ This edition is doubtful. Information of its existence was found among the notes left by E. Legrand from an imperfect copy described for him by the librarian of the monastery of Saint Panteleemon on Mount Athos. The description probably refers to that of 1522, since both the editor, Vettore Fausto, and all other particulars are identical to the 1522 edition. We also know that by 1523 Demetrios Zenos had taken over as editor of the firm.
- ⁶⁷ Edition not extant. See Part I, Chapter IV.
- ⁶⁸ Edition not extant. In the Vretos citation, only the place of publication is given. However, the edition belongs to this group.
- ⁶⁹ Edition not extant. Although there is no mention of the publisher no one else was publishing modern Greek texts at this time.
- ⁷⁰ Γ. ΚΕΧΑΓΙΟΓΛΟΥ, *Πρώτες εκδόσεις της ριμάδας του 'Απολλώνιου: Νέα στοιχεία*, *Ἑλληνικά*, 37(1986)154-56.
- ⁷¹ There are copies that do not mention Damiano di Santa Maria see FINAZZI no. 66 where the colophon merely reads: "Per Stephanum De Sabio."
- ⁷² STOYANOV no. 12 lists a *Μὴν Φεβρουάριος*, 1535, which is clearly the same as the above edition and the date is probably a misprint.
- ⁷³ Description from a partial citation from the only copy at the monastery of Metamorphosis at Meteora in Thessaly.
- ⁷⁴ Only the printer is mentioned in this imperfect copy: "per maestro Stephano da Sabio." However, it is without a doubt one of the Damiano di Santa Maria publications.
- ⁷⁵ See also E. LAYTON, *Notes on Some Printers*, 133-35.
- ⁷⁶ Edition not extant. There is no indication of publisher or printer but it belongs to this group.
- ⁷⁷ Edition not extant. No indication of publisher or printer but belongs to this group.
- ⁷⁸ See E. LAYTON, *Notes on Some Printers*, 140.

Laonikos of Crete and Alexandros Alexandrou, fl. 1486

IN 1486 two Cretan clerics brought out two books in Venice that were published with the Greeks in mind. The first to come out was the *Batrachomyomachia* (BH I no. 3; BMC V, 408), a work that was used as a scholastic text in Byzantine times and has been preserved in more than a hundred manuscripts.¹ This was the second printed edition of the *Batrachomyomachia*; the first was printed in Brescia around 1474 in a Greek and Latin edition by Thomas Ferrandus.² The second work published in 1486 was a *Psalterion* (BH I no. 4; BMC V, 409), which, as mentioned elsewhere, was not only a liturgical book but was also one of the most frequently used schoolbooks during the years of the Turkish occupation of Greece. The *Psalterion* too had been published earlier, this 1486 being its second edition. The first edition of the *Psalterion*, in a Greek Latin edition, was printed in Milan in 1481 (BH III no. 27; BMC VI, 756).³

The person responsible for the preparation of the first book, the *Batrachomyomachia*, which came out on 22 April 1486, was one Laonikos of Crete,⁴ who called himself Protopapas of Canea. The *Psalterion*, issued on 15 November, was prepared and signed by "Alexandros from Candia⁵, the son of the most wise and scholarly priest Georgios Alexandrou." Because both books were printed in red and black, Robert Proctor⁶ believed that they were printed as trial runs to a projected series of service books that, for unknown reasons never materialized. Equally for unknown reasons, the press itself operated only for a very brief period, between April and November 1486. It should be pointed out here that the font used by this press (fig. 13) was cumbersome and had a great number of ligatures and contractions, which made it difficult to use and most certainly expensive to operate. Nicolas Barker has suggested that possibly the type used in these two works was engraved and cut in Crete, because "it is impossible to imagine that any competent Venetian engraver (and there must have been several by now) had a hand in it...It is tempting to conjecture that this type, so alien to Venetian practice, was engraved in Crete."⁷

More is known about Laonikos than about Alexandros, the son of Georgios. Laonikos has been identified by a succession of scholars as none other than Nikolaos Kavados of Kydonia in Crete, a uniate cleric who was a pupil of Michael Apostolis and the chief priest (Πρωτοπαπᾶς) of Canea.⁸ Alexandros was more difficult to identify. He was thought to have been the son of Georgios Alexandrou, a well-known calligrapher, who in 1489 was elected as the uniate bishop of Arkadia in Crete and who died c. 1501.⁹ It was supposedly Georgios Alexandrou who officiated during the liturgy on the third day of the Synod of 1485 (6 October).¹⁰ However, N. M. Panayotakis has pointed out recently that it seems strange that a very old priest, as Georgios Alexandrou was then, and one who probably did not know Latin well, had been singled out to officiate during the liturgy. Panayotakis thinks that it was perhaps Alexandros, not Georgios, who was appointed to the Latin bishopric of Arkadia in Crete, and that it was also this same Alexandros, and not his father, who was in Rome between 1494 and 1497, was close to Pope Alexander VI, and was granted the right to read the Bible in Greek when the Pope was celebrating Mass.¹¹ Panayotakis maintains that earlier scholars have confused the names of father and son, an easy thing to do, as both had names that could be either first or last names. He points out that the Bishop of Arkadia is referred to in a series of letters by members of the Gregoropoulos family, who knew him well, as "τὸν

τίμιον καὶ ἅγιον ἐπίσκοπον τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον"¹² also "παρὰ τοῦ αἰδεσίμου ἐπισκόπου κυρίου Ἀλεξάνδρου"¹³ and "ὁ ἐν ἐπισκόποις αἰδέσιμος Ἀλέξανδρος."¹⁴ It would have been incorrect for Gregoropoulos to call or refer to the Bishop by his last name and not use his ecclesiastical name.¹⁵

The father, Georgios Alexandrou, entered the priesthood in 1422¹⁶ while still quite young. In 1462, he was the recipient of the Bessarion legacy, and, in 1466, he became a substitute Protopapas of Candia. In 1485, at a very advanced age, he was appointed *locum tenens* (τοποτηρητής) of the bishopric of Arkadia, which perhaps had already been promised to his son Alexandros. Georgios died some time after 1486 while his son Alexandros was still in Italy. Alexandros, after a lengthy stay in Rome and after he had already (February 2, 1489) been elected Bishop of Arkadia, left for Crete in 1498. He died before March 1501, and his brother Ioannes (Joannes Alexander Georgii) succeeded him to the bishopric of Arkadia on 28 April 1501.¹⁷

Only two works came out of the press established by Laonikos of Crete and Alexandros Alexandrou:

- | | |
|------|---|
| 1486 | Βατραχομυομαχία (BH I no. 3; BMC V, 408)
"Σύνθεσις ἐμοῦ λαονίκου κρητὸς καὶ πρωτοθύτου χανίων" |
| 1486 | Ψαλτήριον (BH I no. 4; BMC V, 409)
"Σύνθεσις ἐμοῦ ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ ἀπὸ χάνδακος τῆς κρήτης. υἱὸς δὲ τοῦ σοφοτάτου καὶ λογιωτάτου κυροῦ γεωργίου ἱερέως τοῦ ἀλεξάνδρου" |

NOTES

- ¹ C. CARPINATO, La fortuna della Batrachomyomachia dal IX al XVI secolo: da testo scolastico a testo "politico," [Omero] *La Battaglia delle rane e dei topi: Batrachomyomachia*. M. Fusillo, ed. Milano, 1988, 137-48; B. Φ. ΤΩΜΑΔΑΚΗΣ, *Νεοελληνικαὶ μεταφράσεις, παραφράσεις καὶ διασκευαὶ τῆς "Βατραχομυομαχίας,"* 11-15.
- ² R. PROCTOR, *The Printing*, 83-84. See The John Rylands Library, Manchester. *Catalogue of the Earliest Printed Editions of the Principal Greek and Latin Classics and of a Few Manuscripts*. Manchester, 1926, no. 9, plate 8.
- ³ The 1481 edition of the *Psalterion*, edited by Joannes Crastonus was clearly not printed with the Greeks in mind.
- ⁴ BORSA I, 120.
- ⁵ BORSA I, 120.
- ⁶ *The Printing*, 73-75.
- ⁷ *Aldus Manutius*, 37.
- ⁸ BH I, 6-7 and II, 234-35 no. 3, 242 no. 16, 245 no. 22; Z. ΤΣΙΡΠΑΝΛΗΣ, *Τὸ κληροδόστημα*, 84-85 and note 1, 92-93; J. NOIRET, *Lettres inédites de Michel Apostolis*. Paris, 1889, 6, 16, 31-32, 139; N. B. ΤΩΜΑΔΑΚΗΣ, *Ἐπισκοπή*, 32 and his *Πρωτοπαπάδες*, 46-47; see also D. J. GEANAKOPOLOS, *Greek Scholars*, 58-59; K. Σ. ΣΤΑΙΚΟΣ, *Χάρτα*, 197-200 and note 10.
- ⁹ BH I, 7-9 and II, 271 note 1; M. I. ΜΑΝΟΥΣΑΚΑΣ, *Ἡ ἀλληλογραφία τῶν Γρηγοροπούλων χρονολογουμένη (1493-1501), Ἐπετηρὶς τοῦ Μεσαιωνικοῦ Ἀρχείου*, 177 note 2 and his *Βενετικά ἔγγραφα ἀναφερόμενα εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν ἱστορίαν τῆς Κρήτης τοῦ 14^{ου}-16^{ου} αἰῶνος (Πρωτοπαπάδες καὶ πρωτοψάλται Χάνδακος), Δελτίον Ἱστορικῆς καὶ Ἐθνολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας τῆς Ἑλλάδος*, 15(1961)153, 177-79, 196-98; Z. ΤΣΙΡΠΑΝΛΗΣ, *Τὸ κληροδόστημα*, 84 and note 5; D. J. GEANAKOPOLOS, *Op. cit.*, 58; N. B. ΤΩΜΑΔΑΚΗΣ, *Ἡ ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ ἔκδοσις*, 9 and note 3 and his *Πρωτοπαπάδες Κρήτης*, 42; GAMILLSCHEG-HARLFINGER, I, no. 54. II, no. 72; PATRINELIS, 68; K. Σ. ΣΤΑΙΚΟΣ, *Χάρτα*, 197-200 and note 17.

10 F. CORNELIO, *Creta sacra*. Venice, 1755, II, 454; BH I, 8-9; D. J. GEANAKOPOLOS, *Greek Scholars*, 58; Z. ΤΣΙΡΠΑΝΛΗΣ, *Τὸ κληροδότημα*, 134 note 2; N. M. ΠΑΝΑΓΙΩΤΑΚΗΣ, 'Αντιγραφεῖς καὶ κείμενα τοῦ κώδικα Marcianus graecus IX.17. Ἀνδρέας Σκλέντζας, *Ἀριάδνη*, 2(1984)117-18.

11 N. M. ΠΑΝΑΓΙΩΤΑΚΗΣ, 'Αντιγραφεῖς, 117-18 and note 2.

12 BH II, 271; M. I. ΜΑΝΟΥΣΑΚΑΣ, 'Ἡ ἀλληλογραφία, 177 note 2.

13 BH II, 272; M. I. ΜΑΝΟΥΣΑΚΑΣ, *Ibidem*, 186.

14 BH II, 278; M. I. ΜΑΝΟΥΣΑΚΑΣ, *Ibidem*, 200.

15 N. M. ΠΑΝΑΓΙΩΤΑΚΗΣ, *Ibidem*, 118.

16 M. I. ΜΑΝΟΥΣΑΚΑΣ, Βενετικά ἔγγραφα, 177-78, 196-98.

17 C. EUBEL, *Hierarchia Catholica medii aevi*. Münster, 1898-1910, II, 93 and III, 115; N. M. ΠΑΝΑΓΙΩΤΑΚΗΣ, *Ibidem*, 118.

Giacomo Leoncini, fl. 1560-1585

GIACOMO LEONCINI¹ was primarily a publisher and businessman who specialized in the production of Greek liturgical books, as well as the occasional re-issue of some of the well-known chapbooks first introduced by the firm of Andreas Kounadis and Damiano di Santa Maria. His first editions were few and far between. Although his name makes its first appearance in the sources in 1547, when he was listed among the printers and booksellers by E. Cicogna,² the earliest book to bear his name is an *Evangelion*, 1560 (BH IV no. 599).

Leoncini seems to have had the confidence and respect of members of the Greek community. In the preface of a *Menaion* of March, 1569 (BH IV no. 664), published by Leoncini, its editor, Ioannes Nathanael, praised highly both Hippolitos Valeris and Giacomo Leoncini for their Greek imprints. Nathanael also mentioned that Giacomo Leoncini planned to continue the publication of the *Menaia* and was also to bring out the *Apostolos*, the *Parakletike* and the remainder of the books necessary for the divine liturgy.³ Indeed, Leoncini continued to produce Greek liturgical books until at least 1580, after which his name is no longer mentioned in the colophons of Greek books although, as we shall see later, he formed a partnership with four others and continued to play a role in the publication of Greek liturgical editions. It appears that Leoncini also was involved, to a lesser extent, in the publication of some service books for the Catholic Church; we find that, in 1572, he was fined by the Inquisition in Venice, along with the publishers Domenico Farri, Girolamo della Barba, Domenico Nicolini, and Francesco Rampazetto, for having printed the Little Office without official permission.⁴

Leoncini employed a number of well-known Greek clerics residing in Venice as his editors and correctors. The first among them was Symeon Verivelos, a monk from Cyprus, who worked for him between 1560 and 1569. He was succeeded by Ioannes Nathanael, a priest of San Giorgio dei Greci and also a scribe, who was active editing books for Giacomo Leoncini between 1569 and 1574. When Nathanael left Venice for Crete, he was succeeded by Theophanes Logaras, also from Cyprus, another of the priests of San Giorgio dei Greci, who worked for Leoncini between 1575 and 1579. One book, *Περὶ τῶν τῆς συγγενείας βαθμῶν*, printed in 1564 (BH II no. 142), was presumably edited by its compiler, Zacharias Skordylis, a noted scribe and cleric, who resided in Venice at the time. Another editor/corrector who worked for Giacomo Leoncini whenever he was in Venice was Gregorios Malaxos, the brother of Nikolaos Malaxos. Gregorios Malaxos edited a number of books for Leoncini between 1563 and 1570.⁵

All of the books published by Giacomo Leoncini were reprints of the liturgical editions first introduced by the Andreas Kounadis-Damiano di Santa Maria firm and originally printed by the brothers Nicolini da Sabbio. There were a few exceptions, such as the edition of *Ἱστορία τῆς Σωσάννης*, 1569 (BH IV no. 672), which might be a first edition although this is by no means certain, considering the rate in which these popular books were discarded and lost. As is often the case with the *phyllades*, there is no indication of editor/corrector. In 1564, Giacomo Leoncini published an edition of Zacharias Skordylis's *Περὶ τῶν τῆς συγγενείας βαθμῶν* (BH II no. 142). In the colophon of the work, there is mention that Leoncini was granted a ten-year privilege for this work and the warning that whoever published it during that period would be severely punished.



Μιλύσι Πέβριος.

Περὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς, καὶ τοῦ ὁσίου συμεῶν, ἐκ τῶν
χωσίων ἐκ κυριακῆς. Κεφάλαιον α΄.

Χρὴ εἶδέναι, ὅτι ἐστὶ τὴν ἡ πρώτη τοῦ σιπῆς
βίου μικρὸς ἐκ κυριακῆς. καὶ καταλιμπάνεται
ἐκ ἀκολουθίας τῶν ὁρίων ἱεροῦ καὶ φαί-
λεται, ὅταν ὁ ἐκκλησιαστής βούληται,
φαίλεται δὲ τὰ ἀναστάσιμα. Μετὰ τῆς
ἀκολουθίας τῆς ἱερᾶς, καὶ τοῦ ὁσίου συ-
μεῶν. Ἐν τῇ μικρᾷ ἑσπερίᾳ, ἢ ἀναστά-
σιμα τῆς θεοτοκου ὡς σὺν ἡμεῖς. Ἐν δὲ τῇ
μεγάλῃ ἑσπερίᾳ, μετὰ τὴν ἡμέραν. Ἐἰς
τὴν ἡμέραν, ἢ ἀναστάσιμα, γ'. καὶ ἀνα-
τολικόν, εἰς. Ἐἰς τῆς ἱερᾶς, γ'. καὶ τοῦ ὁσίου
συμεῶν, γ'. Δόξα τῆς ἱερᾶς, καὶ μὴν, ἢ
τὸ α', τοῦ ἡχοῦ. τὰ ἀναγνώσματα τῆς ἱε-
ρᾶς, καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου. Ἐἰς τὴν λιτὴν, ἢ
τοῦ ἁγίου τῆς μοῦνης, καὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς ἡλ,
τοὺς β', α', α'. καὶ τοὺς β', β' β'. καὶ τοῦ ὁσίου
συμεῶν, τοὺς γ', β' β'. δόξα, ἡχος πβ. θεία
χαίρετε, καὶ μὴν, ἡχος πβ. Ὁ ἁγὼν σοφία.
Ἐἰς τὴν σίχον, ἢ ἀναστάσιμα τοῦ ἡχοῦ, καὶ τὰ
κατὰ ἀλφάβητον. δόξα τοῦ ἁγίου. ἡ μὴν,
τῆς ἱερᾶς. Ἐἰς τὴν ἐνλόγον τῶν ἀρ-

τῆς σιχολογίας, καὶ ἀναστάσιμα, μετὰ τῶν
θεοτοκίων αὐτῶν. ὁ ἁμωμος. ἡ ὑπακοή.
Ὁ ἡ ἀναβάθμοι τοῦ ἡχοῦ. προκείμενον,
πᾶσα προῖ. καὶ ἐναγγέλιον ἀναστάσιμον.
Ὁ ἡ καμόνες, ὁ καμὼν ἀναστάσιμος, εἰς δ'.
τῆς θεοῦ, εἰς β'. καὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς, εἰς δ'. καὶ
τοῦ ὁσίου συμεῶν, εἰς δ'. κατὰ βασιλῆα. Ἐἰς
τὴν χαράξας μωσῆς. ἀπὸ γ', ὡς καὶ, τὸ ὁσίου.
Δόξα, καὶ μὴν, τῆς ἱερᾶς. Ἀ' ἢ ἐκ τῆς,
κοιτάκιον, τοῦ ἁγίου. Ἐν τῇ δ', ὡς, σιχολο-
γίται ἡ πωσπῆρα. Ἐξ αποσπασμένου, τὸ
ἀναστάσιμον τοῦ ἁγίου, καὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς.
Ἐἰς τοὺς αἶρους, πᾶσα προῖ. ἢ ἀναστά-
σιμα, δ'. καὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς, ἡλ, ἡχος α'. ἢ τοὺς
β', δ', δ'. καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου, ἡχος β'. Ἐκρίζης
ἀγασθῆς, μετὰ τῶν σίχων. Ὁὶ πρέπινοι
ὁ θεὸς ἐκ σὺν. ἢ. Ἐἰς ἡμὸς ἐμάρτυρον κυρίου
ὁ δάματος τῶν ὁσίων αὐτοῦ. Δόξα, τὸ ἑω-
σπῆρον. καὶ μὴν. Ἐπρενλογισμένη ὑπὲρ
χρὴς θεῶν παρθέμε, ὑμνουμενσι. Δόξα ὁλο-
γία μεγάλη, τῶν, τὸ ἀναστάσιμον μόνον. ἢ

Yet one can find another edition of this work, also printed in 1564, published by Andrea Spinelli, that displays in its colophon the exact same words of the privilegio, this time with reference to Spinelli.⁶ This indicates that the copyright must have been obtained by the compiler, Zacharias Skordylis, and not by the publishers.

Another work that presents some peculiarities in its editions is the *Βιβλίον ὀνομαζόμενον Θησαυρός*, popularly known as the *Θησαυρός* of Damaskenos Stoudites. The earliest known edition of this work was printed by Cristoforo Zanetti in 1557-58, for which a privilegio was obtained on 30 May 1557.⁷ It was reprinted by C. Zanetti in 1561 and 1562. On 25 May 1564, Cristoforo Zanetti applied for a new copyright and received permission from the Council of Ten to print the *Thesaurus* again. He was granted exclusive rights to it for fifteen years.⁸ Yet shortly after this, in late 1564 or in 1565, Giacomo Leoncini published the *Thesaurus* and reprinted it in 1568 and again in 1570. On all of the Leoncini title pages, there is the designation "Con gratia, et privilegio." It is interesting to note that, during this period, Cristoforo Zanetti refrained from printing the work, although he resumed its publication in the 1580s.⁹ Seldom do the Leoncini editions reveal the name of the printer, and none of the Leoncini editions of the *Thesaurus* give the name of the printer.

The type used in the *Thesaurus* editions published by Giacomo Leoncini was the type (20 lines=91-92 mm; fig. 140) that also was used by Cristoforo Zanetti to print the *Horologion*, 1546 (BH III no. 468), and the *Psalterion*, 1547 (BH I no. 120; fig. 41). It is quite possible, of course, that Cristoforo Zanetti was the printer engaged by Leoncini to print his editions of the *Thesaurus*. Leoncini used Greek 91-92 to publish other works as well. Among them were: Z. Skordylis's *Περὶ τῶν τῆς συγγενείας βαθμῶν*, 1564 and 1575 (BH II nos. 142 and PAPADOPOULOS II no. 257) and I. Kartanos's *Ἄνθος*, 1567 (BH IV no. 641); the 1567 edition of the story of Belisarios (LAYTON no. 26); the *Heirmologion*, 1568 (BH II no. 148); the *Ἱστορία τῆς Σωσάννης*, 1569 (BH IV no. 672); two *Horologia*, 1569 and 1574 (PAPADOPOULOS II no. 237; BH II no. 154); *Θεία Λειτουργία*, 1574 (BH II no. 268); and the *Θεῖαι Λειτουργεῖαι*, 1578 (BH II no. 157).¹⁰ Whether this means that C. Zanetti was commissioned to print these works for Leoncini or that he had sold the font to G. Leoncini is difficult to determine. It is more likely that the type passed to the hands of Leoncini, as it was one

of the fonts used in 1584-85 when the newly created consortium, of which Leoncini was a partner, published a group of liturgical books.

The type that was used consistently and predominantly for most of the liturgical imprints of G. Leoncini was K no. 1 (20 lines=114-115 mm), which made its first appearance in 1521 in the liturgical editions of Andreas Kounadis and Damiano di Santa Maria (fig. 194). It appears that Giacomo Leoncini purchased it along with other materials from the son of Andreas Kounadis. Besides the type, Leoncini made use of some initials and other decorations that can be traced to their stock.¹¹ However, the most important acquisition besides the type was the famous Kounadis mark, which Leoncini used regularly in his own imprints, often accompanied by the phrase "Τύπος Κουνάδου" (fig. 195). The Kounadis mark can often be found together with G. Leoncini's own device, which consisted of his initials on



fig. 195

either side of a cross surrounded by a wreath (figs. 66, 196).¹² It is quite clear that identification with the most respected publishers of Greek editions was advantageous to Leoncini. Perhaps in the transactions of the sale of the Kounadis-Santa Maria stock, Leoncini also purchased the rights to reprint the Kounadis-Santa Maria editions. As mentioned earlier, the Leoncini imprints were, for the most part, reprints of liturgical and popular works originally printed by the earlier firm.



fig. 196

Giacomo Leoncini was primarily a bookseller and publisher, definitely not a printer. As already mentioned, the names of the printers who worked for him are never given in his colophons except once. We have already discussed the possibility that Cristoforo Zanetti printed some of the Leoncini books. The only printer mentioned in the colophon of a Leoncini publication is Francesco Rampazetto. This mention appears in the *Horologion*, 1563 (BH IV no. 616). This *Horologion* was printed with a type (20 lines=88-89 mm) that must have belonged to Francesco Rampazetto, because the few books he published in Greek used this font. However, this type which was originally introduced to Italy from Germany or Basel in the 1540s appears in the imprints of several Venetian printers. Other printers who used this type were the Nicolini da Sabbio and Cristoforo Zanetti.¹³ Besides the *Horologion* of 1563, other Leoncini publications printed with this font were an *Horologion*, 1561 (PAPADOPOULOS II no. 210; fig. 197), *Aisopos*, 1564, *Apolonios*, 1564 (BH IV no. 622), *Penthos*, 1564 (BH IV no. 623), and possibly the *Anthos ton Chariton*, 1564 (BH IV no. 624). None of these works mention the name of Francesco Rampazetto or any other printer.

After 1575, the Leoncini publications were reduced to a trickle. There are gaps between the years 1575 and 1577, and from 1577 until the end of Leoncini's publishing activities in 1580, only a minimum number of books were published. Some of these late editions were made up of unsold copies of earlier works with new title pages or colophons. There is a gap of four years during which there is no information on what Leoncini's activities were in the book trade. According to Pastorello (no. 252), Leoncini's name appears in publications until 1589, however, this must have occurred in non-Greek editions, if at all.

After 1580, the name of Giacomo Leoncini disappears from Greek colophons. However, from the documents published by K. D. Mertzios,¹⁴ we know that Giacomo Leoncini continued to be active in financing the publication of Greek liturgical books at least through 1585. On 27 January 1584, he was one of a number of businessmen who formed a new publishing venture. The other members were the brothers Angelo and Giambattista Zaguri and Antonio Gemelli. On April 19 of the same year, a fifth partner was added to the company, Loukas Sougdouris, a Greek businessman residing in Venice, originally from Ioannina. The abovementioned partners formed a company for the purpose of publishing a specific number of Greek liturgical books. The names of the titles of the books and their quantity were given in the document: 1600 copies of the *Oktoechos*, 1100 copies of the *Horologion*, 1600 copies of the *Psalterion*, 800 copies of the *Apostolos*, and 600 copies each of the *Euchologion*, the *Triodion*, the *Evangelion*, the *Parakletike*, the *Anthologion* and the *Pentekostarion*.¹⁵ The *Oktoechos*, the *Psalterion*, and the *Horologion*, which were also used as school-books, were printed in larger quantities than the other liturgical books, which were used only for the service. The liturgical books that were to be used for scholastic purposes were invariably printed in octavo editions instead of the usual folio editions. The notarial act also provides us

with the information about how the books were to be printed. The newly founded firm engaged the services of two printers, father and son, Francesco and Baldissera Padenghi,¹⁶ who were to print the books in red and black. Work was to begin in February 1584 and continue regularly and uninterruptedly until all of the books mentioned in the document were printed. One of the partners, Angelo Zaguri, was to be responsible for providing the necessary paper to the printers on behalf of the partners. Giacomo Leoncini, who had some unfinished books of the same type as the ones to be printed, would deliver those books to be completed on behalf of the newly created company. G. Leoncini was also to provide the press and the types. Another partner, Loukas Sougdouris, was to be responsible for choosing and hiring the correctors to be employed and for supervising operations. He was also to be responsible for paying the monthly stipends to the correctors, the money to be provided by the company. The publication of the books specified in the agreement was to be accomplished within a three-year period. The sole purpose of the creation of the partnership was to print these books. Although no mention is made in the transaction document, the firm used the Kounadis mark on its imprints and the designation "Ἐκ τῶν τύπων τοῦ Κουνάδου," even when the type, K no. 1, was not used. However, all except two of the books published did use type K no. 1. The *Heirmologion*, 1584 (BH II no. 169; FINAZZI no. 97), and the *Horologion*, 1584 (BH II no. 277; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 275), were printed with Greek 91-92, the type which was also used by C. Zanetti in 1546 and 1547 discussed above (fig. 41). The Kounadis device, the ferret, is prominently displayed on the title page of each book except the *Psalterion*, which followed tradition and had a cut of David on its title page. All decorations, mainly initials and headpieces, came from the Leoncini stock (fig. 198).

For some unknown reason, probably the sudden death of one of the partners, the printing was halted in 1585, before the three years were up and also before all of the books chosen for publication were printed. Of the ten different titles mentioned, only four, possibly five, were published. These were the



Τῇ ἁγίᾳ καὶ μεγάλῃ κυριακῇ τῷ πάχῃ
ἐκτῷ κατὰ ἰωάννην ἁγίου δναγγελία

Εἰς ἀρχὴν ὡς ὁ λόγος, καὶ ὁ λόγος ὡς πᾶς τὸν θεόν,
καὶ θεὸς ὡς ὁ λόγος. ὅτος ὡς ἀρχὴ πᾶς τῆς θεοῦ.
πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο, καὶ χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο
ὅδε ὃν ἐγένοντο. ὃν αὐτῷ ζῶν ὡς, καὶ ἡ ζῶν ὡς τὸ
φῶς τῆς ἀνθρώπων, ὃ τὸ φῶς ὃν τῇ σκοτίᾳ φαίνει,
ὃ ἡ σκοτία αὐτὸν οὐ κατέλαβεν. ἐγένετο ἄνθρωπος
ἀπειραμνύθ' παρὰ θεῶ, ὄνομα αὐτῷ ἰωάννης. ὅτος
ἦλθεν εἰς μαρτυρίαν, ἵνα μαρτυρήσῃ πρὸς τὸ φῶς
τὸς, ἵνα πάντες πιστεύσωσι δι' αὐτοῦ. ὃν ὡς ἐκείνῃ
τὸ φῶς, ἀλλ' ἵνα μαρτυρήσῃ πρὸς τὸ φῶς. ὡς τὸ
φῶς τὸ ἀληθινόν, ὃ φωτίζει πάντα ἄνθρωπον ἐρχόμε-
νον εἰς τὸν κόσμον. ὃν τῷ κόσμῳ ὡς, καὶ ὁ κόσμος
οὐκ αὐτὸν ἐγένετο, καὶ κόσμος αὐτὸν οὐκ ἔγνω. εἰς τὰ
ῥηθῆνα ἔλθε, καὶ οἱ ἰδοὶ αὐτὸν οὐ παρέλαβον. ὅσοι δὲ
ἔλαβον αὐτὸν, ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ὄψιν ἵνα τὸν θεὸν γν-
ώσκωσι τοῖς πιστεύουσιν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ, οἱ οὐκ ἐκ αἰ-
μάτων. ὅδε ἐκ θελήματος πατρὸς, ὅδε ἐκ θελήματος
αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ' ἐκ θεοῦ ἐγενήθησαν. καὶ ὁ λόγος σὰρξ
ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐσκήνωσεν ὃν ἡμῶν. καὶ ἰδυσάμεθα

κ 1111

fig. 197

Horologion, 1584 (BH II no. 277; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 275), the *Psalterion*, 1584 (BEES I no. 616; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 274^a), the *Apostolos*, 1585 (PAPADOPOULOS A no. 28, and the *Euchologion*, 1585 (PHOSKOLOS A no. 9; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 276^a). An imperfect copy of an *Anthologion* (STOYANOV no. 52) without title page and colophon may or may not belong to this group. Stoyanov gave as its printer Andrea Spinelli and assigned it to the year 1579. However, this is unlikely, since Andrea Spinelli ceased publishing in 1564. Furthermore, the type and decorations of this *Anthologion* unmistakably identify it as a Giacomo Leoncini imprint. The book is printed with K no. 1, and the headpieces and other decorations are those frequently found in Leoncini books. This *Anthologion* may belong either to the 1584-85 group or it may be a regular Leoncini pre-1584 publication. Two more books belong to this group that are not found among the books listed for publication in the document. These are presumably the unfinished liturgical books from the Leoncini press that were to be completed and included among the books to be issued by the partners. They are an *Heirmologion*, 1584 (BH II no. 169; FINAZZI no. 97; fig. 133), printed with Greek 91-92, and the *Theiai Leitourgiai*, 1584 (BH II no. 276=IV no. 777), printed with K no. 1. Both works display the Kounadis device on their title pages and both books are reprints of earlier Leoncini editions.

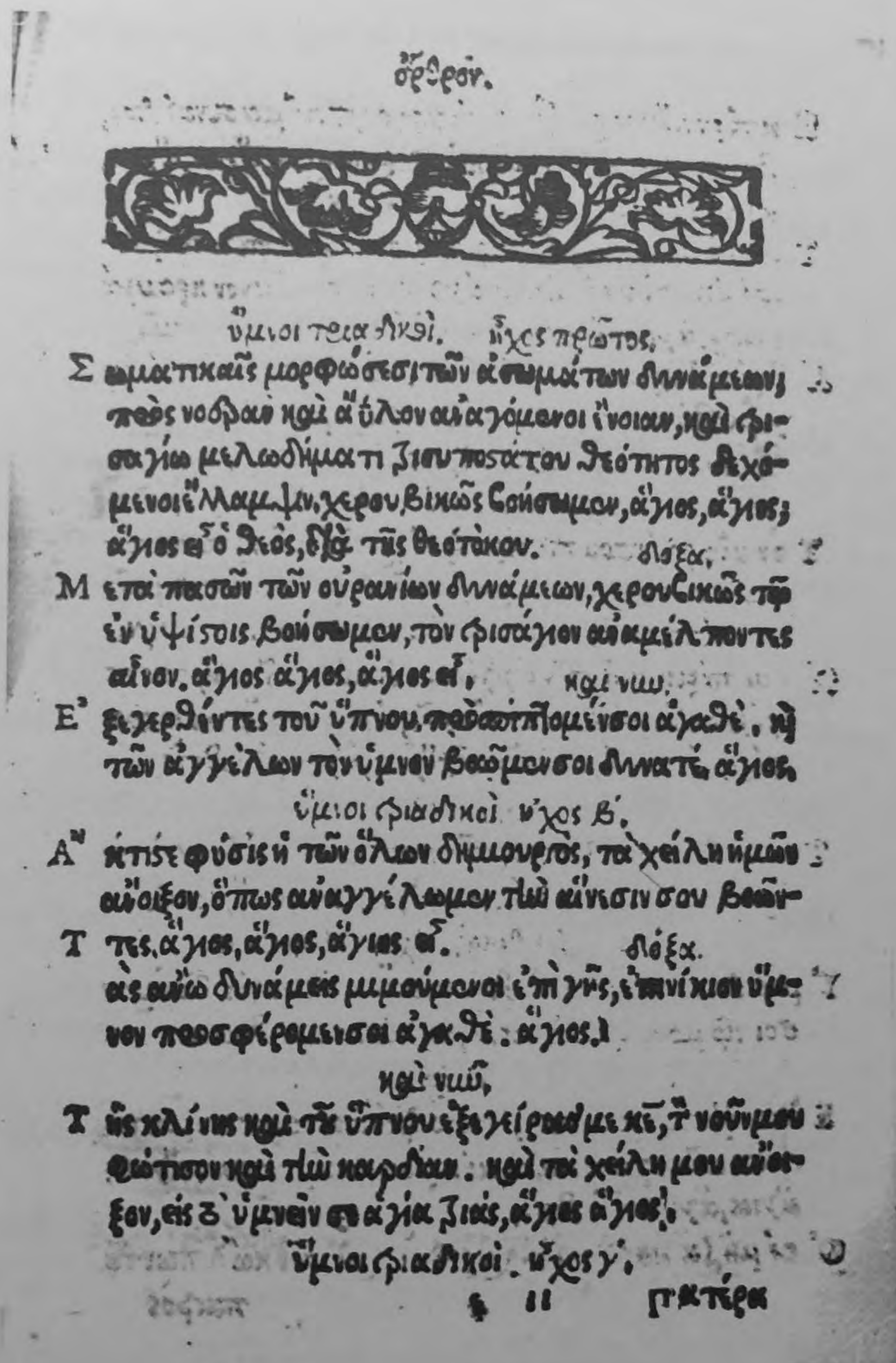


fig. 198

Greek books published by Giacomo Leoncini, 1560-1580:

- 1560 Εὐαγγέλιον (BH IV no. 599; LADAS no. 53) S. Verivelos
"παρὰ Ἰακώβου τοῦ Λιογκίνου"
- 1561 Βιβλίον Σεπτεμβρίου¹⁷
"Τύπος Κουνάδου"
- 1561 Ὁρολόγιον (PAPADOPOULOS II no. 210)
"παρὰ Ἰακώβου τοῦ Λεογκίνου"
- 1563 Ὁρολόγιον (BH IV no. 616) Gr. Malaxos
"Ἐτυπώθη...παρὰ Φραγκίσκου τοῦ Ῥαμπαζέτου. Ἀναλώμασι μὲν, Ἰακώβου τοῦ
Λεογκίνου"
- 1564 Αἶσωπος (UNIVERSITÄTSBIBLIOTHEK TÜBINGEN)
"παρὰ τοῦ Ἰακώβου Λεονκίνου"
- 1564 Ἄνθος τῶν Χαρίτων (BH IV no. 624)
"παρὰ Ἰακώβου Λεογκίνου"
- 1564 Ἀπολόνιος (BH IV no. 622)
"παρὰ τοῦ Ἰακώβου Λεονκίνου"
- 1564 Πένθος θανάτου (BH IV no. 623)
"παρὰ τοῦ Ἰακώβου Λεονκίνου"
- 1564 Ζ. Σκορδύλης, Περὶ τῶν τῆς συγγενείας βαθμῶν (BH II no. 142; FINAZZI no. 93)
"ἐν οἰκίᾳ Ἰακώβου τοῦ Λεονγκίνου"
- 1565? Δαμασκηνὸς Στουδίτης, Βιβλίον...Θησαυρός (PAPADOPOULOS II no. 1006)
Mark of G. Leoncini on the title page
- 1565 Ὀκτώηχος (BH II no. 143) S. Verivelos
"ἐγγὺς Ἰακώβου τοῦ Λεογκίνου"
- 1565 Πεντηκοστάριον (STUDIENBIBLIOTHEK DILLINGEN) S. Verivelos
As above
- 1565 Τριώδιον (BH II no. 144) S. Verivelos
As above
- 1566 Βιβλίον...Σεπτεμβρίου (BH IV no. 630; EISS III no. 4012) Gr. Malaxos
"αἰτήσῃ, κυρίου Ἰακώβου τοῦ Λεογκίνου"
- 1566 Βιβλίον...Ὀκτωβρίου (BH IV no. 631; EISS III no. 4012) Gr. Malaxos
As above
- 1566 Εὐχολόγιον (BH II no. 146=IV no. 632) S. Verivelos
"ἀναλώμασι δὲ κυρίου Ἰακώβου τοῦ Λεογκίνου"
- 1566-67 Βιβλίον...Νοεμβρίου (BH IV no. 639; EISS III no. 4012) Gr. Malaxos
"αἰτήσῃ, κυρίου Ἰακώβου τοῦ Λεογκίνου"

- 1567 Διήγησις...Βελισαρίου (LAYTON no. 26)
"παρὰ Ἰακώβου τοῦ Λεογκίνου"
- 1567 I. Καρτάνος, Τὸ παρὸν βιβλίον...παλαιά τε καὶ νέα διαθήκη (BH II no. 145=IV no. 641)
"Αἰτήσῃ κυρίου Ἰακώβου τοῦ λεογκίνου"
- 1568 Βιβλίον...Δεκεμβρίου (BH II no. 147=IV no. 656; EISS III no. 4012)
As above
- 1568 Δαμασκηνός Στουδίτης, Βιβλίον...Θησαυρός (BH IV no. 657)
As above
- 1568 Εἰρμολόγιον (BH II no. 148)
"παρὰ Ἰακώβου τοῦ Λεογκίνου"
- 1568-69 Βιβλίον...Ἰαννουαρίου (BH IV no. 662; EISS III no. 4012)
"αἰτήσῃ, κυρίου Ἰακώβου τοῦ Λεογκίνου"
- 1568-69 Βιβλίον...Φεβρουαρίου (BH IV no. 663; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 238; EISS III no. 4012)
"ἐν οἰκίᾳ κυρίου Ἰακώβου τοῦ Λεογκίνου"
- 1569 Βιβλίον...Μαρτίου (BH IV no. 664; EISS III no. 4012) I. Nathanael
"ἐν οἰκίᾳ κυρίου Ἰακώβου τοῦ Λεογκίνου"
- 1569 Βιβλίον...Ἀπριλλίου (BH IV no. 665; EISS III no. 4012) I. Nathanael
As above
- 1569 Βιβλίον...Μαΐου (BH IV no. 666; EISS III no. 4012) I. Nathanael
As above
- 1569 Βιβλίον...Ἰουνίου (BH IV no. 667; EISS III no. 4012) I. Nathanael
As above
- 1569 Βιβλίον...Ἰουλίου (BH IV no. 668; EISS III no. 4012) I. Nathanael
As above
- 1569 Βιβλίον...Αὐγούστου (BH IV no. 669; EISS III no. 4012) I. Nathanael
As above
- 1569 Ἀπόστολος (LADAS no. 64; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 236) I. Nathanael
As above
- 1569 Ἱστορία τῆς Σωσάννης (BH IV no. 672)
"αἰτήσῃ Ἰακώβου τοῦ Λεογκίνου"
- 1569 Ὁρολόγιον (PAPADOPOULOS II no. 237; EISS III no. 4006) S. Verivelos
"ἐγγὺς Ἰακώβου τοῦ λεογκίνου"
- 1569 Παρακλητική (PAPADOPOULOS II no. 239)¹⁸ I. Nathanael
Mark of Leoncini

- 1570 Δαμασκηνός Στουδίτης, Βιβλίον...Θησαυρός (BH II no. 151) Gr. Malaxos
"αἰτήσῃ κυρίου Ἰακώβου τοῦ λεογκίνου"
- 1570 Εὐχολόγιον (PAPADOPOULOS B no. 6) S. Verivelos
"ἀναλώμασι δὲ κυρίου Ἰακώβου τοῦ Λεογκίνου"
- 1573 Ἀπόστολος (ILIOU no. 14; LADAS no. 67)¹⁹ I. Nathanael
Title page: "ἐν οἰκίᾳ κυρίου Ἰακώβου τοῦ Λεογγίνου"
- 1573 Τριώδιον (BH IV no. 689) I. Nathanael & S. Verivelos
"παρὰ Ἰακώβω τῷ Λεογκίνω"
- 1574 Ὡρολόγιον (BH II no. 154) I. Nathanael
"παρὰ Ἰακώβω τῷ Λεογκίνω"
- 1574 Θεία Λειτουργία (BH II no. 268) I. Nathanael
"ἐν οἰκίᾳ μὲν Ἰακώβου τοῦ Λεογγίνου"
- 1574 Τριώδιον (ILIOU no. 12; LADAS no. 75)²⁰ S. Verivelos
"ἐγγὺς Ἰακώβου τοῦ Λεογκίνου"
- 1575 Ἱερὸν Εὐαγγέλιον (BH IV no. 700) Th. Logaras
"παρὰ Ἰακώβου τοῦ λεογκίνου"
- 1575 Πεντηκοστάριον (MANOUSAKAS no. 3; LADAS no. 69) S. Verivelos
"ἐγγὺς Ἰακώβου τοῦ λεογκίνου"
- 1575 Ζ. Σκορδύλης, Περὶ τῶν τῆς συγγενείας βαθμῶν (PAPADOPOULOS II no. 257)
"ἐν οἰκίᾳ Ἰακώβου τοῦ Λεογκίνου"
- 1577 Τυπικόν (BH II no. 270; PHOSKOLOS A no. 6; LADAS no. 71) Th. Logaras
"ἐν οἰκίᾳ Ἰακώβου τοῦ Λεογκίνου"
- 1578 Ἀπόστολος (ILIOU no. 14; LADAS no. 67) I. Nathanael
Title page: "ἐν οἰκίᾳ κυρίου Ἰακώβου τοῦ Λεογγίνου...1573"
Colophon: "ἐν οἰκίᾳ κυρίου Ἰακώβου τοῦ Λεογγίνου...1578"
- 1578 Θεῖαι Λειτουργίαι (BH II no. 157) Th. Logaras
"ἐν οἰκίᾳ Ἰακώβω τῷ Λεογγίνω"
- 1579? Ἀνθολόγιον (STOYANOV no. 52=A. Spinelli [sic])²¹
[Giacomo Leoncini?]
- 1579 Ὀκτώηχος (LADAS no. 73; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 260^a) Th. Logaras
"ἐγγὺς Ἰακώβου τοῦ Λεογκίνου"
- 1579 Πεντηκοστάριον (BH II no. 162; SKLAVENITES no. 5) S. Verivelos
Title page: "ἐγγὺς Ἰακώβου τοῦ Λεογκίνου...1565"
Colophon: "Apud Iacobum Leoncinum...1579"
- 1580 Παρακλητική (PAPADOPOULOS II no. 239)²² I. Nathanael
Title page: Mark of Giacomo Leoncini, 1580
Colophon: "ἐν οἰκίᾳ [κυρίου Ἰακώβου τοῦ Λεογκίνου]...1569"

- 1580 Τριώδιον (ILIOU no. 15; LADAS no. 75) I. Nathanael
 Title page: "παρὰ Ἰακώβω τῷ Λεονγκίνω...1580"
 Colophon: "ἐγγὺς Ἰακώβου τοῦ Λεονγκίνου...1574"

Books published by the partners of 1584-85, of which G. Leoncini was a member:²³

- 1584 Εἰρηολόγιον (BH II no. 169; FINAZZI no. 97)
 "ἐκ τῶν τύπων τοῦ Κουνάδου"
- 1584 Ὡρολόγιον (BH II no. 277; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 275)
 As above
- 1584 Ψαλτήριον (BEES I no. 616; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 274^a)
 "ἔτει τῷ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐνσάρκου οἰκονομίας"
- 1584 Θεῖαι Λειτουργίαι (BH II no. 276=IV no. 777)²⁴
 As above
- 1585 Ἀπόστολος (PAPADOPOULOS A no. 28)
 "ἐκ τῶν τύπων τοῦ Κουνάδου"
- 1585 Εὐχολόγιον (PHOSKOLOS A no. 9; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 276^a)
 As above

NOTES

- ¹ ASCARELLI, 209 (1564-1589); ASCARELLI-MENATO, 405 (1560-1580); BORSA I, 199 (1560-1580...1589); KONTOSOPOULOS, 299-300 (1560-1579); PASTORELLO no. 252 (1564-1589); STC, 869 (1563-1575).
- ² Venice. Museo Civico Correr. Ms. Cicogna 3044; see also H. F. BROWN, *The Venetian*, 408.
- ³ BH IV, 155-56 where the preface is reproduced.
- ⁴ P. F. GRENDLER, *The Roman Inquisition and the Venetian Press*, 177 and note 42.
- ⁵ For further information on the activities of these editors see also under their names in Part II.
- ⁶ Compare with PAPADOPOULOS II no. 1005.
- ⁷ Γ. ΚΕΧΑΓΙΟΓΛΟΥ, Τρεῖς ἀβιβλιογράφητες ἐκδόσεις, 464-65, 470.
- ⁸ Venice. Archivio di Stato. Senato Terra. Filza 40, May 25, 1564.
- ⁹ See also under Cristoforo Zanetti in Part. II.
- ¹⁰ Only (λ4^r-π3^v) of the 1578 edition of the liturgies was printed with this font. Folios α-λ3^v were printed with K no. 1.
- ¹¹ Σ. Ε. ΚΑΚΛΑΜΑΝΗΣ, Ἀρχεiacές μαρτυρίες, 604.
- ¹² For Giacomo Leoncini's mark, see also LADAS, 56. VACCARO no. 383 has assigned quite a different mark to Leoncini which has never been used in his Greek imprints.
- ¹³ E. LAYTON, Notes on Some Printers, 128-31.
- ¹⁴ Κ. Δ. ΜΕΡΤΖΙΟΣ, Λουκᾶς Σουγδουρής, 1-14.
- ¹⁵ Κ. Δ. ΜΕΡΤΖΙΟΣ, Λουκᾶς Σουγδουρής, 6-8.
- ¹⁶ These were the nicknames of Francesco Giuliani and of his son Baldissera. See also under Francesco Giuliani in Part II.
- ¹⁷ From a brief description in Π. Δ. ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΑΚΗΣ, Ἡ λαϊκὴ βιβλιοθήκη Καλαμῶν, *Μεσσηνιακὰ γράμματα*, 1(1956)402, it appears almost certain that this is a Leoncini imprint.
- ¹⁸ Edition not extant. Known from 1569-1580 edition.

¹⁹ Edition not extant. Known from 1573-1578 edition.

²⁰ Edition not extant. Known from 1574-1580 edition.

²¹ See Part I, Chapter III note 82.

²² The only surviving copy is imperfect. PAPADOPOULOS II no. 239, assigned this edition to Hippolytos Valeris: ...ἐν οἰκίᾳ [Ἱππολίτου Βαλέριδος, διορθώσει] κυρίου ...λαχίστου [ιερέως Ἰωάννου Ναθανα]ήλου τοῦ καὶ κήρυ[κος]...ἐ[ν]σάρκου οἰκονομ[ίας] 1569. However, the colophon, should read: "ἐν οἰκίᾳ [κυρίου Ἰακώβου τοῦ Λεογκίνου. ἀναλώμασι μὲν τοῖς αὐτοῦ. πόνῳ δὲ καὶ ἐπιμελείᾳ πλείστη διορθωθὲν παρὰ τοῦ ἐν ἱερεῦσιν ἐλα]χίστου [Ἰωάννου τοῦ Ναθανα]ήλου τοῦ καὶ κήρυ[κος] τοῦ εὐαγγελίου..." See colophons of *Menaia*, 1569 (BH IV nos. 664-669). Ioannes Nathanael worked as editor/corrector both for Hippolytos Valeris and G. Leoncini. Hippolytos Valeris ceased publishing in 1571 and, at any rate, the work displays the mark of Leoncini on its title page.

²³ The other partners were Angelo and Giambattista Zaguri, Antonio Gemelli, and Loukas Sougdouris.

²⁴ LADAS no. 83 mentions an *Evangelion*, 1584, which may or may not belong to this group.

Theophanes Logaras, fl. 1573-1581

NOTHING is known about the life and activities of Theophanes Logaras¹ before 1573, when, on June 29, he became one of two *hieromonachoi* — the other was Gabriel Severos, later Metropolitan of Philadelphia — who were elected to be priests of San Giorgio dei Greci in Venice.² It seems that Theophanes Logaras was elected to fill the post previously held by Nikolaos Malaxos, who had left for Crete.³ From 1575 until his death in 1581, Theophanes Logaras edited and corrected a number of liturgical books for various publishers. A little more information about him can be gleaned from the colophons of the books he edited, mainly that he was from Cyprus. On the title page of a *Typikon*, 1577 (BH II no. 270), there is the statement that he held the title of Πρωτοσύγγελλος (Canon). Scholars have speculated that he probably came to Venice after the fall of Cyprus to the Turks in 1571, which appears to be correct. It has been suggested that he was probably a member of the noble family of Logaras of Lapethos, but this too is not documented.⁴

Further information about Theophanes Logaras comes to light in his will, written in Venice on 23 December 1579.⁵ At the time the will was written Theophanes Logaras still held the post of priest of San Giorgio dei Greci, which leads us to deduce that he had been re-elected to the post in 1575 and again in 1579, as the post of priest at San Giorgio dei Greci was for only two or three years at a time. Among a number of provisions in the will, Logaras made bequests to two churches in Cyprus, the church of the Virgin of Kilani, and the church of Saint Mavra. The church of Saint Mavra is situated about two miles from the village of Kilani in the district of Limassol.⁶ Thus it is possible that Logaras was either from Kilani or had served in the area in some capacity as a priest of the autocephalus Greek Orthodox Church of Cyprus.

The bulk of his estate was left to his sister Loukia, who was a resident of Venice at the time his will was made. However, Logaras stipulated that, should any of his missing brothers turn up alive and if they were still of the Orthodox Christian faith, his sister was to turn over to them a sum of money specified in the will. At the time of Theophanes Logaras's death in 1581, only one of his brothers had been located; it is not clear whether or not he was able to go to Venice to collect his inheritance. The executors of Logaras's will had set a limit of ten years from the time of his death, after which time the will was to be probated.⁷

Between 1575 and 1581, Theophanes Logaras edited and corrected a number of liturgical books, eleven of which have been recorded thus far.⁸ He edited books for the publisher Giacomo Leoncini and for the printer Cristoforo Zanetti, both well known among members of the Greek community for their publications of ecclesiastical works. He also edited a *Psalterion*, 1578 (BH II no. 159), published at the expense of Antonios Verghis, a wealthy member of the Greek community of Venice.⁹

1575 Ἱερὸν Εὐαγγέλιον (BH II no. 155; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 256) C. Zanetti
"ἐπιμελεία δὲ πολλῇ Θεοφάνους ἱερομονάχου λογαρᾶ τοῦ κυπρίου"

1575 Ἱερὸν Εὐαγγέλιον (BH IV no. 700; EISS III no. 3999) G. Leoncini
"ἀνεθεωρήθη δὲ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ Θεοφάνους ἱερομονάχου κυπρίου λογαρᾶ. ἐπιμελεία τε πολλῇ καὶ ἐπιδιορθώσει, ὡς τὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῶν ῥωμαίων ἔθος"

- 1575 Θεῖαι Λειτουργίαι (LADAS no. 68)¹⁰ C. Zanetti
"διορθωθείσων παρὰ Θεοφάνους Ἱερομονάχου Κυπρίου Λογαρᾶ"
- 1577 Τυπικόν (BH II no. 270; PHOSKOPLOS A no. 6; LADAS no. 71)¹¹ G. Leoncini
"ἐπιμελεία δὲ πολλῇ καὶ ἐπιδιορθώσει, κυροῦ Θεοφάνους Ἱερομονάχου, λογαρᾶ, τοῦ κυπρίου, καὶ πρωτοσυγγέλλου"
- 1578 Ἀνθολόγιον (ILIOU no. 13; LADAS no. 72; EISS III no. 3992) C. Zanetti
"δεξιότητι δὲ καὶ Ἐπιδιορθώσει, Θεοφάνους Ἱερομονάχου τοῦ κυπρίου"
- 1578 Ψαλτήριον (BH II no. 159; EISS III no. 4020=1576 [sic]) A. Verghis
"ἐπιμελεία δὲ καὶ ἐπιδιορθώσει, Θεοφάνους Ἱερομονάχου λογαρᾶ, τοῦ κυπρίου"
- 1578 Θεῖαι Λειτουργίαι (BH II no. 157)¹² G. Leoncini
As above
- 1579 Ὀκτώηχος (LADAS no. 73; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 260^a)¹³ G. Leoncini
"ἐπιμελεία τε καὶ ἐπιδιορθώσει Θεοφάνους Ἱερομονάχου, λογαρᾶ, τοῦ κυπρίου"
- 1580 Εὐχολόγιον (BEES I no. 127) C. Zanetti
"ἐπιμελεία δὲ & ἀναγκαιωτάτῃ ἐπιδιορθώσει ἔν τε ταῖς ἱεραῖς λειτουργίαις & ἐν ἄλλοις πολλοῖς θεοφάνους Ἱερομονάχου τοῦ κυπρίου"
- 1580 Θεῖαι Λειτουργίαι (PAPADOPOULOS II no. 263bis) C. Zanetti
"διορθωθείσων παρὰ θεοφάνους Ἱερομονάχου κυπρίου λογαρᾶ"
- 1581 Ἱερὸν Εὐαγγέλιον (BH II no. 273; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 266) C. Zanetti
"ἐπιμελεία δὲ πολλῇ θεοφάνους Ἱερομονάχου λογαρᾶ τοῦ κυπρίου"

NOTES

¹ SATHAS, 232; I. ΒΕΛΟΥΔΗΣ, Ἑλλήνων Ὁρθοδόξων, 180; I. Α. Γ. ΣΥΚΟΥΤΡΗΣ, Ἐκθεσις τῆς κριτικῆς ἐπιτροπείας τοῦ Α' φιλολογικοῦ διαγωνισμοῦ τῆς Α. Μ. τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Κύπρου Κ. Κ. Κυρίλλου Βασιλείου τοῦ ἀπὸ Κερυνείας: Ἱστορία τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν γραμμάτων ἐν Κύπρῳ ἀπὸ τῆς τουρκικῆς κατακτῆσεως μέχρι τῆς ἀγγλικῆς κατοχῆς (1571-1878), 112-15. Α. ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ, Τὰ ἑλληνικὰ γράμματα ἐν Κύπρῳ κατὰ τὴν περίοδον τῆς Τουρκοκρατίας (1571-1878), II, 43-45. ΚΟΝΤΟΣΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, 315; Ε. ΚΟΥΚΚΟΥ, Ἡ Ὁρθόδοξος μονὴ εὐγενῶν Ἑλληνίδων Βενετίας (1599-1829). Ἀθῆναι, 1965, 20 note 56; Κ. Π. ΚΥΡΡΗΣ, Κύπριοι λόγιοι τῆς Ἑνετίας κατὰ τοὺς XVI^{ον} καὶ XVII^{ον} αἰῶνες, Δελτίον Ὁμίλου Παιδαγωγικῶν Ἐρευνῶν Κύπρου, 6, no. 11-12(1967) 92 no. 29; Κ. ΚΥΡΡΗΣ, The noble family of Logaras of Lapethos, Cyprus: Some New Information About their Careers, Activities and Landed Properties, *Rivista di studi bizantini e neoellenici*, n.s. 4(1967)118-19; Κ. Π. ΚΥΡΡΗΣ, Cypriote Scholars in Venice in the XVI and XVII Centuries with Some Notes on the Cypriote Community in Venice and Other Cypriote Scholars who Lived in Rome and the Rest of Italy in the Same Period, Ὁ Ἑλληνισμὸς εἰς τὸ ἐξωτερικόν. *Über Beziehungen des Griechentums zum Ausland in der neueren Zeit*. J. Irmscher & M. Mineemi, eds. Berlin, 1968, 220 no. 51, 267 note 198; Κ. Δ. ΜΕΡΤΖΙΟΣ, Θεοφάνης Λογαρᾶς ὁ Κύπριος, Ἡπειρωτικὴ Ἑστία, 19(1970)668-70; Κ. ΧΑΤΖΗΨΑΛΤΗΣ, Τὸ ἐν Ἑλλάδι καὶ Κύπρῳ οἰκογενειακὸν ὄνομα Λογαρᾶς κατὰ τὴν βυζαντινὴν καὶ μεταβυζαντινὴν περίοδον, Ἐπετηρὶς τοῦ Κέντρου Ἐπιστημονικῶν Ἐρευνῶν, 6(1972-73)150-57.

² I. ΒΕΛΟΥΔΗΣ, Ἑλλήνων Ὁρθοδόξων, 180.

³ Κ. Δ. ΜΕΡΤΖΙΟΣ, Περὶ Νικολάου Μαλαξοῦ, πρωτοπαπᾶ Ναυπλίου, ἐφημερίου τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Κοινότητος Βενετίας. Ὁ βίος καὶ τὰ ἔργα, *Στάχυς*, 6-7(1966)79; however, see also Π. Π. ΠΕΤΡΗΣ, Νικόλαος Μαλαξός, πρωτοπαπᾶς Ναυπλίου (1500 ci.- 1594), *Πελοποννησιακά*, 3/4(1958/59)365, who says that it was Gabriel Severos who was elected in the place of Nikolaos Malaxos.

⁴ Κ. Π. ΚΥΡΡΗΣ, Κύπριοι λόγιοι, 92; see also his *The Noble Family of Logaras*, 118.

⁵ Κ. ΧΑΤΖΗΨΑΛΤΗΣ, Τὸ ἐν Ἑλλάδι, 153-56 where the text of the will in Italian and a Greek translation are given; see also Κ. Δ. ΜΕΡΤΖΙΟΣ, Θεοφάνης Λογαράς, 669-70.

⁶ On the village of Kilani and its churches, see R. Gunnis, *Historic Cyprus*. 2. ed. London, 1947, 270-72. See also Κ. Χατζηψάλτης, Τὸ ἐν Ἑλλάδι, 157.

⁷ J. BALL, *The Greek Community*, 203 and note 46.

⁸ Κ. Ρ. ΚΥΡΡΙΣ, Cypriote Scholars in Venice, 220 no. 51 and in his Κύπριοι λόγιοι, 92, mentions that Theophanes Logaras was active in editing ecclesiastical publications between 1560 and 1581. An extensive search in existing bibliographies yielded no citations before 1575.

⁹ See also under Antonios Verghis in Part II.

¹⁰ Brief description taken from an imperfect copy described by Π. ΛΑΜΠΡΟΣ, Βιβλιακά, Πανδώρα, 9(1858)246.

¹¹ See also Ν. ΒΕΗΣ, Χειρόγραφα καὶ παλαιότυπα τοῦ Ἁγίου Νικολάου Τρικκάλων, Ἑπετηρὶς Μεσαιωνικοῦ Ἀρχείου, 12(1962)20 no. 19. This work is a reprint of the 1545 edition of the *Typonikon* edited by Andronikos Noukios.

¹² This edition of the liturgies is based on the one edited by D. Doukas printed in Rome in 1526.

¹³ See also PH. MEYER, *Die Theologische Litteratur*, 141.

Gregorios Malaxos, fl. 1540-1601

THE younger brother of Nikolaos Malaxos, Gregorios Malaxos belonged to an old and prominent family of Nauplia.¹ Little is known about his early life and activities. He left Nauplia after its fall to the Turks in November 1540 and, along with his brother Nikolaos and the latter's wife and children, escaped to Crete. While Nikolaos went on to Venice, Gregorios stayed in Crete with his brother's family. On 31 January 1548, he was accorded a yearly income of 42 ducats paid from funds at the disposal of the chancery of the Duke of Crete. Obviously, this was done to recompense him for some of the losses he suffered in Nauplia, which had been a Venetian possession until 1540. How long Gregorios remained in Crete is not known, but it seems to have been long enough for him to have made himself known and respected by the Venetian authorities of the island. He and his brother Nikolaos were knighted in 1560 for their services to Crete. Later, on September 1566, the Venetian Senate ratified the decision of the Duke of Crete to accord them the honor.² It is not known when Gregorios Malaxos first went to Venice. His name appears for the first time in the archives of the Greek Brotherhood of Venice in January 1552. He became an active member of the Greek community and was elected to office in various capacities. In 1554, he sponsored his widowed sister Phrosyne Lazarou Varvate for membership in the Brotherhood. In 1563, he was a member of the *Zonta*, and, in 1564, he was elected member of the *Banca*. His name also appears in the Brotherhood's archives in the years 1575, 1577, 1583, 1584, 1593, 1595, and 1597.³

Gregorios Malaxos was very active as a diplomatic agent for the Venetian government during its wars with Turkey, especially during the war of 1570. The Venetian government sent him to various parts of Greece, especially the Peloponnese, to gather information about the mood of the Greeks under Turkish occupation and to find out whether they might be persuaded to revolt against the Turks. In his report dated 7 April 1570 and submitted to the Council of Ten, Malaxos said that it was most unlikely that the Greeks of the Peloponnese would rise against the Turks, because they feared that to live under Venetian rule or under any other European Catholic power would make them lose their Orthodoxy and would force them to embrace Catholicism. Malaxos suggested to the Council of Ten that the government of Venice contact the Patriarch of Constantinople⁴ and assure him that this would not happen. He also urged the government to restore the office of Metropolitan in its Greek possessions. Another reason, according to Malaxos, that the Greeks would hesitate to revolt was that too many times they had been abandoned by western powers and left to bear the bitter consequences, enduring cruel retaliation by the Turks. He reminded the authorities of what happened during the campaign of Andrea Doria some forty years earlier.⁵ It appears that the Venetian Senate took Malaxos's suggestions seriously, for on 18 April 1570, the Council of Ten voted to contact the Patriarch. They wrote him a letter, which was sent to him via Moscow and the Tsar of Russia. They also sent him, again at the suggestion of Gregorios Malaxos, a message by word of mouth entrusted to none other than Emmanouel Glyzounis.⁶

Gregorios Malaxos, like his brother Nikolaos, was also a writer. However, we know almost nothing about this phase of his life beyond the fact that, on 24 February 1571 (Venetian year), the

Riformatori dello Studio di Padova reported to the Council of Ten that a work submitted for publication by Gregorios Malaxos, entitled "Le gratie rese al Signor Dio et alla Beata uergine" for the naval victory of the Venetians in Lepanto, had been approved for publication. On February 27 of the same year, Malaxos received permission from the Council of Ten to print his work.⁷ It is not known if the work was ever published, for no copies have survived.

Between trips to the eastern Mediterranean to carry out his duties as an agent for the Venetian government, Gregorios Malaxos, when in Venice, edited and corrected a number of liturgical editions for a number of Italian printers and publishers. Like his brother before him, he worked for Andrea Spinelli and edited/corrected a series of *Menaia* that were reprints of the editions originally prepared for Spinelli by his brother Nikolaos. When Spinelli ceased his publishing activities, Gregorios Malaxos edited a number of works for Giacomo Leoncini, and then for Zuan Batista Tauroceni, and finally for Giovanni Aliprandi. Nothing is known of his activities after 1586. He died in Venice on 9 April 1601 at the age of eighty after an illness of four months. His death is recorded in the necrologies of the Archivio Parrocchiale of Santa Maria Formosa.⁸

Books edited by Gregorios Malaxos, 1558-1586:

- | | |
|---------|--|
| 1558 | Βιβλίον...Μαρτίου (BH II no. 252) A. Spinelli
"Ἐπιμελεία δὲ Γρηγορίου τοῦ μαλαξοῦ" |
| 1558 | Βιβλίον...Ἀπριλλίου (BH II no. 253) A. Spinelli
As above |
| 1558 | Βιβλίον...Μαΐου (BH II no. 254) A. Spinelli
As above |
| 1558 | Αἱ ἀνίκουσαι...ἰουνίῳ μηνί (BH II no. 255) A. Spinelli
As above |
| 1558 | Βιβλίον...ἰουλίῳ μηνί (BH II no. 256) A. Spinelli
As above |
| 1558 | Βιβλίον... αὐγούστῳ μηνί (BH II no. 257) A. Spinelli
As above |
| 1563 | Ὁρολόγιον (BH IV no. 616) Fr. Rampazetto for G. Leoncini
As above |
| 1566 | Βιβλίον τοῦ Σεπτεμβρίου (BH IV no. 630; EISS III no. 4012) G. Leoncini
"μετ' ἐπιμελείας, Γρηγορίου τοῦ μαλαξοῦ" |
| 1566 | Βιβλίον τοῦ Ὀκτωβρίου (BH IV no. 631; EISS III no. 4012) G. Leoncini
As above |
| 1566-67 | Βιβλίον τοῦ Νοεμβρίου (BH IV no. 639; EISS III no. 4012) G. Leoncini
As above |
| 1568 | Δαμασκηνὸς Στουδίτης, Βιβλίον...Θησαυρός (BH IV no. 657) ⁹ G. Leoncini
As above |

- 1570 Δαμασκηνὸς Στουδίτης, Βιβλίον...Θησαυρός (BH II no. 151) G. Leoncini
As above
- 1581 Μὴν Ὀκτώβριος (BH IV no. 751; LADAS no. 76) Z. B. Tauroceni
"Ἐπιμελεία δὲ καὶ ἐπιδιορθώσει, Γρηγορίου τοῦ μαλαξοῦ"
- 1581 Μὴν Νοέμβριος (BH IV no. 752) Z. B. Tauroceni
As above
- 1581 Μὴν Δεκέμβριος (STOYANOV no. 56)
As above
- 1582 Μὴν ὁ Δεκέμβριος (BH IV no. 759; LADAS no. 78; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 271)
Z. B. Tauroceni
As above
- 1582 Μὴν Ἰαννουάριος (BH IV no. 757) Z. B. Tauroceni
As above
- 1582 Μὴν Φεβρουάριος (BH IV no. 758) Z. B. Tauroceni
As above
- 1584 Ἀπόστολος (BH IV no. 778) Z. B. Tauroceni
As above
- 1584 Ὁρολόγιον (UNIVERSITÄTSBIBLIOTHEK TÜBINGEN) Z. B. Tauroceni
As above
- 1584 Μὴν Μάρτιος (BH IV no. 779) Z. B. Tauroceni
As above
- 1584 Ὀκτώηχος (BH II no. 170) Z. B. Tauroceni
As above
- 1584-86 Ὁρολόγιον (BH II no. 172=IV no. 780) G. Aliprandi
As above
- 1586 Ἱερὸν Εὐαγγέλιον (ILIOU no. 21; EISS III no. 4000) G. Aliprandi
As above

NOTES

¹ K. SATHAS, 186; KONTOSOPOULOS, 313-14; PH. MEYER, *Die theologische Litteratur*, 140; Φ. ΜΑΥΡΟΕΙΔΗ, *Συμβολή*, 88, 101-02; Z. N. ΤΣΙΡΠΑΝΛΗΣ, *Τὸ κληροδότημα*, 161 and note 3, 162-163 and note 4; I. K. ΧΑΣΙΩΤΗΣ, *Οἱ Ἕλληνες*, 124-33, especially 124 note 3.

² K. Δ. ΜΕΡΤΖΙΟΣ, *Περὶ Νικολάου Μαλαξοῦ*, 70-71, 76-77.

³ Φ. ΜΑΥΡΟΕΙΔΗ, *Συμβολή*, 101-02.

⁴ At that time, the Patriarch of Constantinople was Metrophanes III, see M. I. ΓΕΔΕΩΝ, *Πατριαρχικοὶ πίνακες*. Ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, 1885-90, 515-18; Β. Θ. ΣΤΑΥΡΙΔΗΣ, *Ἱστορία τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριαρχείου*, 157.

⁵ Some of the reports of Gregorios Malaxos can be found in V. LAMANSKI, *Secrets d' État de Venise*, 078-089; see also Z. N. ΤΣΙΡΠΑΝΛΗΣ, *Τὸ κληροδότημα*, 160-61; I. K. ΧΑΣΙΩΤΗΣ, *Οἱ Ἑλληνες*, 125-27.

⁶ V. LAMANSKI, *Secrets*, 078-081 nos. 23 and 24; I. K. ΧΑΣΙΩΤΗΣ, *Οἱ Ἑλληνες*, 125-34; Z. N. ΤΣΙΡΠΑΝΛΗΣ, *Τὸ κληροδότημα*, 161-64. For further information, see also under E. Glyzounis in Part II.

⁷ Ν. Π. ΠΑΝΑΓΙΩΤΑΚΗΣ, Νικόλαος Παπαδόπουλος, 130 note 45 and 152 no. 6, where the text of the report of the Riformatori dello Studio di Padova is given; see also K. Δ. ΜΕΡΤΖΙΟΣ, *Ὁκτὼ ἄδειαι*, 180.

⁸ See Φ. ΜΑΥΡΟΕΙΔΗ, *Συμβολή*, 102 note 8, for the citation from the Archivio Parrocchiale. Necrologi of Santa Maria Formosa: "Adi 9 april 1601, miser Gregorio Malaxo da Napoli di Romania de anni 80 in corpo amala-to mesi quattro d'asma."

⁹ The only surviving copy of an earlier edition, c. 1565, of this work, lacking the colophon, was probably also edited by Gregorios Malaxos

Nikolaos Malaxos, d. 1587?

NIKOLAOS MALAXOS was born in Nauplia at the end of the fifteenth or at the very beginning of the sixteenth century.¹ His place of birth is known from Malaxos himself, who reveals this in a lamentation on the fall of Nauplia to the Turks. It is also mentioned in his other writings as well.² Malaxos's father, Stavrakis, was a priest and sexton in Nauplia, and one of his brothers, Gregorios, was editor/corrector of many liturgical books printed in Venice between 1558 and 1586. Nikolaos and Gregorios Malaxos were closely related to Manouel Malaxos (d. 1581), the author of the *Nomokanon*. Perhaps they were first cousins, but not brothers, as some earlier scholars had maintained. Nikolaos Malaxos spent some time in Constantinople in order to further his studies. One of his teachers was Antonios Karmalis, or Karmalikes, who later became the *Μέγας Ῥήτωρ* of the Patriarchal Academy, the *Μεγάλη τοῦ Γένους Σχολή*. Upon his return to Nauplia after the completion of his studies, Nikolaos was married to the daughter of a priest from Nauplia.³ In 1538, he was ordained Protopapas of Nauplia, the highest ecclesiastical office allowed by the Venetian government to the Orthodox clergy, the position and rank of Metropolitan having been abolished by the Venetian authorities. Nikolaos Malaxos was not to enjoy this position for long. Since 14 September 1537, Nauplia had been under siege by the Turks, and it finally fell on 21 November 1540.⁴

Under the treaty signed between Venice and Turkey, any of the inhabitants who wished to leave were permitted to do so, and indeed, many of them left for other Venetian possessions in the eastern Mediterranean. Most of them settled in Crete or Corfu, both under Venetian rule at the time. Nikolaos Malaxos, his wife, and children, along with his brother Gregorios, left Nauplia for Crete. It is not clear if Nikolaos Malaxos stopped in Crete with the rest of the family and then immediately left for Venice, or if the family, under the protection of his brother Gregorios, went to Crete while Nikolaos went to Venice, stopping on his way in Corfu. At any rate, Nikolaos Malaxos was in Venice in 1541.⁵ During this first stay in Venice, Malaxos earned a living by copying manuscripts and became a member of the scriptorium of Guillaume Pellicier, Bishop of Montpellier (1529-1568), who was the French ambassador to Venice and had various Greek scribes copying Greek manuscripts for him on behalf of his sovereign, François I of France.⁶ Another source of income was obtained as editor and corrector of a series of liturgical books for Andrea Spinelli, beginning with a series of *Menaia* that began appearing in 1548. Malaxos also tried to obtain the position of chaplain at San Giorgio dei Greci in Venice. However, he was unsuccessful in his efforts, although there is evidence that he used to preach from the pulpit of Saint George regularly.⁷ In 1547, Nikolaos Malaxos accompanied Metrophanes, Archbishop of Caesaria (later Patriarch Metrophanes III), to Rome on a visit to Pope Paul III. Metrophanes was at this time Exarch to Patriarch Dionysios II and had been sent to Venice by the Patriarch to settle various affairs affecting the Greek Brotherhood and Greek church in Venice.⁸

It seems that the money Malaxos earned from the activities described above were not nearly enough for his and his family's needs. In 1549, he decided to go to Crete to join his family and see if he could not do better there. Perhaps this decision was reinforced by the fact that, in November 1547, in order to compensate him for the loss of his church and other official duties in

Nauplia, the Venetian authorities assigned to him the administration and revenues of the church of Saint Demetrios of Perati in Herakleion in Crete. However, this was to occur only after the church became free from its present incumbent. For one reason or another, Nikolaos Malaxos was never able to receive the revenues of the church or to officiate in it.⁹ Malaxos stayed in Crete for about three years and then returned to Venice in 1552 to try to earn a living there. While he was in Crete, he prepared the editions of six *Menaia*, which were published by Andrea Spinelli and were corrected during Malaxos's absence from Venice by Vasileios Valeris of Corfu. However, it is known from two sources that it was definitely Nikolaos Malaxos who was primarily responsible for the preparation of the *Menaia*, i.e., for finding the appropriate manuscripts and preparing them for the press. In the preface of the *Menaia* written by Ioannes Mindonios, Malaxos is given credit for the edition "Νικόλαον τὸν Μαλαξόν, πρωτοπαπᾶν Ναυπλίου, ὅστις πάσῃ ἐπιμελείᾳ αὐτὰς ἐν Κρήτῃ διώρθωκε."¹⁰

In 1553, Nikolaos Malaxos was elected for a period of two years as one of the two regular priests of Saint George of the Greeks. On 16 April 1553, he was granted official permission and leave of absence to go to Crete to bring his family to Venice.¹¹ Vasileios Valeris was elected by the Greek Brotherhood in August 1554 to replace Malaxos while the latter was in Crete, and it appears that he also replaced him as editor/corrector with Andrea Spinelli. His name appears in the colophons of the *Menaia* printed by Spinelli and originally prepared for the press by Nikolaos Malaxos.¹² It is not known if and when Malaxos returned from Crete and whether he brought his family with him. The only mention that he was in Venice comes from a preface written by him in a *Parakletike* printed in 1559/60 (BH I no. 137; LADAS no. 51). Malaxos was back in Crete in 1566, when the Venetian Senate knighted him and his brother Gregorios for their services to the Republic.¹³ He returned to Venice in 1572, where he again tried to procure one of the positions as priest of Saint George. He was elected to the post in June 1572 to serve for the customary period of two years, but he again left for Crete and although he was supposed to return after a year's absence, his name no longer appears in the archives of the Greek Brotherhood. He apparently remained in Crete and was still there in July 1575.¹⁴

It is not at all clear where Nikolaos Malaxos spent the last years of his life. Opinions differ. According to Nikolaos Katrames,¹⁵ he spent the last years of his life and died in Zakynthos before 1594, that being the year in which N. Malaxos's son, Stavrakis, turned over the administration of the church of Hagios Ioannes Prodromos in Zakynthos. However, a new document published recently reveals that it was not his son Stavrakis but his son Demetrios, also a priest, who administered the church for his father and turned it over to the ecclesiastical authorities when the church became eligible again for an incumbency on or before 1588.¹⁶ According to K. D. Mertzios, Nikolaos Malaxos died in Crete in 1587.¹⁷

Nikolaos Malaxos was a prolific church writer. He left works scattered in various codices, which include histories of the lives and martyrdom of saints, works explaining the liturgy, *akolouthies*, hymns, canons, *stichera*, *kontakia*, poetry, and letters. Very few of his works were printed during the sixteenth century. A few appeared in print as part of the liturgical editions. There are some *stichera* hymns in the *Menaion* of March, 1548 (MANOUSAKAS no. 1; PHOSKOLOS B no. 2), a *kontakion* to Saint Symeon in the *Menaion* of April 1548 (MANOUSAKAS no. 2; PHOSKOLOS B no. 3), and an *akolouthia* and hymns in the *Menaion* of February 1551-52 (BH II no. 242; PHOSKOLOS B no. 4). Hymns (*prosomia*) and an *akolouthia* are included in the *Pentekostarion* of 1575 (MANOUSAKAS no. 3).¹⁸

Nikolaos Malaxos served as the main editor and consultant to the publisher Andrea Spinelli. Although his name does not always appear in the publications he prepared for the press, it is known from other sources that he was working for Spinelli even when he was absent from Venice and was residing in Crete. His duties with the publishing firm included finding manuscripts and establishing the texts. Most of the editing and correcting while the work was in press was done by Vasileios Valeris, a fellow priest of San Giorgio dei Greci and also a scribe. In fact, during Malaxos's first sojourn in Crete (1549-1552), after his first visit to Venice, Vasileios Valeris and his brothers sent Malaxos a box containing books for Malaxos to sell on their behalf in Crete.¹⁹ For the most part, the works prepared by Nikolaos Malaxos for Andrea Spinelli mention him by name only in the prefaces and at times not at all.

Books prepared for publication by Nikolaos Malaxos, 1548-1575:

- 1548? Ἀνθολόγιον (EISS 3991=155-)
A2^r: "Νικόλαος ἱερεὺς ὁ Μαλαξός, πρωτοπαπᾶς Ναυπλίου τοῖς ἀπανταχοῦ γῆς ἐκ τοῦ τῶν γραικῶν γένοις εὐσεβέσι χριστιανοῖς, ἱερομένοις ἅμα καὶ λαϊκοῖς, ἐν κῶ χαίρειν."
- 1548 Στιχηρά...Μαρτίῳ (BH I no. 121; MANOUSAKAS no. 1; PHOSKOLOS B no. 2)
Preface of Antonios Eparchos: "Ἐτι δὲ πόνων οὐκ ἐφείσατο, οὔτε δαπάνης, λαβὼν ἐπὶ πᾶσι συλλήπτορα καὶ τὸν εὐλαβῇ τοῦ Ναυπλίου πρωτοπαπᾶν Νικόλαον τὸν Μαλαξόν, ἄνδρα θεοσεβῇ καὶ τὰ θεῖα ἄκρως πεπαιδευμένον· ὅστις, διεφθορότων τῶν πρωτοτύπων, ἐπληρωθῶσατο πάντα καὶ εἰς τὸ ὑγιέστατον ἀποκατέστησε"
- 1548 Στιχηρά...Ἀπριλίῳ (MANOUSAKAS no. 2; PHOSKOLOS B no. 3)
As above
- 1548 Στιχηρά...Μαΐῳ (BH III no. 484; LADAS no. 41)
As above
- 1548 Στιχηρά...Ἰουνίῳ (BH III no. 485)
As above
- 1548 Στιχηρά...Ἰουλίῳ (BH III no. 486)
As above
- 1549 Στιχηρά...Ἰουνίῳ (BH III no. 494)
As above
- 1549 Στιχηρά...Αὐγούστῳ (BH III no. 495)
As above
- 1549 Ὁκτώηχος (BH I no. 124)
See note 21
- 1549 Ὡρολόγιον (BH III no. 496)
See note 21
"Πασχάλιον ἐτῶν τριάκοντα, ἀρχόμενον ἀπὸ Χριστοῦ, ἔτη χιλιοστῷ πεντακοσιοστῷ πεντηκοστῷ· ποίημα Βασιλείου ἱερέως τοῦ Βαλέριδος"

- 1550 Ἀπόστολος (BH I no. 125)
See note 21
- 1550 Ἱερὸν Εὐαγγέλιον (BH I no. 127)
See note 21
- 1551 Μὴν Σεπτέμβριος (BH IV no. 516)²⁰
Preface by Ioannes Mindonios: "...καὶ Νικόλαον τὸν Μαλαξὸν, πρωτοπαπᾶν Ναυπλίου, ὅστις πάσῃ ἐπιμελείᾳ αὐτὰς ἐν Κρήτῃ διώρθωκε, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις τοὺς πρώτους τῶν εὐγενῶν, οἳ καὶ δαπάνης καὶ πόνων οὐ φειδόμενοι ὁσημέραι τὸ ἡμέτερον γένος"
- 1551 Μὴν Ὀκτώβριος (BH IV no. 517)
As above
- 1551 Μὴν Νοεμβρίου (BH II no. 241)
As above
- 1551 Μὴν Δεκεμβρίου (BH IV no. 518)
As above
- 1551-52 Μὴν Ἰαννουάριος (BH IV no. 535)
As above
- 1551-52 Μὴν Φεβρουάριος (BH II no. 242; PHOSKOLOS B no. 4)
As above
- 1552 Πεντηκοστάριον (BH II no. 244=IV no. 538; LADAS no. 43; PLOUMIDES no. 1)
Preface by Ioannes Mindonios: "...ἤδη γὰρ ἀνηλώθησαν χρόνω, καὶ χερσὶν ἀμαθῶν ἀνδρῶν προβληθέντα, ὡς ἐν σκότει διέτριβον. νυνὶ δὲ ἄριστα παρὰ τοῦ τιμιωτάτου ἱερέως, Νικολάου τοῦ μαλαξοῦ, καὶ πρωτοπαπᾶ ναυπλοίου [sic] διορθωθέντα ὑμῖν δοθήσεται"²¹
- 1559-60 Παρακλητική (BH I no. 137; LADAS no. 51)²²
Preface: "Νικόλαος ἱερεὺς ὁ Μαλαξός, πρωτοπαπᾶς Ναυπλοίου, [sic] τοῖς ἐντευξομένοις εὐ πράττειν"
- 1568 Εἰρμολόγιον (BH II no. 148)
Folio O3^{r-v}: "Νικολάου ἱερέως τοῦ Μαλαξοῦ, πρωτοπαπᾶ Ναυπλίου, περὶ τῆς σημασίας τῶν ἐνουμένων δακτύλων τῆς χειρὸς τοῦ ἱερέως ἐν τῷ εὐλογεῖν αὐτὸν τὸν χριστῶνυμον λαόν"
- 1575 Πεντηκοστάριον (MANOUSAKAS no. 3; LADAS no. 69)²³
Contains some hymns by Nikolaos Malaxos.

NOTES

¹ SATHAS, 184-85; Γ. Ι. ΖΑΒΙΡΑΣ, *Νεα Ἑλλάς*, 487-88; Ν. ΚΑΤΡΑΜΗΣ, *Φιλολογικὰ ἀνάλεκτα*, 116-19; BH I, 305-07; PH. MEYER, *Die theologische Litteratur*, 124-27; Π. Π. ΠΕΤΡΗΣ, *Νικόλαος Μαλαξός*, 348-75; Κ. Δ. ΜΕΡΤΖΙΟΣ, *Περὶ Νικολάου Μαλαξοῦ*, 69-117; Κ. Δ. ΜΕΡΤΖΙΟΣ, *Περὶ τοῦ Ἀθηναίου ὁσίου καὶ ἱαματικοῦ Θεοδοσίου τοῦ Νέου*, *Ἀθηναϊκά*, 30(1965)1-15; Χ. Γ. ΠΑΤΡΙΝΕΛΗΣ, *Μαλαξὸς Νικόλαος*, *ΘΗΕ*, 8(1966)cols. 537-38; Ε. ΛΙΑΤΑ, *Ἱερεῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων τῆς Βενετίας ἀπὸ 1412-1558*, 99-100; KONTOSOPOULOS, 313; Ν. Β.

ΤΩΜΑΔΑΚΗΣ, 'Ο Νικόλαος Μαλαξός, πρωτοπαπᾶς Ναυπλίου (1505;-1587+) ἐν Κρήτῃ καὶ τὸ ἐν αὐτῇ ὕμνο-γραφικὸν τοῦ ἔργου, 'Αμάλθεια, no. 32(1977)195-204; Π. Χ. ΖΙΩΓΑΣ, Μιὰ κίνησις πνευματικῆς ἀναγεννήσεως τοῦ ὑποδούλου ἐλληνισμοῦ κατὰ τὸν 16ο αἰῶνα, 'Ελληνικά, 27(1974)61-64 and his Προβλήματα παιδείας τοῦ 'Ελληνισμοῦ κατὰ τὸν πρῶτο αἰῶνα τῆς Τουρκοκρατίας. Θεσσαλονίκη, 114-15.

² ΒΗ I, 305; Π. Π. ΠΕΤΡΗΣ, Νικολάου Μαλαξοῦ ἀνέκδοτος θρηνητικὸς κανὼν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀλώσει τοῦ Ναυπλίου (1540), 'Επετηρὶς τοῦ Μεσαιωνικοῦ 'Αρχείου, 8-9(1958-59)57-62. See also N. Malaxos's letter to the Patriarch of Constantinople Dionysios II dated June 1547, where he describes the misery inflicted by the invaders in Nauplia. The letter was printed in M. Crusius, *Turcograeciae*, 250-52.

³ Π. Π. ΠΕΤΡΗΣ, Νικόλαος Μαλαξός, 350.

⁴ Π. Π. ΠΕΤΡΗΣ, *Ibidem*, 354; Κ. Δ. ΜΕΡΤΖΙΟΣ, Περὶ Νικολάου Μαλαξοῦ, 69.

⁵ Π. Π. ΠΕΤΡΗΣ, Νικόλαος Μαλαξός, 354-55; Κ. Δ. ΜΕΡΤΖΙΟΣ, Περὶ Νικολάου Μαλαξοῦ, 70-71.

⁶ J. IRIGOIN, Les ambassadeurs a Venise, 404; P. CANART, Les manuscrits copiés par Emmanuel Provataris (1546-1570 environ), *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant*. Città del Vaticano, 1964, 210 (*Studi e testi*, 236); for N. Malaxos as a scribe see also, GAMILLSCHEG-HARLFINGER I no. 312, II no. 432.

⁷ Α. Ε. ΚΑΡΑΘΑΝΑΣΗΣ, 'Η ἐκκλησιαστικὴ ρητορικὴ στὸν 'Αγιο Γεώργιο τῶν 'Ελλήνων τῆς Βενετίας (1534-1788), *Θησαυρίσματα*, 9(1972)142-43; see also Ε. ΛΙΑΤΑ, 'Ιερεῖς τῶν 'Ελλήνων, 99.

⁸ Π. Π. ΠΕΤΡΗΣ, Νικόλαος Μαλαξός, 358; for Metrophanes's visit see Μ. Ι. ΜΑΝΟΥΣΑΚΑΣ, 'Ανέκδοτα πατριαρχικά γράμματα, 7-11; see also Ε. ΖΑΧΑΡΙΑΔΟΥ, 'Η πατριαρχία τοῦ Διονυσίου Β' σὲ μιὰ παραλλαγή τοῦ Ψευδο-Δωροθέου, *Θησαυρίσματα*, 1(1962)142-61. For Nikolaos Malaxos's participation in a printing venture between Metrophanes and Vasileios Valeris see under Vasileios Valeris in Part II.

⁹ Π. Π. ΠΕΤΡΗΣ, Νικόλαος Μαλαξός, 358.

¹⁰ ΒΗ II, 165; see also Venice. Archivio di Stato. Senato Terra. Filza 13. 10 July 10 1551, where the petition to obtain a copyright by Andrea Spinelli also states that "li minei, cioe li sei mesi de linverno, officio grecho et fattilj correzzar per el R.do prottopapa di Napoli di Romania, il quale al presente habita in Candia, et con molte legende et orationj agionte che mancavano ritrovate in diversi testi scritti amano," see also R. J. AGEE, *The Privilege and Venetian Music Printing in the Sixteenth Century*, 226-28.

¹¹ Π. Π. ΠΕΤΡΗΣ, Νικόλαος Μαλαξός, 360-61; see also Ε. ΛΙΑΤΑ, *Op. cit.*, 99.

¹² See also under Vasileios Valeris in Part II.

¹³ Π. Π. ΠΕΤΡΗΣ, Νικόλαος Μαλαξός, 364-65; Κ. Δ. ΜΕΡΤΖΙΟΣ, Περὶ Νικολάου Μαλαξοῦ, 76-77; V. LAMANSKI, *Secrets*, 084.

¹⁴ Κ. Δ. ΜΕΡΤΖΙΟΣ, *Ibidem*, 78-79; see also P. CANART, La carrière ecclésiastique de Jean Nathanael, chapelain de la communauté grecque de Venise (XVI^e siècle), *La chiesa greca in Italia dall' VIII al XVI secolo. Atti del Convegno storico interecclesiale (Bari, 30 Apr. - 4 magg. 1969)*. Padua, 1972, II, 806 note 2.

¹⁵ Φιλολογικὰ ἀνάλεκτα, 116-19.

¹⁶ Γ. Σ. ΠΛΟΥΜΙΔΗΣ, Αἰτήματα καὶ πραγματικότητες τῶν 'Ελλήνων τῆς Βενετοκρατίας (1554-1600). Ιωάννινα, 1985, 82 no. 320.

¹⁷ Περὶ Νικολάου Μαλαξοῦ, 84. Mertziotis cites a document dated 24 August 1587 in which N. Malaxos is referred to as the "the late Nikolaos Malaxos."

¹⁸ Π. Π. ΠΕΤΡΗΣ, Νικόλαος Μαλαξός, 367-75; Κ. Δ. ΜΕΡΤΖΙΟΣ, Περὶ Νικολάου Μαλαξοῦ, 84-86

¹⁹ For the details of the transaction see under Hippolitos and Vasileios Valeris in Part II.

²⁰ On the title pages of this set of *Menaia* there is the following information alerting the reader that these were not merely reprints of earlier editions but that they are altogether new editions with new material added: "καὶ περιέχει πλεῖστα τροπάρια, ἰδιόμελα, κανόνες τε καὶ συναξάρια, ἃ συλλεχθέντα νῦν ἐκ πολλῶν, καὶ καλῶν βιβλίων οὐκ ἦσαν ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς προτυπωθεῖσι παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων μηναίοις."

²¹ In his preface, Ioannes Mindonios enumerates other works published by Andrea Spinelli and prepared for publication by Nikolaos Malaxos and points out that these works, the *Menaia*, *Horologion*, *Apostolos*, *Evangelion*, and *Oktoechos*, contain new material not found in the earlier editions of Kounadis, see PLOUMIDES no. 1.

²² The *Parakletike* was printed at the expense of Nikolaos Kouvlis, a wealthy merchant residing in Venice and a prominent member of the Greek Brotherhood since 1553, see Φ. ΜΑΥΡΟΕΙΔΗΣ, Συμβολή, 141-42; ΒΗ I, 307.

²³ The *Pentekostarion* is probably a reprint of the 1552 Spinelli edition as are also the two *Menaia*, December, 1582 (LADAS no. 78), and March, 1584 (LADAS no. 82), that mention Nikolaos Malaxos in their prefaces.

Aldus Manutius, c. 1450-1515

THE first great scholar-printer of Greek during the Renaissance, Aldus Manutius, had an immense influence on the printing of Greek, not only in Italy, but also in France and the German-speaking world.¹ A native of Bassiano near Rome, Aldus studied Greek in Rome and later at Ferrara with Battista Guarino, the son of Guarino of Verona. Before going to Venice, he spent some years at Mirandola under the patronage of the humanist scholar Giovanni Pico, where he also studied Greek under Emmanouel Adramyttinos (c. 1444-1485). He subsequently became the tutor of Giovanni Pico's nephews, Alberto and Lionello Pio, and spent six years at Carpi near Modena. Alberto Pio retained a close relationship with his tutor and later became one of Aldus's patrons. From Carpi, Aldus went to Venice, probably in 1489 or 1490, and, for the next six years, he made preparations to open his printing establishment.² His first book appeared in 1495, the Greek grammar of C. Lascaris (BH I no. 12; BMC V, 552; RENOUEARD, 1 no. 1). At the age of fifty-six Aldus married the twenty-year-old daughter of the printer Andrea Torresano of Asola.³ The two firms merged in 1508 and produced books under the designation "in aedibus Aldi, et Andreae Asulani Soceri."⁴

Aldus's purpose was to publish the Greek and Latin classical authors, and Venice provided several advantages. At the time, Venice was the center of the printer's art, and commerce was flourishing. Important for Aldus was the large community of Greeks in Venice who could help him in various capacities in his printing shop. Furthermore, Venice and its library were the recipients of Cardinal Bessarion's great collection of Greek manuscripts, which in his will he stressed should become accessible to everyone.⁵ Two early Greek associates of Aldus were Markos Mousouros (c. 1470-1517) and Arsenios Apostolis (c. 1465-1535). Among the other Greeks associated with the Aldine press was Ioustinos Dekadios (c. 1472-after 1533), who edited the *Psalterion* (BH I no. 11; BMC V, 563; RENOUEARD, 260 no. 8; fig. 48) and also helped in the edition of one of the Aristotle volumes before his return to his native Corfu. Another Greek scholar who worked briefly for Aldus was Demetrios Doukas (fl. 1508-1527). Doukas edited two works for him, the *Rhetores graeci*, 1508 (BH I no. 32; RENOUEARD, 54 no. 4), and Plutarch, *Opuscula*, 1509 (BH I no. 33; RENOUEARD, 55-56 no. 1). One of the most valued members of the Aldine circle was Ioannes Gregoropoulos. It is not clear when he joined the Aldine press. The earliest date we have is 1500. N. Barker⁶ maintains that Gregoropoulos had joined the Aldine establishment earlier, perhaps in 1496 or 1497, however, this has not been substantiated. It is difficult to believe that Ioannes Gregoropoulos would have agreed to write a preface for the Greek edition of Aldus's rivals, Gabriele Braccio, Benedetto Dolcibelli, and Giovanni Bissoli, had he been already working for Aldus at the time.⁷

It has been suggested that Aldus was undoubtedly influenced by his Greek circle of friends in his decision to adopt the cursive hand of the contemporary Greek scribes as a model for his printing types. There is no evidence to back this assumption, although it is natural to assume that this choice was discussed at length with them.⁸ N. Barker, in mentioning the Greeks around Aldus and their possible advice on the choice of type to be used, says "that Aristoboulos [Apostolis] was the closest of Aldus's advisers at this stage, although the contribution of Musurus, or, later Justin



fig. 199

Decadyos, a friend of Aristoboulos and editor of the Greek Psalter (c. 1497), and John Gregoropoulos, should not be excluded."⁹ Aldus's decision to use a cursive style was probably guided by the wish to reproduce in his printed page the style of writing in which his prospective clients, the humanists of his time, had learned to read and write Greek; the cursive Greek of their time. In order to achieve this, he employed the best engraver and punch-cutter of his time, Francesco Griffo da Bologna, to cut his type.¹⁰

The first Greek font (fig. 16) cut by Francesco Griffo for Aldus (20 lines=145-146 mm) was also cast on a smaller body (20 lines=123-125 mm). The latter was used only once in the C. Lascaris *In hoc libro haec continentur*, 5 March 1494/95 (BMC V, 552; BH I no. 12). N. Barker, who has made an attempt to match the fifteenth century printing types with the handwriting of various Greek scribes, thinks that the model used for this first Aldine Greek was the handwriting of Emmanouel Rhousotas, a professional calligrapher ac-

tive in Venice since 1465.¹¹ As far as can be ascertained, there is no connection between Rhousotas and the Aldine establishment, and none of the surviving manuscripts that were used as printer's copy for the Aldine press were written by him. The only connection Barker gives is that Rhousotas had cooperated "with Manuel Gregoropoulos, brother of John, in a manuscript of Aristophanes and other texts, but the visual facts speak for themselves."¹² Aldus had applied and received a patent (25 February 1495) for his Greek font, which he described in his application as being exceedingly beautiful and which introduced two new methods of printing Greek.¹³

The second Aldine type, Greek 2 measuring 20 lines=114-115 mm, appeared for the first time in a few words in August 1496 in the preface of his edition of the *Θησαυρός, κέρας Ἀμαλθείας* (BMC V, 555; RENOUEARD, 9-10 no. 1) but can be studied better in the commentary of the Aristophanes, *Κωμωδίαί*, 1498 (BMC V, 559; RENOUEARD, 16-17 no. 3). Proctor calls the type "practically a reduced copy of the larger type, it shows a firmer and more practiced hand, and avoids many of the extravagances of the earlier type, while still full of minute variations and elaborate contractions."¹⁴ For the most part, the type was used to print commentaries, but not exclusively. It was the main type used in the *Horae*, 5 December 1497 (BMC V, 558; RENOUEARD, 15-16 no. 13).¹⁵ Greek 2 was not used extensively and only appeared in books between August 1496 and July 1499.¹⁶

The third Aldine type, Greek 3, was used for the first time in the scholia of Nikandros that form part of the Dioscorides, *Περὶ ὕλης ἰατρικῆς*, July 1499 (BMC V, 560-561; RENOUEARD, 21 no. 4).¹⁷ It measures 20 lines=84 mm. This is the last of the fifteenth century Aldine Greeks. It is smaller than the other two and more adapted for voluminous texts. The type was used extensively and was also imitated widely both in Italy and in other countries. N. Barker believes that the model for Greek 3 was the handwriting of Markos Mousouros.¹⁸

The fourth and last type cut by Francesco Griffo for the Aldine press made its first appearance in the first edition of the Sophocles, *Τραγωδίαί*, 1502 (ISAAC no. 12780; RENOUEARD, 34-35 no. 6). It measures 20 lines=79 mm. It is the smallest of the Greek types and is different from the other three. It is simpler and clearer and has fewer ligatures.¹⁹ It was E. Quaranta²⁰ who first pointed out the similarities of this type with Aldus's own handwriting as displayed in a manuscript from his hand now at the Ambrosiana in Milan. In the colophon of the Sophocles of 1502, there is mention for the first time of the famous Academy or *Neakademia*: "Venetiis in Aldi Romani Academia."²¹

Aldus's decision to use the cursive script of contemporary Greek scribes was strongly criticized by scholars of Greek printing beginning with Robert Proctor, who thought that Aldus "bid for popularity by choosing as his model the current modern hand, with all its luxuriance of contortion and extravagance of meaningless abbreviations...The enormous vogue of his publications and the great number of them exercised an overwhelming influence, affected the whole future history of Greek printing, and inflicted on its aesthetic side a blow from which it has never recovered."²² The tone set by Proctor was followed by others, such as Victor Scholderer "his [Aldus's] Greek type systematically violates the first principles of type-design and that its success was a disaster from which Greek printing did not recover for generations."²³ Another severe critic of the Aldine Greek cursive was Curt Bühler: "For the Greek type, it is self-evident that whatever virtue quasi-stenographic shorthand may have had for Marcus Musurus while he was taking notes or writing informally, characters based on such scribblings were no benefit for the leisured reader and a handicap for those untutored in the current Pitman or Gregg,"²⁴ and "It has been said — I believe, with all possible justification — that his Greek types set back the study of that tongue by three hundred years."²⁵ In more recent years, however, there has been a reevaluation and a new appreciation of the Aldine Greeks.²⁶ M. J. C. Lowry considers it "unfair to hold Aldus so completely responsible for adopting the cursive style" and goes on to say that Aldus was surrounded by a circle of humanists, both Greek copyists and Italian philologists, who all used the cursive style. Moreover, most of the manuscripts he saw were also written in the same style. These were also the men who were to provide the market he had to satisfy. It was therefore natural for him to choose a cursive font. "Aldus' aims and achievement must be judged not by some cosmic and all embracing standard of what was best for typography, but by what was required at the time."²⁷

Aldus's greatness rests on his publication of the Greek and Latin classics, which he produced in sturdy and reliable editions. At the time he established his press, only a handful of the Greek classics had been printed. In the course of Aldus's career, many Greek authors, such as Aristotle, Aristophanes, Demosthenes, Euripides, Herodotos, Pindar, Plato, Plutarch, Sophocles, Thucydides, Xenophon, and others appeared in print for the first time. He cared for accuracy and paid attention to good editing. His intention of making the classics readily available resulted in his printing books in small octavo editions — a revolutionary new venture at the time — and in sufficient numbers so that his books might become accessible in price, not only to wealthy

to Bernoni,³⁴ Andrea Torresano distributed books for the use of various ethnic minorities such as the Illyrians, Dalmatians, Croats, and Greeks and printed liturgical works and alphabet books for export to them. He mentions a *Breuissima introductio ad litteras graecas*, Venetiis, 1516 [sic] should read 1526 (RENOUARD 103 no. 4; LAYTON no. 11),³⁵ written in Greek with a Latin interlinear translation. He also mentions the *Horae*, 1521 (RENOUARD, 92 no. 10), as among the books destined for export and distribution to the Greeks. Both of these were initially printed by Aldus in 1497 (RENOUARD, 15-16 no. 13).³⁶ The *Horae* were reprinted in 1505 (RENOUARD, 49 no. 3).

In 1549, Andrea's younger son, Federico Torresano³⁷ (d. 1561 or 1562), published the *Ἀκολουθία τοῦ ἀναγνώστου ἡγουν τὰ συλλειτουργικά*, 1549 (BH I no. 123; RENOUARD, 144 no. 1; LAYTON no. 18; figs. 131, 200), a work definitely addressed to the Greek population of Venice and beyond. Its colophon reads "Venetijs apud Federicum Turrisanum," with the Aldine anchor and dolphin on its title page and the word "ALDUS". There is no mention of editor or printer. Federico Torresano, who was strictly a publisher, financed the publication of other Greek books, all of which were editions of classical authors or grammars of ancient Greek, printed for him usually by the Nicolini da Sabbio or Bartolomeo Zanetti. In 1540, Federico and his elder brother Giovanni Francesco published jointly C. Lascaris's *De octo orationis partibus*, "Venetiis per Ioan. Ant. de Nicolinis de Sabio expensis vero Dñi Federici & Dñi Francisci Asulani," 1540 (BH III no. 401; RENOUARD, 121 no. 9). Francesco Torresano was married to Lia, or Rosalia, the daughter of the printer Bartolomeo Imperatore.³⁸ Federico Torresano's mark, a tower, can be found on some of his publications, while others use the Aldine anchor and dolphin.³⁹

Since the publications of the Aldine press have been well documented, a list of his Greek publications is not given here.⁴⁰

NOTES

¹ ASCARELLI, 158-60; ASCARELLI-MENATO, 323-25; BORSA I, 211; NORTON, 141-43; N. BARKER, *Aldus Manutius and the Development of Greek Script and Type in the Fifteenth Century*. Sandy Hook, Ct., 1985; A. BASCHET; *Aldo Manuzio. Lettres et documents, 1495-1515*. Venise, 1867; C. BÜHLER, *Aldus Manutius: the First Five Hundred Years*, *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 44(1950)205-15; C. CASTELLANI, *La stampa in Venezia dalla sua origine alla morte di Aldo Manuzio seniore*. Venezia, 1889. Repr. 1973; C. DIONISOTTI, *Aldo Manuzio umanista*, *Lettere italiane*, 12(1960)375-400=*Umanesimo europeo e umanesimo veneziano*. Venezia, 1963, 213-43, see also his *Questioni su Aldo Manuzio editore*, *Atti del quinto congresso internazionale di bibliofili*, Venezia, 1-7 ottobre 1967. Verona, 1970, 95-108; L. DONATI, *Bibliografia aldina*, *La bibliofilia*, 52(1950)189-204=*Scritti sopra Aldo Manuzio*. Firenze, 1955, 68-92; L. DOREZ, *Études aldines*, *Revue des bibliothèques*, 6(1896)143-60; 237-83; 311-26; 12(1902)400-19; A. F. DIDOT, *Alde Manuce et l'hellénisme à Venise*. Paris, 1875; H. G. FLETCHER III, *New Aldine Studies*. San Francisco, 1988; M. J. C. LOWRY, *The World of Aldus Manutius*. Oxford, 1979; M. J. C. LOWRY, *Aldo Manuzio of Bassiano*, *Contemporaries of Erasmus*, II, 376-80; F. J. MOSHER, *The Fourth Catalogue of the Aldine Press*, *La bibliofilia*, 80(1978)229-35; P. de NOLHAC, *Les correspondants d'Alde Manuce*, *Studi e documenti di storia e diritto*, 8(1887)245-99; *Aldo Manuzio editore: dediche, prefazioni, note ai testi*. Milano, 1975; E. PASTORELLO, *Di Aldo Pio Manuzio: testimonianze e documenti*, *La bibliofilia*, 67(1965)163-220; E. PASTORELLO, *L'epistolario Manuziano: inventario cronologico-analitico, 1483-1597*. Firenze, 1957; E. KRETZULESCO QUARANTA, *La formazione culturale di Aldo Manuzio ed il suo criterio nella scelta dei testi*, *Studi bibliografici. Atti del Convegno dedicato alla storia del libro italiano nel V centenario dell'introduzione dell'arte tipografica in Italia* (Bolzano 7-8 ottobre 1965). Firenze, 1967, 147-58; A. RENOUARD, *Annales de l'Imprimerie des Alde*. 3. ed. Paris, 1834; E. ROBERTSON, *Aldus Manutius, the Scholar-Printer, 1450-1515*, *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*, 33(1950)57-73; *Scritti sopra Aldo Manuzio*. Firenze, 1955. Of special interest for the Greek imprints of Aldus: C. BÜHLER, *Aldus Manutius and his First Edition of the Greek Musaeus*, *La bibliofilia*, 52(1950)123-27=*Scritti sopra Aldo Manuzio*. Firenze, 1955, 3-7; C. BÜHLER, *Additional Note to Aldus Manutius and his First Edition of the Greek Musaeus*, *Scritti sopra Aldo Manuzio*, 106-07=*his Early Books and Manuscripts*. New York, 1973, 162-69; C. BÜHLER, *Aldus Manutius and the Printing of Athenaeus*, *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* 1955, 104-06; M. SICHERL, *Die Musaios-Ausgabe des Aldus Manutius und ihre lateinische Übersetzung*, *Italia medioevale e umanistica*, 19(1976)257-76.

- ² Aldus himself speaks of more than six years. See his preface of the *Θησαυρός, κέρας Ἀμαλθείας*, August 1496 (BMC V, 555; RENOUD, 9 no. 1).
- ³ C. CASTELLANI, *La stampa* 35-42; A. A. RENOUD, *Annales*, 371-424; Aldo Manuzio editore, xi-l; E. KRETZULESCO QUARANTA, *La formazione culturale*, 147-58; C. DIONIZOTTI, Aldo Manuzio umanista, 213-43.
- ⁴ A. A. RENOUD, *Annales*, 53-54 no. 3.
- ⁵ A. F. DIDOT, *Alde Manuce*, 26, 46. On how accessible the manuscripts were during Aldus's printing years, see L. LABOWSKY, *Il cardinale Bessarione e gli inizi della Biblioteca Marciana, Venezia e l'Oriente fra tardo Medioevo e Rinascimento*. A. Pertusi, ed. Firenze, 1965, 159-82; M. J. C. LOWRY, Two Great Venetian Libraries in the Age of Aldus Manutius, *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*, 57(1974-75)128-66.
- ⁶ *Aldus Manutius*, 17, 19-20, 58.
- ⁷ Gregoropoulos wrote a preface which was to be published in the edition of Phalaris, *Ἐπιστολαί*, 1498 (BMC V, 578; FINAZZI no. 13) but which for unknown reasons was never printed, see M. MANOUSSACAS, *Una prefazione greca inedita*, 218-228 especially 226 and note 35.
- ⁸ G. MARDERSTEIG, Aldo Manuzio, 116-18; C. BÜHLER, *Aldus Manutius*, 207-08.
- ⁹ *Aldus Manutius*, 52.
- ¹⁰ For Francesco Griffio see A. PANIZZI, *Chi era Francesco da Bologna?* 2. ed. London, 1873; P. ARNAULDET, [Graveurs de caractères et typographes de l'Italie du Nord], *Bulletin de la Société nationale des antiquaires de France*, 7 no. 3(1903)289-95; E. QUARANTA, Osservazioni intorno ai caratteri greci di Aldo Manuzio, *La bibliofilia*, 55(1953)123-30; A. SORBELLI, Il mago che scolpì i caratteri di Aldo Manuzio, Francesco Griffio da Bologna, *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* 1933, 117-23 and especially G. MARDERSTEIG, Aldo Manuzio e i caratteri di Francesco Griffio da Bologna, *Studi di bibliografia e di storia in onore di Tammamo de Marinis*. Verona, 1964, III, 105-47 especially, 118-22; N. BARKER, *Aldus Manutius*, 43-63; see also M. J. C. LOWRY, *The World*, 87-91; L. BALSANO & A. TINTO, *Origini del corsivo*, 25-60.
- ¹¹ For Rhousotas see E. GAMILLSCHEG-HARLFINGER, I no. 154.
- ¹² *Aldus Manutius*, 52, 55, and plates nos. 16-19; R. PROCTOR, *The Printing*, 101-03 and plate XV; for a discussion of the type see G. MARDERSTEIG, Aldo Manuzio, 122-27 and plates IV-V, VII-VIII.
- ¹³ N. BARKER, *Op. cit.*, 55, 92, where the whole text of the application is given in English and 105 no. 1 in the original. See also C. CASTELLANI, *Op. cit.*, 72 no. 4; A. BASCHET, *Op. cit.*, 1-2 no. 1; R. FULIN, *Documenti*, 120 no. 41.
- ¹⁴ *The Printing*, 103.
- ¹⁵ R. PROCTOR, *The Printing*, 103-04, and plate XVI.
- ¹⁶ R. PROCTOR, *An Index to the Early Printed Books in the British Museum*. London, 1898, Pt. I, 365-66, nos. 5551, 5553-5556, 5560-5561, 5564-5566, 5569, 5571.
- ¹⁷ R. PROCTOR, *The Printing*, 104-06 and plate XVII. G. MARDERSTEIG, Aldo Manuzio, 138-39 and plate XV.
- ¹⁸ *Op. cit.*, 58-59 and nos. 22-24.
- ¹⁹ For information on the Greek types used by the Aldine press in the sixteenth century see E. CASAMASSIMA & A. TINTO, *Per un censimento*, 133-45.
- ²⁰ Osservazioni, 123-30; see also G. MARDERSTEIG, Aldo Manuzio, 143 and plates XXI-XXII; N. BARKER, *Op. cit.*, 59, 62-63 and nos. 25-27.
- ²¹ For a discussion of whether the Academy actually existed beyond its planning stages and speculation about its members, see M. J. C. LOWRY, *The New Academy*, 378-42, where all the earlier sources on the subject are also given; see also M. BRUNETTI, L' Accademia Aldina, *Rivista di Venezia*, 8(1929)417-31; D. J. GEANAKOPOLOS, Erasmus and the Aldine Academy of Venice, *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*, 3(1960)107-34.
- ²² *The Printing*, 15.
- ²³ *Greek Printing Types*, 7.
- ²⁴ *Aldus Manutius: the First Five Hundred Years*, 208.
- ²⁵ C. BÜHLER, *Ibidem*, 207.
- ²⁶ N. BARKER, *Op. cit.*, 5-10; G. MARDERSTEIG, *Op. cit.*, 105-47.
- ²⁷ *The World of Aldus Manutius*, 134, 135.
- ²⁸ M. J. C. LOWRY, *The New Academy*, 400-402, and his *The World*, 115-16; for the prices of the Aldines, see also R. HIRSCH, *The Art of Selling Books: Notes on Three Aldus Catalogues, 1586-1592, Papers of the*

Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia, 1(1948)83-101 and in his, *The Printed Word*. London, 1978, XXX, 85-101; P. S. LEICHT, I prezzi delle edizioni aldine al principio del '500, *Il libro e la stampa*, 6, no. 3(1912)77-84; K. WAGNER, Aldo Manuzio e i prezzi dei suoi libri, *La bibliofilia*, 77(1975)77-82.

²⁹ W. A. PETTAS, *The Giunti*, 43 note 7 observed that Lucantonio Giunta and other printers issued works in octavo and smaller formats before the Aldine press began publishing them.

³⁰ For the Aldine anchor, see L. DOREZ, La marque typographique d'Alde Manuce, *Revue des bibliothèques*, 6(1896)143-60; 237-38; L. DONATI, L'ancora aldina, *La bibliofilia*, 5(1948)179-82 and his Le marche tipografiche di Aldo Manuzio il Vecchio, *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* 1974, 129-32; H. G. FLETCHER III, *New Aldine Studies*, 43-59; see also ASCARELLI, nos. 72-75; DAVIES, no. 236; KRISTELLER, nos. 174-78; RENOUEARD, plates between 410-13; VACCARO nos. 392-96; ZAPPELLA nos. 35-50.

³¹ J. BALL, *The Greek Community*, 162. The text of the preface of the *Psalterion* is given in BH I, 24-25; partial French translation in A. F. DIDOT, *Op. cit.*, 60-61. For the dating of the *Psalterion* see also K. ROZEMOND, *Het Psalterion van Aldus Manutius*, *Het Boek*, 36(1963)94-99; 233.

³² It was again printed by the Aldine press in 1505 (RENOUEARD, 49 no. 3) and in 1521 (RENOUEARD, 92 no. 10). On the first edition of the *Horae*, see C. BÜHLER, Notes on Two Incunabula, 18-26.

³³ On Andrea Torresano see ASCARELLI-MENATO, 333; BORSA I, 315; D. BERNONI, *Dei Torresani*, 3-103; M. C. J. LOWRY, Andrea Torresani of Asola, *Contemporaries of Erasmus*, III, 332-33; RENOUEARD, 75-107, 282-94. The date of Andrea's death is usually given as 1529, see BERNONI, 76 (March 15, 1529) and RENOUEARD, 107. However, C. BÜHLER, Some Documents Concerning the Torresani and the Aldine Press, *The Library*, 4th ser., 25(1945)111-21=his *Early Books and Manuscripts*. New York, 1973, 89-99, draws attention to a note in Marino Sanuto's diary of 21 October 1528 announcing the death of Andrea. For Andrea Torresano's mark, a tower, see ASCARELLI, nos. 82-84; DAVIES, no. 170; ESSLING, pt. III, 173 nos. 945, 997, 1246; HUSUNG, 151-54, nos. 222, 227; KRISTELLER, nos. 316-18; ZAPPELLA, nos. 1169-70 and 1174.

³⁴ *Dei Torresani*, 80-82.

³⁵ Aldus Manutius was the first to print an alphabet book. In the first Greek book he ever printed, C. Lascaris's grammar of 1495 (BH I no. 12), he added a section at the end entitled "alphabetum Graecum cum multiplicibus litteris." Then in 1497, he produced the first separately printed alphabet book the *Breuissima introductio ad litteras graecas* (SANDER no. 3521; LAYTON no. 3). Other editions followed in 1501 and later.

³⁶ For the *Breuissima introductio ad litteras graecas*, c. 1497, see C. F. BÜHLER, Notes on Two Incunabula Printed by Aldus Manutius, *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 36(1942)18-26; see also A. RULAND, Über einen unbekannten Aldinischen Druck, *Serapeum*, 18(1857)8-11.

³⁷ On Federico Torresano, see ASCARELLI, 164; ASCARELLI-MENATO, 334; BORSA I, 315; D. BERNONI, *Dei Torresani*, 104-28; M. C. J. LOWRY, Federico Torresani of Venice, *Contemporaries of Erasmus*, III, 333; see also C. MARCIANI, Il testamento, 165-78 and C. BÜHLER, Some Documents, 118-21.

³⁸ D. BERNONI, *Dei Torresani*, 93-94; C. MARCIANI, *Op. cit.*, 167.

³⁹ ESSLING pt. III, 173 no. 1231; VACCARO, 355-56; ZAPPELLA, nos. 1171-1172.

⁴⁰ See BMC V, 551-563 (Greek and Latin incunabula); R. PROCTOR, *The Printing*, 50-51 (Greek incunabula); A. RENOUEARD, *Annales de l'Imprimerie des Alde*. 3. ed. Paris, 1834; H. OMONT, *Catalogue des livres grecs et latins imprimés par Alde Manuce à Venise (1498-1503-1513)*. Paris, 1892; ISAAC 47-54, nos. 12761-12901; STC, 877-879; [G. E. FERRARI] *Serie cronologica delle edizioni di Aldo Manuzio*, M. Dazzi, *Aldo Manuzio e il dialogo veneziano di Erasmo*. Vicenza, 1969, 203-25.

Maximos Margounios, bishop of Kythera, c. 1549-1602

MAXIMOS MARGOUNIOS was one of the most important Greek scholars and theologians of the sixteenth century.¹ He was born in Herakleion (Candia), Crete, c. 1549 and was named Emmanouel or Manouel, which was changed to Maximos when he took orders. The exact year of his birth is not known, but it is deduced that he was born c. 1549 because the act of his death, dated 1 July 1602, says that he was about fifty-three years old.² On his mother's side, Margounios was related to the Colonna family. We learn this from the dedication of one of his works to Paolo Colonna, in which Margounios calls himself "a sorore nepos."³

In Crete, Maximos Margounios was educated at the monastery of Saint Catharine of Mount Sinai near Herakleion, a dependency (μετόχι) of the famous monastery of the same name on Mount Sinai. While in Crete, he also studied Latin under the tutelage of Gaspare Viviano, Catholic Bishop of Sitia and Vicar General of Crete. When he later went to study at the University of Padua in 1568 or 1569, Viviano gave him letters of recommendation to some of the noted scholars teaching at the university, among them Tomaso Trevisan, or Thomas Trivizanos, a Cretan scholar of Venetian descent.⁴ At Padua, Margounios studied belles lettres, philosophy, and medicine. In order to supplement his income, he copied manuscripts and did some translating.⁵ During his years at Padua, he came into contact with many intellectuals of his time, among them Daniele Furlano and Luigi Lollino. It was also during their student days in Padua that he met and became friends with Emmanouel Pegas, who later became the Patriarch of Alexandria, Meletios Pegas. During his years at Padua, Maximos Margounios frequented the library of the bibliophile humanist Giovanni Vincenzo Pinelli and his circle, which included all of the important intellectuals of the time residing in Padua, such as Galileo Galilei, Tasso, Roberto Bellarmine, and many others. Margounios dedicated his work, *Διάλογος περὶ ἀθλιότητος ἀνθρωπίνης*, to Pinelli.⁶ It was also during this period that Margounios's friendship with Gabriel Severos flourished. Severos lived in Venice starting in 1572. In 1573 he was elected one of the two priests of San Giorgio dei Greci, and in 1577 he became Metropolitan of Philadelphia. It was during the years of his studies at Padua that Margounios began his considerable activity as a translator, commentator, author, and editor. His first published work was a translation into Latin of Saint John of Damaskos's "Against the Manichaeans," which he appropriately dedicated to his old Latin teacher in Crete, Gaspare Viviano, Bishop of Sitia.⁷

Margounios's fame as a scholar reached the ears of Hieremias II Tranos, Patriarch of Constantinople. In 1574, Hieremias invited Margounios to come to Constantinople, enter holy orders, and help in the rejuvenation of the Patriarchal Academy. The Academy's chief function was the education and training of the future prelates of the Orthodox Church. At the time, Margounios was not able to accept the invitation of the Patriarch because of family obligations. His father had refused permission for Margounios to take holy orders because he and his unmarried sisters needed him. He thus remained in Padua and continued his studies.⁸ It was during the years at Padua that Margounios edited, translated, and published several works, such as the Latin translation of Michael Psellos's *Analytica posteriora* of Aristotle, 1574 (BH II no. 267), and the translation of Aristotle's *Liber de coloribus*, 1575 (BH II no. 269). Margounios was still in Padua in

1577, although little is known of his activities. By September 1578, he had returned to Crete and was at the monastery of Saint Catharine of Mount Sinai in Herakleion, where he stayed for five years. At the monastery, he finally entered holy orders and changed his name, as the Orthodox custom decrees, from Manouel to Maximos. He signed his letters as "Μάξιμος ἱερομόναχος." At the monastery, Maximos Margounios spent his time preaching and especially teaching at the school that was attached to the monastery. Among his pupils in Crete was Kyrillos Loukaris.⁹ In 1583, Maximos Margounios wrote his first major theological treatise on the Procession of the Holy Spirit, which he dedicated to Patriarch Hieremias II. He also corresponded with Gabriel Severos, who by now had become Metropolitan of Philadelphia and resided in Venice, Meletios Pegas and others.¹⁰

Patriarch Hieremias II renewed his invitation to Margounios to come to Constantinople and help reorganize the Patriarchal Academy. This time Margounios accepted and went to Constantinople in March 1584. However, by the time Margounios arrived in Constantinople, the Patriarch had been imprisoned by the Turks, and everything was in disarray. From Margounios's correspondence, it is known that while in the city he stayed at the monastery of Chrysopege in Galatas. During his stay in Constantinople, Margounios was elected Bishop of Kythera. Margounios had expressed a preference to the modest position of Kythera, an island under Venetian rule, to other, more prestigious sees that would have been under Turkish rule. In August 1584, he returned to Crete and from there went to Kythera to begin his tenure as Bishop. However, upon his arrival at Kythera in November 1584, the Venetian governor of the island refused to give Margounios permission to take up his position because he had not received a *placet* from the central government in Venice. Thus Margounios was forced to return to Crete and then go to Venice to see the authorities about the *placet*. Margounios made repeated requests to the Venetian authorities through the years to be allowed to go to Kythera and take up his position as Bishop there, but all requests were rejected. The grounds for refusal were never given. Venice had a policy of not allowing the Orthodox to have clerics above the rank of Protopapas in their possessions because it created political unrest when highly educated and patriotic prelates incited the people and the lower clergy to revolt, as had happened repeatedly in Crete in earlier years.¹¹ Finally, in order to compensate for its refusal to let Margounios take up his episcopate, the Venetian Republic appointed him in 1586 to teach Greek and Latin in Venice with a stipend of fifty ducats a year. Later the sum was raised to 120 ducats and finally to 144 ducats. Furthermore, the government also gave Margounios's brother Michael some land near Herakleion as recompense for the money the latter had spent toward Maximos's education.

Margounios's years in Venice were very productive. He now had time to devote to theological and philosophical questions. He wanted to find a way for the Orthodox and Catholic churches to resolve their differences. With his writings, especially his treatise on the Procession of the Holy Spirit, he hoped to point the way towards a reconciliation of the two sides.¹² However, soon after he wrote this work in 1583, he found himself in conflict with his old friend Gabriel Severos, now Metropolitan of Philadelphia, who resided in Venice and oversaw the affairs of the Greek community there. There followed a succession of letters between them, spanning the years 1583 and 1590, in which the two debated this issue and exchanged strong words. Both Patriarch Hieremias II of Constantinople and Margounios's old classmate Meletios Pegas, now Patriarch of Alexandria, tried to reconcile the two.¹³

It has been maintained by some of the early chroniclers of Maximos Margounios that, while in Venice, he established a printing press near the convent of San Antonio and printed many Greek

books, but that the press ultimately was destroyed by fire. However, there is nothing in the sources to indicate that Margounios had indeed been active as a printer or publisher. His only venture into publishing was to finance, jointly with Emmanouel Glyzounis, his translation of the Heavenly Ladder (*Κλίμαξ τοῦ Παραδείσου*) in 1590 (BH II no. 185=IV no. 824 (fig. 178)).¹⁴

During his stay in Venice, Margounios also had time to devote to editing various works, among them a *Psalterion*, 1586 (BH II no. 174; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 278), and an *Anthologion*, 1587 (BH II no. 175).¹⁵ During this period, he also had voluminous correspondence with many intellectuals and theologians in Germany. Among others, he corresponded with Martinus Crusius and with David Hoeschel of Augsburg. Margounios sent Hoeschel some of his works for publication in Germany. In a letter to Frederick Sylberg, dated 11 September 1590, Margounios said that it was important to work for the spiritual reawakening of the Greek people by publishing and distributing the classical and Byzantine authors. Margounios also kept up his correspondence with many of the Greek scholars and clerics as well.¹⁶ It was also during these years in Venice that Margounios translated into modern Greek Saint Joannes Climacus's *Κλίμαξ τοῦ Παραδείσου*, 1590 (BH II no. 185=IV no. 824; fig. 178) dedicated to the Patriarch Hieremias II.

Two works that Margounios had sent to David Hoeschel were published in Frankfurt in 1591. One of the two works, which were published together, was on the Procession of the Holy Spirit.¹⁷ When the copies of the work arrived in Venice, they created many problems for Margounios. The climate toward the Reformation was very hostile, and whatever publications arrived from Germany were subjected to close scrutiny and were regarded with suspicion. Thus as soon as the Margounios tract reached Venice in 1591, it was confiscated and examined by the Tribunal of the Inquisition, and Margounios was summoned to its presence. However, nothing came of it.¹⁸ In addition, Margounios's relations with Gabriel Severos suffered a severe relapse when his tract came out. To make things even worse, Patriarch Hieremias II wrote to Margounios in late 1592 that the Holy Synod had been upset by his opinions on the Procession of the Holy Spirit and was about to take away his bishopric from him. The Patriarch suggested that Margounios should seek a reconciliation with Gabriel Severos and also advised him to retract some of his utterances on the Procession. Margounios wrote a long letter of apology to the Holy Synod, presenting his thoughts and beliefs on the subject. He also had a new and final reconciliation with Gabriel Severos.¹⁹

In 1593, Pope Clement VIII insisted that Margounios come to Rome to justify his opinions. However, the Venetian Senate refused to let Margounios go to Rome. The Republic instructed its ambassador, Paolo Paruta, to tell the Pope and the head of the Roman Inquisition, Cardinal Giulio Antonio Santoro, known as Cardinal Santa Severina, that the Republic had everything under control and that if Margounios were to be found guilty of heresy, he would be punished in Venice. The Republic wrote to its representative in Padua, where Margounios was residing at this time, and asked him to examine all of the books printed in Germany by Margounios. It appears that this was the sum total of the inquest by the Venetian government, and Margounios's writings were not included in the *Index librorum prohibitorum*.²⁰ Maximos Margounios's purpose in his writings on the Procession of the Holy Spirit was to achieve a rapprochement between the Orthodox and Catholic Churches. After profound study of the Church Fathers, both Greek and Latin, he had found that there was actually little that separated the two sides initially and that it was only the accumulated prejudice of centuries that prevented a reconciliation. It was therefore ironic that the result of his efforts was to alienate both the Orthodox and Catholic Churches alike.²¹

After this, Margounios lived quietly, editing and writing. At the same time, he maintained a voluminous correspondence with many scholars and theologians. He also kept in contact with many Orthodox clergymen, as evidenced by his correspondence. Although the Venetian government kept an eye on his activities, he was left alone to pursue his studies and literary activities. He continued his correspondence with David Hoeschel, who was instrumental in the publication of Margounios's other works in Germany. Margounios was also in close contact with Italian intellectuals, such as Ascanio Persio, professor at the University of Bologna, for whom Margounios revised his Homeric Index.²² Just before his death, he was also in correspondence with the English Hellenist Sir Henry Savile and was to have collaborated with him on the edition of the works of Saint John Chrysostom. However, Margounios died before this was accomplished.²³ He died in Venice at the age of 53, either during the night of 30 June or early on 1 July 1602. His death is recorded both at San Giorgio dei Greci and in the register of deaths of the parish of San Martino.²⁴

In his will, drawn 26 June 1602, Maximos Margounios bequeathed his Latin books to the monastery of the Virgin Portaitissa, the Iveron monastery on Mount Athos. Manuscripts written in his own hand he bequeathed to Manousos Moschiotes of Herakleion, Crete. He also left books and manuscripts to two monasteries in Crete, that of Saint Antonios Savatianes, and the dependency of the monastery of Saint Catharine of Mount Sinai in Crete.²⁵

The printed books written, edited or translated by Maximos Margounios during his lifetime are:²⁶

- | | |
|------|---|
| 1572 | Divi Ioannis Damasceni contra Manichaeos, Dialogvs. Nunc primum ab Emmanuele Margunio Cretense in lucem editus; ab eodemque è Graeco in Latinum conversus (BH II, xxv; FEDALTO, <i>Massimo Margunio</i> , Appendix I no. I) ²⁷ Padua |
| 1574 | Michaelis Pselli Metaphrasis libri secvndi posteriorvm analyticorvm Aristotelis. Emmanuele Margunio Cretense interprete (BH II no. 267; FEDALTO. Appendix I no. V) Venice |
| 1575 | Aristotelis Liber de coloribvs...Emmanuele Margvnio Cretense interprete...(BH II no. 269; FEDALTO. Appendix I no. VII) Padua |
| 1585 | Divi Gregorii Nyssae, episcopi Ac theologi praestantissimi, in psalmorum inscriptiones...explicatio. Nunc primum à Maximo Margvnio, episcopo Cytherensi, è Graeca Latina facta. (BH II no. 279; FEDALTO. Appendix I no. XIII) Venice |
| 1585 | Divi Gregorii episcopi Nysseni, Ac theologi praestantissimi de vitae in virtute perfectione & quis verus Christianus sit... Nunc primum à Maximo Margvnio, episcopo Cytherensi, è Graeco in Latinum conuersi (BH II no. 280; FEDALTO. Appendix I no XIV) Venice |
| 1585 | Divi Gregorii episcopi Nysseni, Ac theologi praestantissimi Tractatvs ad harmonivm...a Maximo Margunio Episcopo Cytherensi, è Graeco in Latinum conuersus (BH II no. 281) Venice |
| 1586 | Ψαλτήριον τοῦ Δαδῖβ. (BH II no. 174; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 278; FEDALTO. Appendix I no. XVI) Venice |

- 1587 Ἀνθολόγιον (BH II no. 175; FEDALTO. Appendix I no. XVIII) Venice
- 1590 Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰωάννου...Κλίμαξ τοῦ Παραδείσου...Ἐκ τῆς ἐλληνικῆς διαλέκτου εἰς κοινὴν φράσιν μεταγλωττισθέντες παρὰ Μαξίμου τοῦ Μαργουνίου...(BH II no. 185=IV no. 824; FEDALTO. Appendix I no. XXIV) Venice
- 1591 Μαξίμου τοῦ Μαργουνίου, Κυθήρων ἐπισκόπου, Ἐπιστολαὶ δύο· α' Περὶ τοῦ, τίνα τρόπον ἐν τοῖς οὖσι παρακεχώρηται τὰ κακά. β' Περὶ τῆς τοῦ Παναγίου Πνεύματος ἐκπορεύσεως (BH II, 420; FEDALTO. Appendix I no. XXI) Frankfurt
- 1592 Maximi Margvni, episcopi Cytherensis, Poëmata aliquot sacra: Graecè nunc primum publicata studio et opera Davidis Hoeschelii (BH II no. 192; FEDALTO. Appendix I no. XXVIII) Leyden
- 1596 Ἀπόστολος...διορθωθείς μετ' ἐπιμελείας παρὰ Μαξίμου ταπεινοῦ ἐπισκόπου Κυθήρων (BH II no. 220; FEDALTO. Appendix I no. XXXII; fig. 123) Venice
- 1596 Εὐχολόγιον...Ἐπιμελεία δὲ καὶ ἐπιδιορθώσει, Μαξίμου ταπεινοῦ ἐπισκόπου Κυθήρων (UNIVERSITÄTSBIBLIOTHEK WÜRZBURG) Venice
- 1598 Ἀνθολόγιον...Ἐπιμελεία καὶ ἐπιδιορθώσει Μαξίμου ταπεινοῦ Κυθήρων ἐπισκόπου (SKLAVENITES no. 6) Venice
- 1598 Ὁκτώηχος...Διορθωθὲν μετ' ἐπιμελείας παρὰ Μαξίμου ταπεινοῦ ἐπισκόπου Κυθήρων (UNIVERSITÄTSBIBLIOTHEK JENA)²⁸ Venice
- 1599 Sancti Maximi Martyris Mystagogia...Maximi Margunij Graecè nunc primum edita, cum interpretatione Latina (BH II no. 229; FEDALTO. Appendix I no. XXXVIII) Augsburg
- 1600 Πεντηκοστάριον...ἐπιμελεία δὲ καὶ ἐπιδιορθώσει, Μαξίμου ταπεινοῦ ἐπισκόπου Κυθήρων (BH II no. 232; FEDALTO. Appendix I no. XXXIX)²⁹ Venice
- 1600 Τριώδιον...(BH II no. 234 [sic, read 233]; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 320^a; FEDALTO. Appendix I no. XL).³⁰ Venice
As above
- 1601 Μαξίμου τοῦ Μαργουνίου, ἐπισκόπου Κυθήρων, Ὑμνοὶ ἀνακρεόντειοι. Maximi Margunii...Hymni Anacreontici (BH XVIIIs. I no. 3; FEDALTO. Appendix I no. XLII) Augsburg
- 1602 Brevis tractatus de Consiliis atq. Praeceptis Evangelicis Maximi Episcopi Cytherensis (BH XVIIIs. I no. 5; FEDALTO. Appendix I no. XLIX) Venice
Colophon: "Ἐπιμελεία τὴν καὶ διορθώσει Νεοφύτου Μοναχοῦ Ῥοδινοῦ τοῦ Κυπρίου. Μαθητοῦ τοῦ θεοφιλεστάτου καὶ σοφωτάτου Ἐπισκόπου Κυθήρων Κυρίου Μαξίμου τοῦ Μαργουνίου."
- 1602 Εὐχολόγιον...ἐπιμελεία δὲ καὶ ἐπιδιορθώσει, Μαξίμου ταπεινοῦ ἐπισκόπου Κυθήρων (BH XVIIIs. III no. 700; FEDALTO. Appendix I no. XLVIII) Venice
- 1603 Βίοι ἁγίων ἐκ τῆς ἐλληνικῆς γλώττης ἥτοι ἐκ τῶν συναξαρίων μεταφρασθέντες παρὰ Μαξίμου ταπεινοῦ ἐπισκόπου Κυθήρων (KORDOSIS B no. 5)³¹ Venice

NOTES

- ¹ BH II, xxiii-lxxvii; SATHAS, 212-18; A. ΔΗΜΗΤΡΑΚΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, *Προσθήκαι καὶ διορθώσεις*, 19-32 and his *Ὁρθόδοξος Ἑλλάς*, 134-41; Γ. Ι. ΖΑΒΙΡΑΣ, *Νέα Ἑλλάς*, 465-68; Κ. ΔΥΟΒΟΥΝΙΩΤΗΣ, Μάξιμος ὁ Μαργούνιος, *Γρηγόριος ὁ Παλαμᾶς*, 4(1920)155-68, 209-16, 321-24, 386-88, 418-25, 671-73, 722-30, 781-85; 5(1921)269-80, 390-96, 481-92; Β. Α. ΜΥΣΤΑΚΙΔΗΣ, *Ὁ ἱερός κληρὸς κατὰ τὸν 15^{ον} αἰῶνα*, Μάξιμος ὁ Μαργούνιος. Ἐν Ἀθήναις, 1892, 55p.; PH. MEYER, *Die theologische Litteratur*, 69-78, 134-37, 171-72; Χ. ΠΑΠΑΔΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, Συμβολὴ εἰς τὴν ἱστορίαν τοῦ Μαξίμου Μαργουνίου, *Νέα Σιών*, 18(1923)708-27; Ν. Α. ΦΟΡΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, Μάξιμος ὁ Μαργούνιος, *ΘΗΕ*, 8(1966)cols. 632-37; Μ. Ι. ΜΑΝΟΥΣΑΚΑΣ, *Ἀνέκδοτα πατριαρχικὰ γράμματα*, 21-29, 36-39, 46-49, especially 24 notes 1-4 where the bibliography on Margounios is given; C. ASTRUC, Maxime Margounios et les recueils parisiens de sa correspondance, *Κρητικὰ Χρονικά*, 3(1949)211-61; P. K. ENEPEKIDES, Der Briefwechsel des Maximos Margounios Bischof von Kythera (1549-1602), *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen byzantinischen Gesellschaft*, 1(1951)13-66; P. K. ENEPEKIDES, Maximos Margounios an deutsche und italienische Humanisten, *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen byzantinischen Gesellschaft*, 10(1961)93-145; Π. Κ. ΕΝΕΠΕΚΙΔΗΣ, *Χρηστομάνος, Βικέλας, Παπαδιαμάντης. Ἐπιστολαὶ Μαξίμου Μαργουνίου, ἐπισκόπου Κυθήρων, 1549-1602*. Ἀθήναι, 1970; G. FEDALTO, Cultura ecclesiastica di vescovi greci in Italia nel secolo XVI: Massimo Margunio, *La Chiesa greca in Italia*, II, 825-36; G. FEDALTO, Excursus storico sulla vita e sulla attività di Massimo Margounios, *Studia patavina*, 8(1961)213-44; G. FEDALTO, Massimo Margounios e la sua opera per conciliare la sentenza degli Orientali e dei Latini sulla processione dello Spirito Santo. Padova, 1961; G. FEDALTO, Massimo Margunio e il suo commento al "De Trinitate" di S. Agostino (1588). Brescia, 1968. G. FEDALTO, Processione dello Spirito Santo e unione della Chiesa greca e latina in Massimo Margounios, *Studia patavina*, 10(1963)301-07; G. FEDALTO, Ancora su Massimo Margunio, *Bollettino dell' Istituto di storia della società e dello stato veneziano*, 5/6(1963-64)203-13; G. FEDALTO-G. PLUMIDIS, Nuovi inediti di Massimo Margunio, *Κρητικὰ Χρονικά*, 23(1971)224-30; G. PLUMIDIS-G. FEDALTO, Emanuele-Massimo Margunio (1549-1602) e il Διάλογος περὶ ἀθλιότητος ἀνθρωπίνης dedicato a Giovanni Vincenzo Pinelli, *Memorie della Accademia patavina di scienze, lettere ed arti. Classe di scienze morali, lettere ed arti*, 80(1967-68)257-71; D. J. GEANAKOPLOS, An Overlooked Post-Byzantine Plan for Religious Union with Rome: Maximos Margounios the Cretan Humanist-Bishop and his Latin Library Bequeathed to Mt. Athos, *his Byzantine East & Latin West*. New York, 1966, 165-93; G. SCHIRÒ, Missione umanistica di Massimo Margunio a Venezia, *Rivista di studi bizantini e neoellenici*, n.s., 4, 14(1967)159-83=*Venezia e l' Oriente fra tardo Medioevo e Rinascimento*. Venezia, 1966, 241-65.
- ² BH II, lxiii-lxiv; G. FEDALTO, *Massimo Margunio*, 16 and his Excursus storico sulla vita, 214 and note 7.
- ³ BH II, xxiii and note 3 and BH II, 199-200, where the dedicatory epistle is reproduced.
- ⁴ G. FEDALTO, Massimo Margunio, 17-22; BH II, xxiii; see also P. CANART, Les épigrammes de Thomas Trivizanos, *Θησαυρίσματα*, 8(1971)210-11 and his L'unique exemplaire connu de l'oeuvre grecque de Thomas Trivizanos, *Studi offerti a Roberto Ridolfi*. Firenze, 1973, 187-88. Monsignor Canart observes that Trivizanos did not teach in Padua and that it was in Crete that Margounios met him.
- ⁵ For the bibliography of Margounios as a copyist, see PATRINELIS, 95-97; GAMILLSCHEG-HARLFINGER I no. 259 and II no. 256.
- ⁶ G. FEDALTO, *Massimo Margunio*, 28-29; G. PLUMIDI-G. FEDALTO, Emanuele-Massimo Margunio, 257-62. On the Pinelli library see M. GRENDLER, A Greek Collection in Padua: the Library of Gian Vincenzo Pinelli (1535-1601), *Renaissance Quarterly*, 33(1980)386-416.
- ⁷ *Divi Ioannis Damasceni Contra Manichaeos, dialogus*. Patavii, 1572 (BH II, xxv-xxvii; FEDALTO, *Massimo Margunio*, Appendix I no. I).
- ⁸ BH II, xxviii-xxx; G. FEDALTO, *Massimo Margunio*, 30-31.
- ⁹ BH II, xxx-xxxii; G. FEDALTO, *Massimo Margunio*, 36; D. J. GEANAKOPLOS, An Overlooked, 168.
- ¹⁰ G. FEDALTO, *Massimo Margunio*, 36-38 and Appendix I no. X; BH II xxxii.
- ¹¹ G. FEDALTO, *Massimo Margunio*, 42-48; D. J. GEANAKOPLOS, An Overlooked, 168-69.
- ¹² G. FEDALTO, Processione dello Spirito Santo, 301-07 and his *Massimo Margunio e la sua opera per conciliare la sentenza degli Orientali e dei Latini sulla processione dello Spirito Santo*. Padua, 1961.
- ¹³ BH II, xli-lv; G. FEDALTO, *Massimo Margunio*, 38-39, 56-61, 65-67; D. J. GEANAKOPLOS, *Byzantine East and Latin West*, 165-77; Χ. ΠΑΠΑΔΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, Συμβολὴ εἰς τὴν ἱστορίαν τοῦ Μαξίμου Μαργουνίου, 708-27; Κ. Ι. ΔΥΟΒΟΥΝΙΩΤΗΣ, Μάξιμος ὁ Μαργούνιος, 164-68; Π. Γ. ΝΙΚΟΛΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, Μαξίμου τοῦ Μαργουνίου ἐπιστολαὶ δύο ἀνέκδοτοι, *Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν*, 20(1950)331-39 and his Μαξίμου τοῦ Μαργουνίου ὁμιλία ἐπὶ διαλλαγῇ, *Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν*, 21(1951)283-95; Μ. Ι. ΜΑΝΟΥΣΑΚΑΣ, *Ἀνέκδοτα πατριαρχικὰ γράμματα*, 21-29, The Margounios Severos correspondence can be found in G. LAMI, *Deliciae eruditorum seu veterum ἀνεκδότων opusculorum collectanea*. Florentiae, 1740, IX, 1-61, 113-349.
- ¹⁴ Γ. Ι. ΖΑΒΙΡΑΣ, *Νέα Ἑλλάς*, 467; VRETOS, II, 301; G. FEDALTO, Excursus storico, 216.

- ¹⁵ Although the name of Maximos Margounios does not appear in either of these two books, according to most scholars they were edited by Maximos Margounios. See A. ΔΗΜΗΤΡΑΚΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, *Προσθήκαι*, 30-31; BH II, 48-49; G. FEDALTO, *Massimo Margunio*, 50.
- ¹⁶ G. FEDALTO, *Massimo Margunio*, 62.
- ¹⁷ Ἐπιστολαὶ δύο. α' Περὶ τοῦ Τίνα τρόπον ἐν τοῖς οὖσι παρακεχώρηται τὰ κακά. β' Περὶ τῆς τοῦ Παναγίου Πνεύματος ἐκπορεύσεως. Frankfurt, 1591 (BH II, 420; FEDALTO, APPENDIX I no. XXI).
- ¹⁸ BH II, xliii-xliv; H. F. BROWN, *The Venetian*, 135-37; G. FEDALTO, *Massimo Margunio*, 63-64.
- ¹⁹ G. FEDALTO, *Massimo Margunio*, 64-65; for the text of the letter written by Margounios to the Holy Synod see BH II, xlvii-liv.
- ²⁰ *Index librorum prohibitorum cum regulis confectis per Patres à Tridentina Synodo delectos auctoritate Pii IV primum editus, postea vero à Sixto V auctus, et nunc demum s. d. n. Clementis Papae VIII. iussu recognitus & publicatus*. Romae, 1596.
- ²¹ D. J. GEANAKOPOLOS, *Byzantine East and Latin West*, 171-73.
- ²² See BH II no. 288.
- ²³ BH II, lxi-lxii. G. FEDALTO, *Massimo Margunio*, 74.
- ²⁴ BH II, lxiii-lxiv; G. FEDALTO, *Massimo Margunio*, 75-76.
- ²⁵ Margounios's will is reproduced in BH II, 391-93. For the Latin books bequeathed to the monastery of Iveron, see D. J. GEANAKOPOLOS, *Byzantine East*, 177-99 and his *The Library of the Cretan Humanist-Bishop, Maximos Margounios, Especially his Collection of Latin Books Bequeathed to Mount Athos*, *Πεπραγμένα του Β' Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου*. Ἀθήναι, III, 1968, 75-91; B. L. FONKITCH, *Materiali dlia izutchenia biblioteki Maxima Margunia, Vizantiiskii Vremennik*, 38(1977)141-53. For the writings of Maximos Margounios both manuscripts and printed books, see G. FEDALTO, *Massimo Margunio*, Appendix I, 259-89.
- ²⁶ These do not include books edited by others in which Margounios contributed only a letter, or verses.
- ²⁷ Henceforward cited as FEDALTO, Appendix.
- ²⁸ I wish to extend many thanks to Dr. Ulrich Moennig for sending me bibliographic information for this and many other Greek books from various German libraries.
- ²⁹ See also BH XVIIIs. I no. 26.
- ³⁰ See also BH XVIIIs. I no. 22 and especially the Short-Title List of Greek Books for Greek Readers in Part I.
- ³¹ See also A. ΔΗΜΗΤΡΑΚΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, *Προσθήκαι*, 20; FEDALTO. Appendix I no. L, lists 1607 as the first edition of this work, see BH XVIIIs. I no. 36.

Leontios Monghistos, fl. 1564

ALL that is known about Leontios Monghistos¹ is given in the colophons of two liturgical books he corrected in Venice in 1564; mainly that he was born in Nauplia and that he was a monk. One of the books, the *Anthologion*, 1564 (PAPADOPOULOS II no. 220^a), was edited/corrected in conjunction with Zacharias Skordylis. Both books were printed at the expense of Hippolitos Valeris, a prominent member of the Greek Brotherhood of Venice. It is almost certain that it was Leontios Monghistos and not Leontios Eustratios, as indicated by A. Moustoxydes,² who composed the paraphrase of "Στίχοι ἱαμβικοί εἰς τὴν ὑπεραγίαν Θεοτόκον" included in all of the editions of Z. Skordylis's *Περὶ τῶν τῆς συγγενείας βαθμῶν* (fig. 38).³ Leontios Eustratios (b. 1565 or 1566) of Cyprus was a pupil of Maximos Margounios and was in Venice much later, toward the end of the sixteenth century.⁴

- 1564 Ἀνθολόγιον (PAPADOPOULOS II no. 220^a)
"δεξιότητι καὶ ἐπιδιορθώσει Ζαχαρίου Ἱερέως σκωρδυλίου [sic]...ἔτιτε πόνω καὶ ἐπιμελεία, Λεοντίου μοναχοῦ ναυπλιέως, τοῦ μογγιστοῦ"
- 1564 Εὐχολόγιον (BH IV no. 620; PHOSKOLOS B no. 5)
"πόνω δὲ καὶ δεξιότητι καὶ ἐπιμελεία πολλή, διορθωθὲν καὶ ἀκριβῶς συντεθέν, παρὰ τοῦ ἐν μοναχοῖς λεοντίου ναυπλιέως τοῦ μογγιστοῦ"
- 1564 Ζ. Σκορδύλης, *Περὶ τῶν τῆς συγγενείας βαθμῶν* (PAPADOPOULOS II no. 1005)
Andrea Spinelli
Folio 82^r: Παράφρασις Λεοντίου μοναχοῦ
- 1564 Ζ. Σκορδύλης, *Περὶ τῶν τῆς συγγενείας βαθμῶν* (BH II no. 142; FINAZZI no. 93)⁵
Giacomo Leoncini
Leaf 45^r: Παράφρασις Λεοντίου μοναχοῦ

NOTES

¹ KONTOSOPOULOS, 314; ILIOU, 65.

² *Ἑλληνομνήμων*, 5(1843)314.

³ For other editions of this work, see under Zacharias Skordylis in Part. II.

⁴ For Leontios Eustratios, see I. A. ΣΥΚΟΥΤΡΗΣ, *Ἐκθεσις*, 107-112; Α. ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ, *Τὰ Ἑλληνικὰ γράμματα ἐν Κύπρῳ*, II, 32-41; Ν. ΚΑΤΡΑΜΗΣ, *Φιλολογικὰ ἀνάλεκτα Ζακύνθου*, 121-22.

⁵ See note 3 above.

Ioannes Nathanael, fl. 1534-1577

THE first mention of Ioannes Nathanael¹ is found in a manuscript on which there is a note in his hand dated 1 November 1534 stating that, on that date, he had left his parent's home and had come to Rethymnon in Crete. Where the paternal home was is not mentioned in the note. From yet another note we learn that Ioannes Nathanael married on 1 January 1537.² Because of the paucity of documentation during the early parts of Nathanael's career, it is not clear whether he received his education under the aegis of the uniate scholarships in Crete that, with funds from the "legs de Bessarion," trained and educated some of the most famous Greek clerics and scribes of the sixteenth century.³ In view of Nathanael's later career and his close association with Catholic circles, this might be quite possible.⁴ One of his sons, Antonios, was the recipient of one of the scholarships of the "legs de Bessarion," and another son, Eustathios, was educated in Rome, first at the German College and later at the Roman Seminary.⁵ At any rate, Ioannes Nathanael was well-educated no matter where he received his education.

The next mention of Ioannes Nathanael is found in a manuscript dated 1541, where he complains of extreme poverty. It appears that throughout his life, Nathanael was haunted by financial troubles real or imaginary. Besides copying manuscripts for wealthy patrons — among his patrons in Crete was the nobleman and bibliophile collector Antonios Kallierges — Ioannes Nathanael also taught. In order to supplement his income, he also sold the wine from a small property he owned.⁶

Some time after July 1543 and before 1547, Ioannes Nathanael was ordained priest. For the next dozen years, he officiated as priest and preacher in Crete. In 1559,⁷ he decided to go to Venice in order to sell manuscripts and try to ameliorate his financial situation and that of his son, Nikolaos, who accompanied him to Venice. While in Venice he made several attempts to obtain the post of chaplain of San Giorgio dei Greci, but he was unsuccessful in procuring the position. By 17 February 1566, he was back in Rethymnon. While in Venice, Nathanael sold a number of manuscripts to various humanists. During a second trip to Venice, in January of 1567 (1566 Venetian year), Ioannes Nathanael was finally elected priest of San Giorgio dei Greci. During this second period in Venice his activities included editing and correcting, as well as his duties as priest and preacher of the church of the Greek Community. He edited a number of liturgical works printed by Giacomo Leoncini. He also edited an *Anthologion* and a series of *Menaia* for Hippolitos Valeris, continued his activities as a scribe, and also sold manuscripts.⁸ Because Nathanael and the other priest, Konstantinos Kigalas, were constantly bickering with each other, they were both dismissed from their posts in 1571.⁹

Ioannes Nathanael next went to Rome, accompanied by his son Eustathios. With him he carried a letter of recommendation to Cardinal G. Sirleto, the Cardinal Librarian of the Vatican, from the Latin Archbishop of Cyprus, Filippo Mocenigo. Nathanael was received well by Cardinal Sirleto, who was well-disposed toward Greek scholars and scribes. In Rome, Nathanael also met Cardinal Antonio Carafa and other notable collectors of manuscripts in the Vatican circles. One of the collectors he provided manuscripts for in Rome was the Portuguese humanist Achille Estaço (Statius), who was residing in Rome at the time, and Fulvio Orsini.¹⁰

Nathanael was back in Venice by 1573, where he tried again to obtain the position of priest of San Giorgio dei Greci. However, he was unsuccessful in obtaining the post. He then wrote to the Patriarch Hieremias II of Constantinople in an attempt to become the representative of the Patriarch in collecting taxes for the Patriarchate in Herakleion and in its outlying districts. While waiting for the outcome of his request to the Patriarch, he earned a living copying and selling manuscripts. He also resumed his editorial activities in Venice. The most important of his publications was the edition of the Divine Liturgy, 1574 (BH II no. 268; figs. 91, 125), for which he translated commentaries and excerpts from various theologians into modern Greek.¹¹ It was also during this period — between the end of November 1573 and July 1574 — that Ioannes Nathanael spent some time in Ancona where he was appointed priest of the Greek Orthodox Church there.

In the colophon of the *Θεία Λειτουργία* (BH II no. 268) Nathanael calls himself “οἰκονόμος καὶ ἐπίτροπος τοῦ τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως οἰκουμενικοῦ πατριάρχου κυρίου Ἱερεμίου” (fig. 201), which indicates that his appeal to the Patriarch to represent him had been granted. However, his jurisdiction was not nearly as large as he had requested. While Nathanael was representing the Patriarch of Constantinople in Herakleion, he also maintained excellent relations with the Catholic hierarchy both on Crete and in Rome. Extant letters Nathanael wrote during this period include ones addressed to Gaspare Viviano, Vicar of the Latin Archbishop of Crete, and the Cardinals G. Sirleto and A. Carafa.¹²

In August of 1575, Nathanael was back in Venice from Ancona. For the last time, he placed his name as a candidate for the position of priest of the Greek Community of Venice. He was again unsuccessful in obtaining the post. He returned to Crete in 1576, where he collected taxes for the Patriarchate of Constantinople while also maintaining his contacts with the Latin hierarchy. These unionist activities must have reached the ears of Patriarch Hieremias II, for in November 1576 the Patriarch excommunicated Nathanael and another Cretan priest, Petros Rodios.¹³ However, Nathanael's excommunication did not diminish his prestige among the Latin circles in Crete. On 7 May 1577, upon the death of the Protopapas of Candia, Hilarion Soterchos, the Duke of Candia and his councillors appointed Ioannes Nathanael to replace Soterchos in this highest position in the Orthodox hierarchy of Crete. Later on, Ioannes Nathanael also managed to provide himself with some of the income from the “legs de Bessarion,” which was reserved for Greek Catholic priests. However, he did not live long enough to enjoy his security, for he died shortly after, in November 1577.¹⁴

As we have mentioned, Ioannes Nathanael edited and corrected a series of *Menaia* and other liturgical publications for the Greek merchant and publisher Hippolitos Valeris,¹⁵ who was active

· Η' παροῦσα λειτουργία μετὰ διαφορῶν ἐξηγήσεων ἐτυπώθη ἐν τῇ
· σπ, ἐν οἰκίᾳ μὲν, Ἰακώβου τῆς Λεογύγιον ἀναλώμασι καὶ ἐπιμελέει·
· Ἰωάννου ἱερέως, τῷ Ναθαναήλ οἰκονόμου καὶ ἐπιτρόπου τῆς κωνσταν-
· τίνου πόλεως οἰκουμενικοῦ πατριάρχου κυρίου Ἱερεμίου ὡς καὶ παρὰ τῆς ἐκ
· λαμπροτάτης ἀρχῆς τῶν ἐσσωχρῶν προνομήσιν, δι' ἧς καὶ ἵνα μη-
· δις, ταυτὶ τυπώσῃται, ἐξομολογήσῃται δόξα δόξα, εἰς τὸ αἰ-
· πὸν τῆς ἐκείνης οἰκονομίας τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ, ἀφοδιμῶς μαρτυ-
· ρῶν.

fig. 201

Ἡ παρούσα ἀποστολικὴ εἰς βίβλος, ἐτύπωθ' ἐν Βερεπίαις ἐμοὶ
 καὶ κυρίου Ἰακώβου τοῦ λεογύμου. Ὁρῶντες μὲν τοῖς
 αὐτοῦ ἡρακταῖα θεῖα δὲ χάριτι τοῦ πατριάρχου καὶ κτήτορος θεοῦ
 πλείστη ἐπιμελεία τε καὶ πόνοι ἐκ τῶν προτέρων αὐτῆς ποι-
 κίλων σφαλμάτων παρ' ἐμοῦ ἐλαχίστου ἱερέως Ἰωάννου
 τοῦ Ναθαναήλου τοῦ καὶ κήρυκος τοῦ εὐαγγελίου τοῦ Χριστοῦ.
 Ἐπεὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς οἰκονομίας. **Κ Φ Ο Η.**

fig. 202

in the affairs of the Greek Brotherhood of Venice for many years. He also edited and corrected a number of liturgical editions for the Italian publisher Giacomo Leoncini (figs. 202, 203).¹⁶ These publications are:

- | | |
|------|--|
| 1568 | Ἀνθολόγιον (PAPADOPOULOS II no. 232 ^a) H. Valeris
"δεξιότητι δὲ καὶ ἐπιδιορθώσει Ἰωάννου ἱερέως τοῦ ναθαναήλου" |
| 1568 | Βιβλίον Μαρτίου (BH IV no. 650) H. Valeris
"δεξιότητι δὲ καὶ ἐπιδιορθώσει κάμοῦ Ἰωάννου ἱερέως τοῦ ναθαναήλου" |
| 1568 | Βιβλίον Ἀπριλλίου (BH IV no. 651) H. Valeris
As above |
| 1568 | Βιβλίον Μαΐου (BH IV no. 652) H. Valeris
As above |
| 1568 | Βιβλίον Ἰουνίου (BH IV no. 653) H. Valeris
As above |
| 1568 | Βιβλίον Ἰουλίου (BH IV no. 654) H. Valeris
As above |
| 1568 | Βιβλίον Αὐγούστου (BH IV no. 655) H. Valeris
As above |
| 1568 | Βιβλίον Σεπτεμβρίου (LADAS no. 59) H. Valeris
As above |
| 1568 | Βιβλίον Ὀκτωβρίου (LADAS no. 60) H. Valeris
As above |
| 1569 | Ἀπόστολος (LADAS no. 64; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 236) G. Leoncini
"πλείστη ἐπιμελεία τε καὶ πόνοι ἐκ τῶν προτέρων αὐτῆς ποικίλων σφαλμάτων
παρ' ἐμοῦ ἐλαχίστου ἱερέως Ἰωάννου τοῦ Ναθαναήλου τοῦ καὶ κήρυκος τοῦ
εὐαγγελίου τοῦ Χϛ" |
| 1569 | Βιβλίον Μαρτίου (BH IV no. 664; EISS III no. 4012) G. Leoncini
"πόνος δὲ καὶ ἐπιμελεία πλείστη, διορθωθὲν παρὰ τοῦ ἐν ἱερεῦσιν ἐλαχίστου
Ἰωάννου τοῦ Ναθαναήλου καὶ κήρυκος τοῦ εὐαγγελίου τοῦ Χϛ" |

- 1569 Βιβλίον Ἀπριλλίου (BH IV no. 665; EISS III no. 4012) G. Leoncini
As above
- 1569 Βιβλίον Μαΐου (BH IV no. 666; EISS III no. 4012) G. Leoncini
As above
- 1569 Βιβλίον Ἰουνίου (BH IV no. 667; EISS III no. 4012) G. Leoncini
As above
- 1569 Βιβλίον Ἰουλίου (BH IV no. 668; EISS III no. 4012) G. Leoncini
As above
- 1569 Βιβλίον Αὐγούστου (BH IV no. 669; EISS III no. 4012) G. Leoncini
As above
- 1569 Παρακλητική (PAPADOPOULOS II no. 239)¹⁷ G. Leoncini
As above
- 1570-71 Εὐχολόγιον (BH IV no. 680; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 246) H. Valeris
"πόνω δὲ καὶ δεξιότητι καὶ ἐπιμελεία πολλῇ, διορθωθὲν καὶ ἀκριβῶς συντεθὲν
παρὰ τοῦ ἐν ἱερεῦσι κυρίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Ναθαναήλου"
- 1573 Ἀπόστολος (ILIOU no. 14; LADAS no. 67)¹⁸ G. Leoncini
"πλείστη ἐπιμελεία τε καὶ πόνω ἐκ τῶν προτέρων αὐτῆς ποικίλων σφαλμάτων
παρ' ἐμοῦ ἐλαχίστου ἱερέως Ἰωάννου τοῦ Ναθαναήλου τοῦ καὶ κήρυκος τοῦ
εὐαγγελίου τοῦ Χϋ"
- 1573 Τριώδιον (BH IV no. 689) G. Leoncini
Title page: "Ἐπιδιορθώσει κυρίου θύτου τοῦ Ναθαναήλου"
Colophon: "ἐπιμελεία δὲ καὶ ἐπιδιορθώσει, Συμεὼν μοναχοῦ κυπρίου, τοῦ
βεριβέλου"
- 1574 Ὡρολόγιον (BH II no. 154) G. Leoncini
"ἐπιμελεία δὲ καὶ ἐπιδιορθώσει, Ἰωάννου ἱερέως τοῦ Ναθαναήλου"
- 1574 Θεία Λειτουργία (BH II no. 268) G. Leoncini
"ἀναλώμασι δὲ καὶ ἐπιμελεία, Ἰωάννου ἱερέως τοῦ Ναθαναήλου οἰκονόμου καὶ
ἐπιτρόπου τοῦ τῆς κωνσταντινου πόλεως οἰκουμενικοῦ πατριάρχου κυρίου
Ἱερεμίου"
- 1578 Ἀπόστολος (ILIOU no. 14; LADAS no. 67) G. Leoncini
Title page: "πλείστη ἐπιμελεία τε καὶ πόνω ἐκ τῶν προτέρων αὐτῆς ποικίλων
σφαλμάτων παρ' ἐμοῦ ἐλαχίστου ἱερέως Ἰωάννου τοῦ Ναθαναήλου τοῦ καὶ
κήρυκος τοῦ εὐαγγελίου τοῦ Χϋ...1573"
Colophon: As above=1578
- 1580 Παρακλητική (PAPADOPOULOS II no. 239)¹⁹ G. Leoncini
Title page: Mark of Giacomo Leoncini...1580
- 1580 Τριώδιον (ILIOU nos. 12 & 15; LADAS no. 75; EISS III no. 4022) G. Leoncini
Title page: "Ἐπιδιορθώσει κυρίου θύτου τοῦ Ναθαναήλου...1580"
Colophon: "ἐπιμελεία δὲ καὶ ἐπιδιορθώσει, Συμεὼν μοναχοῦ κυπρίου, τοῦ
βεριβέλου...1574"



Τὸ παρὸν μὲν αὐτὸν ἐτυπώθη ἐν οἰκίᾳ κυρίου Ἰακώβου τοῦ Λεογίμου. ἀγαλῶ-
μασι μὲν, τοῖς αὐτοῦ. πόρῳ δὲ καὶ ἐπιμελέα πλείῃ, διορθωθὲν παρὰ τοῦ ἐν ἱερῶ-
σι ἐλαχίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χαθαμῆλου καὶ κήρυκος τοῦ εὐαγγελίου τοῦ Χυ.
ἔτι τῷ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν σόκον οἰκορρομίας τοῦ κυρίου Ἰϋ Χυ, α, φξθ.

fig. 203

NOTES

- ¹ SATHAS, 231; BH II, 204-05, 422-23; A. ΔΗΜΗΤΡΑΚΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, Προσθήκαι καὶ διορθώσεις, 36-37; Γ. Ι. ΖΑΒΙΡΑΣ, Νέα Ἑλλάς, 342-43; KONTOSOPOULOS, 314; P. CANART, La carrière ecclésiastique, 793-824 and his Jean Nathanaël et le commerce des manuscrits grecs à Venise au XVI^e siècle, II, 417-38; see also A. E. ΚΑΡΑΘΑΝΑΣΗΣ, Ἡ ἐκκλησιαστικὴ ρητορική, 145-46; E. ΛΙΑΤΑ, Ἱερεῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων, 102 no. 43.
- ² P. CANART, La carrière, 793-96.
- ³ On the "legs de Bessarion" established in 1462 and its main beneficiaries see Z. N. ΤΣΙΡΠΑΝΛΗΣ, Τὸ κληροδότημα, 89-95 and 133-49.
- ⁴ P. CANART, La carrière, 797-98.
- ⁵ P. CANART, Jean Nathanaël, 434, note 69 and his La carrière, 808-09, note 4.
- ⁶ P. CANART, La carrière, 798-99; BH II, 204. For Nathanael as a scribe see PATRINELIS, 99; GAMILLSCHEG-HARLFINGER, I no. 173 and II no. 231 but especially P. CANART, Jean Nathanaël, II, 417-38.
- ⁷ P. CANART, La carrière, 802 but see E. Δ. ΛΙΑΤΑ, Ἱερεῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων, 102, who found evidence in the archives of the Greek Community that Nathanael had sought to gain the position of priest of Saint George of the Greeks as early as July 1558 but did not succeed. He therefore must have returned to Crete in 1558 and not in 1559.
- ⁸ P. CANART, La carrière, 802-05; for his activities as a scribe and dealing in manuscripts see P. CANART, Jean Nathanaël, II, 417-38; see also A. E. ΚΑΡΑΘΑΝΑΣΗΣ, Ἡ ἐκκλησιαστικὴ ρητορική, 145-46 where he speaks of Nathanael as a preacher.
- ⁹ P. CANART, La carrière, 806; see also Φ. ΜΑΥΡΟΕΙΔΗ, Συμβολή, 36.
- ¹⁰ For a detailed account on his Roman sojourn and the humanists Ioannes Nathanael copied or sold manuscripts to see P. CANART, La carrière, 807-09 and his Jean Nathanaël, II, 432-35.

11 The preface of the 1574 edition of the Divine Liturgy has been reproduced in BH II, 202-04; see also E. Δ. ΚΑΚΟΥΛΙΔΗ, Κατάλογος τῶν ἐλληνικῶν χειρογράφων τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Ἰνστιτούτου Βενετίας, *Θησαυρίσματα*, 8(1971)255-56 no. 8.

12 P. CANART, *La carrière*, 814-19.

13 P. CANART, *La carrière*, 810-21. The news of the excommunication was reported in S. GERLACH, *Tagebuch*. Frankfurth am Mayn, 1674, 271; a French translation of the entry (17 November 1576) is given in CANART, *La carrière*, 820-21 and BH II, 422-23.

14 P. CANART, *La carrière*, 822-23.

15 See also under Hippolitos Valeris in Part II.

16 See also under Giacomo Leoncini in Part II.

17 Description by PAPADOPOULOS from an incomplete edition consisting of leaves of the 1569 edition with a new title page dated 1580 but with the 1569 colophon see under 1580. PAPADOPOULOS reconstructed the colophon to read: "ἐν οἰκίᾳ [Ἱπολίτου Βαλέριδος, διορθώσει] κυρίου [...]λαχίστου [ἱερέως Ἰωάννου Ναθανα]ήλου τοῦ καὶ κήρυ[κος] [...]...αφξθ'." However, the publisher of this *Parakletike* is not H. Valeris as indicated in PAPADOPOULOS II no. 239 but Giacomo Leoncini whose mark is on the title page. See the preface of the *March Menaion*, 1569 (BH IV, 155-56) where the editor, I. Nathanael, mentions that H. Valeris had published the *Anthologion* and the *Menaia* for Spring and Summer and Giacomo Leoncini had projected the printing of the *Menaia* for Spring as well as an *Apostolos* and a *Parakletike*. Thus the colophon should read: "ἐν οἰκίᾳ [κυρίου Ἰακώβου τοῦ Λεογκίνου. ἀναλώμασι μὲν τοῖς αὐτοῦ. πόνῳ δὲ καὶ ἐπιμελείᾳ πλείστη διορθωθὲν παρὰ τοῦ ἐν ἱερεῦσιν ἐλα]χίστου [Ἰωάννου τοῦ Ναθανα]ήλου τοῦ καὶ κήρυ[κος] τοῦ εὐαγγελίου...αφξθ'."

18 Not extant. Reprint of 1569 edition.

19 Composite edition made up of unsold leaves from 1569 edition. See note 17 above.

The Nicolini da Sabbio, fl. 1521-1557

THE brothers Nicolini da Sabbio or Sabio¹ were the most active printers of Greek in Italy during the second quarter of the sixteenth century.² Giovanni Antonio, Stefano, Pietro, and Giovanni Maria were brothers. They were later joined by a nephew, Cornelio. Another nephew, Domenico, did not take part in printing Greek. The Nicolini da Sabbio were originally from Sabbio, now Sabbio Chiese, in the province of Brescia. It is not known when they moved to Venice or where they received their training. It has been said that they learned the art of printing at Toscolano and then moved to Venice. However, there is no documentary evidence to confirm this assertion.³ We do know with certainty that, some time before 1521, the brothers Nicolini da Sabbio were working at the printing establishment of Andrea Torresano of Asola, who directed the Aldine press after Aldus's death in 1515. The brothers were lured away from the firm by Andreas Kounadis, a wealthy Greek businessman who wanted to establish a publishing firm to bring out Greek books for Greek readers. By promising to make Stefano, the most enterprising and accomplished of the brothers, a "maestro" and set him up in business, Kounadis succeeded in persuading the brothers to come and work for him.⁴

After leaving Andrea Torresano, the Nicolini da Sabbio established themselves at the Calle del Forno at San Fantin, as stated in some of their early colophons.⁵ However, beginning in January 1525, Stefano da Sabbio had a different address.⁶ The earliest works that mention the Nicolini da Sabbio name were printed in 1521. At one time, it was believed that the first book printed by them came out in 1512. This date, however, which was found in some copies of the *Epistole: et euangelij volgari hystoriade* (ESSLING no. 195; SANDER no. 2578; MORTIMER no. 59), was a misprint for 1522.⁷ The next earliest book that bears the name of the Nicolini da Sabbio in its colophon was supposedly printed in 1516, according to an entry in G. W. Panzer.⁸ No mention of the Nicolini da Sabbio is found after this until 1521, when at least seven books mention their name in colophons.⁹ The information supplied by Stefano to the Venetian patriarchal authorities in 1527 revealed the information that all of the brothers were working for Andrea Torresano of Asola¹⁰ and left only after they were contacted by Andreas Kounadis.¹¹ If this is true, then the 1516 date given in Panzer could also be erroneous. Although Stefano appeared to be the leader of the brothers and was made a "maistro" by arrangement with Andreas Kounadis, his name was not the first to appear in the publications of 1521. All the colophons from 1521 through 1523 say the books were printed by Giovanni Antonio and unspecified brothers.¹²

The first Greek book to appear under the Nicolini da Sabbio name, launching the publications of Andreas Kounadis, was the *Psalterion*, 1521 (BH III no. 230). However, it is clear that the Nicolini da Sabbio were free to print other books, either at their own expense or at the expense of others, so long as they met their obligations toward Andreas Kounadis, who had set them up in business. In 1521, they printed at least two works at the expense of Nicolò and Domenico dal Jesus (ESSLING nos. 2109 and 2121), as well as some works that do not mention publisher or financial backer. An application for copyright, dated November 19, 1521, and listed in R. Fulin,¹³ stated that "Antonio da Sabio e fratelli vogliono dare in luce l' opera del *Liburnio, De copia et varietate facvndiae latinae*," and requested a fifteen-year copyright. The work was published

by the da Sabbio in March 1522.¹⁴ The Nicolini da Sabbio, especially Giovanni Antonio and Stefano, were among the printers who applied frequently for copyright for the publication of romances of chivalry, a genre of literature that was extremely popular in the first half of the sixteenth century.¹⁵ Stefano's name does not appear in colophons before 1524. Before then, all of the da Sabbio books printed in Greek bore the name of Giovanni Antonio and brothers. In 1525, Stefano's new title began appearing in colophons: "per maestro Stephano de Sabio" (LADAS no. 15). From a colophon of the *Pentekostarion*, 1525 (BH III no. 270), we learn the name of their father: "in Aedibus Stephani: filii quondam Turini de Sabio."¹⁶ It is quite possible that, between the time the brothers left the employ of Andrea Torresano and 1524, Stefano was employed in engraving and cutting type. We know from other sources that Stefano was also an engraver and punch-cutter.¹⁷ As I will discuss later, the Nicolini da Sabbio, and especially Stefano, worked with a variety of Greek type, most of which must have been engraved and cut by Stefano. It is therefore possible that, during this time, Stefano was occupied producing new type. It is not clear whether or not Andreas Kounadis's first Greek font, the one he used to print his liturgical publications, was engraved by Stefano. It is quite possible that it was, for, in the preface of the *Menaion* of March 1569 (BH IV no. 664) published by G. Leoncini, its editor, Ioannes Nathanael, says "θαυμάζων καὶ μακαρίζων τὰς χαλκοτυπίας τοῦ τε Ἀνδρέου τοῦ κουνάδου καὶ τοῦ σαβίνου [sic] ἐκείνου."¹⁸

We should also note here that, beginning in 1521, a number of Greek books appeared under the names of Melchiorre Sessa and Pietro Ravani, who were in partnership between 1516 and 1525.¹⁹ The books in question do not mention the name of the printer or printers unless the printer was Pietro Ravani himself. However, all of these books were printed with a type (20 lines=84-85 mm) that is identical with the type used for an *Horologion* in 1523 (BH II no. 235; ESSLING no. 2215; SANDER no. 3468; fig. 30) that was printed by Giovanni Antonio and brothers for Martino Locatelli. This *Horologion* was also the first Greek book appearing under the Nicolini da Sabbio name that did not belong to the Kounadis-di Santa Maria group and was printed with a type that did not belong to those publishers. From this, we can infer either that the Nicolini da Sabbio printed the above-mentioned works for Sessa and Ravani or that Stefano sold a set of matrices to Pietro Ravani. When the Sessa-Ravani partnership was dissolved in 1525, the type remained in the hands of Pietro Ravani and his heirs, who used it repeatedly to print Greek books (fig. 39).²⁰

Meanwhile, the Nicolini da Sabbio continued to print Greek liturgical and modern Greek editions for Andreas Kounadis and Damiano di Santa Maria, usually two or three books per year. At the same time they also printed a variety of works at the expense of other clients. The brothers usually worked in pairs but also alone. As already mentioned, Giovanni Antonio Nicolini da Sabbio was the first brother to appear in print. Between 1521 and 1546,²¹ his name appeared in at least forty-four Greek books, as well as countless others in Latin, Italian, and even Spanish. At the start of his career, his name is found in various colophons accompanied by the designations "per Ioan. Antonium et fratres de Sabio" or "Giouan Antonio et fratelli de Sabio." Between 1542 and 1546, he worked with his brother Pietro "per Giouanni Antonio & Pietro fratelli di Nicolini da Sabio" or "ἐν οἰκίᾳ ἰωάννου ἀντωνίου καὶ πέτρου τῶν σαβιέων καὶ ἀνταδέλφων." It was believed that Giovanni Antonio, with Lodovico and Vincenzo, perhaps his sons, left Venice and returned to Brescia, where he opened a shop as the agent of various booksellers and publishers.²² Although later Lodovico printed a few books in Brescia, Giovanni Antonio's name does not appear in any printed books there.²³ Thus he disappears from colophons of books after 1546.

The name of another brother, Pietro, appeared in one colophon in 1524.²⁴ However, Pietro's name reappeared only in 1533, and from then on, he worked mainly with Italian and Latin publi-

cations. Between 1542 and 1552, Pietro's name is found again in several Greek imprints. During the years between 1542 and 1546, he worked either alone or with Giovanni Antonio. After 1546, he also printed with Giovanni Maria and his nephew Cornelio. Pietro's name appears for the last time in 1567. However, the date of the book in question was a misprint.²⁵ He printed his last Greek book in 1552. His brother, Giovanni Maria, apparently worked exclusively with Pietro. Giovanni Maria's name always appears with Pietro's and often with a nephew Cornelio: "per Pietro & Gio. Maria fratelli & Cornelio nepote de Nicolini da Sabio."²⁶ Giovanni Maria's name only appears in books between the years 1549 and 1551. Cornelio Nicolini da Sabbio worked with his uncles Pietro and Giovanni Maria between 1547 and 1549. Cornelio also worked with his brother Domenico Nicolini during the late 1550s.²⁷

As we have seen, the Nicolini da Sabbio worked singly or in pairs and appeared regularly in a great many Venetian imprints between 1521 and the early 1550s. They were primarily printers, and, with some exceptions, they always worked for other publishers or on commission from individual authors, editors, or translators. They printed in excess of three hundred books for such publishers as Andrea Torresano and his sons Francesco and Federico, Nicolò and Domenico dal Jesus, Andrea Arrivabene, Nicolò Garanta, Giovanni Pederzano, Ottaviano Scoto, Melchiorre Sessa, Nicolò Tartaglia, Nicolò Zoppino, and, of course, Andreas Kounadis and Damiano di Santa Maria. Their Greek clientele included, besides Andreas and Petros Kounadis, Arsenios Apostolis, Menandros Noukios, Demetrios Zenos, and Angelos Fortias, or Forte.²⁸

As mentioned earlier, Stefano²⁹ was the dominant and most accomplished member of the brothers Nicolini da Sabbio. His name first appears in colophons in 1524 in at least seven books, four of which were in Greek, two printed at the expense of Damiano di Santa Maria and two of Petros Kounadis. From this date through 1526, the name of Stefano appears in a great many imprints in Greek, Italian, and Latin. During this period, Stefano worked alone and often used the word "maestro" before his name. His name cannot be found in colophons in 1527, and only one book, not extant, supposedly had Stefano's name in its colophon in 1528, namely, the *Ἱστορία τοῦ Ταγιαπιέρρα* (VRETOS II no. 31=BH I no. 81). As early as January 1525/26 he had moved from the Calle del Forno in San Fantin to Santa Maria Formosa.³⁰ The year 1527 was an eventful year for Stefano. He was called to testify on his behalf for printing the *Horologion*, 1524 (BH I no. 71), which, according to the Roman Catholic authorities of Venice, contained some heretical verses against the Catholic Church. In his deposition, Stefano feigned ignorance of the Greek language and testified that the verses in question were inserted by the work's editor, Demetrios Zenos. His testimony has given us some of the background information on the Nicolini da Sabbio and their activities mentioned earlier in this section, especially Stefano's relationship with and the sudden death of Andreas Kounadis.³¹ The outcome of the inquisition is not known, but the punishment could not have been serious, as Greek liturgical and modern Greek books continued to be published uninterruptedly by Damiano di Santa Maria under the editorship of Demetrios Zenos and printed by the Nicolini da Sabbio. Thus the absence of Stefano's name during this period is not due to this incident but to the fact that he had probably left for Verona in order to set up the press of Bishop Gian Matteo Giberti, which began operations shortly after. During Stefano's absence from Venice all of the books printed by the Nicolini da Sabbio went under the name of Giovanni Antonio and brothers. There were at least twenty-one books printed by them in 1527-28.

In 1527, Stefano's name appears as editor and compiler of the first practical manual of modern Greek, *Introduttorio nuovo intitolato Corona Preciosa, per imparare, legere, scriuere, parlare, & intendere la Lingua greca uolgare & literare... compilato per lo ingenioso huomo Stefano da Sabio stampatore da libri*

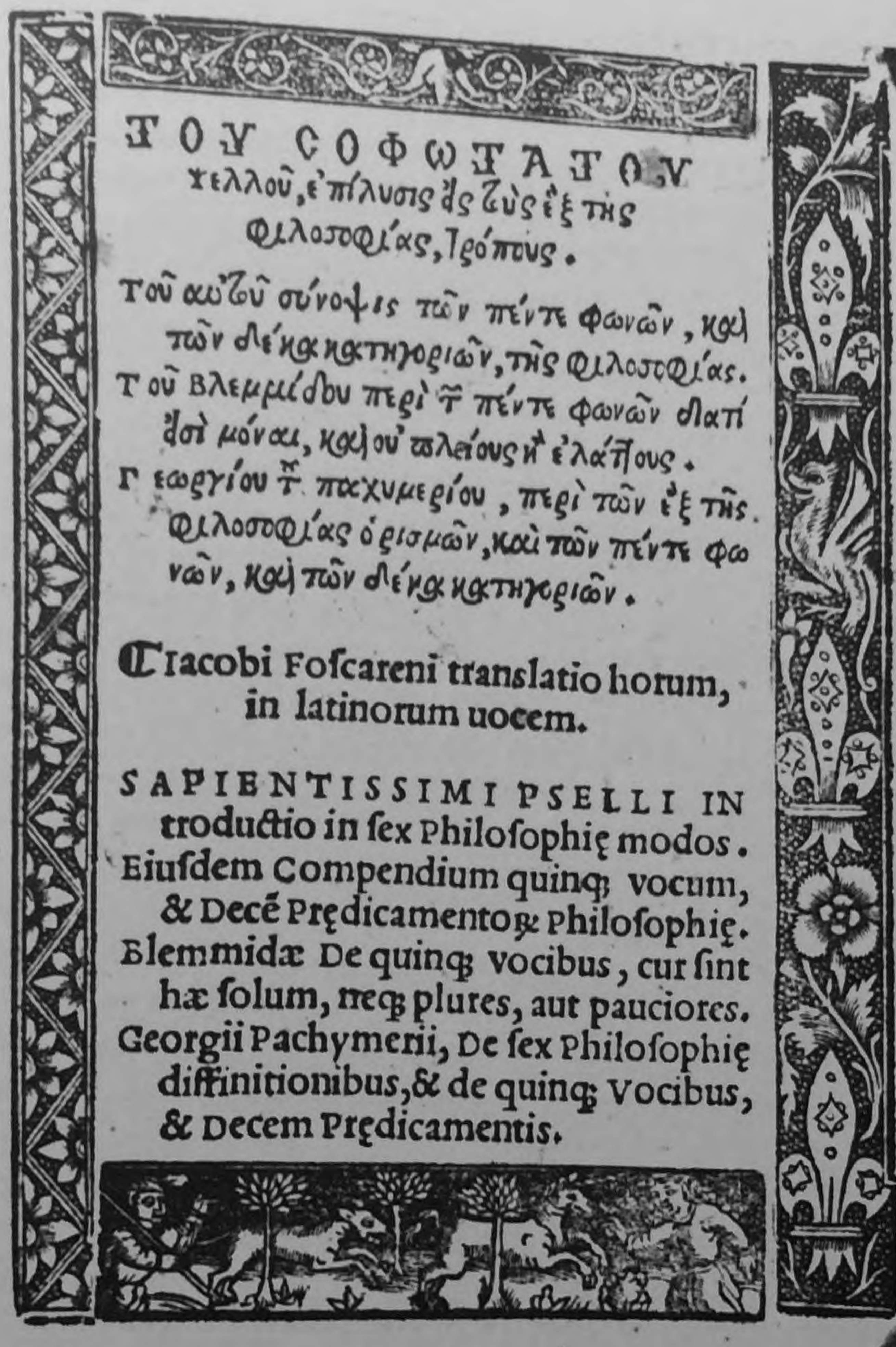


fig. 204

greci & latini nella inclita città di Vineggia. Venetiis per Ioan. Antonium & fratres de Sabio, Impensis uero Domini Andreae de Turrestanis de Asula, 1527 (BH I no. 79). In his dedicatory epistle to the Doge Andrea Gritti, Stefano speaks of having had help in his work, especially about the transliteration of the Greek alphabet to the Latin and vice versa, from Pietro Burrana of Bersago who was a disciple of Arsenios Apostolis.³² This little manual was very popular during the sixteenth century and was reprinted frequently.³³

We next find Stefano and at least one of his brothers in Verona, called there by Gian Matteo Giberti (1495-1543), Bishop of Verona, who wished to publish a series of patristic texts.³⁴ A printing press was established in the episcopal palace next to the cathedral, and the Nicolini da Sabbio were lodged near their work. Although there is only brief mention of the new Greek and Latin types cut for the Giberti press and no mention of the name of the person or persons who engraved and cut them, we can safely deduce that they were engraved and cut by Stefano with the

assistance of his brother. The first book the Nicolini da Sabbio printed in Verona was the four-volume work of Saint Joannes Chrysostomus, *Eἰς τὰς Παύλου ἐπιστολὰς ἐρμηνεία*, 1529 (SANDER no. 3644). Two more Greek works were published in Verona, Saint Joannes Damascenus, *Ἐκδοσις τῆς Ὁρθοδόξου πίστεως*, 1531 (SANDER no. 3648; PAPADOPOULOS A no. 5), and Oecumenius, *Ἐξηγήσεις παλαιαὶ καὶ λίαν ὠφέλιμοι*, 1532 (DROULIA no. 76; STC, 103).³⁵ Some time toward the end of 1532, Stefano and his brother returned to printing in Venice. His name appears in two works by Psellus printed in 1532 at the expense of Arsenios Apostolis (BH I nos. 86; fig. 204 and BH no. 88). No one seems to know why the Verona press ceased its operations so abruptly.

The mid-1530s were very productive years for the brothers, and a good number of books came out under their name. Upon his return to Venice, Stefano resumed printing the Greek books financed by Damiano di Santa Maria, although he by no means restricted himself to only those titles. All of the brothers continued to print for other publishers or for individual authors or editors. They also began to print an increasing number of books for Melchiorre Sessa. In 1535, Stefano da Sabbio and his brothers requested and received a ten-year copyright to print the works of Saint Basil and of Saint Gregorios Nazianzenus.³⁶ The works of Saint Basil came out in November 1535 (FINAZZI no. 66; LADAS no. 24). The edition was partly financed by Damiano di Santa Maria who also provided the type. A number of copies have a colophon that reads "per Stephanvm de Sabio svmptv expensis vero D. Damiani di Sancta Maria" (LADAS no. 24), while others merely read "per Stephanum de Sabio" (FINAZZI no. 66).³⁷ The last Greek book with a Venetian imprint to bear Stefano's name is an *Oktoechos*, 1540 (BEES I no. 170). There is also a work in Latin printed by Stefano in Venice in 1541, which is probably the last work he printed there.³⁸ As early as 1539, most of the seventeen or more books printed by the Nicolini da Sabbio were printed by Giovanni Antonio, with a few by Pietro. Stefano's name appears in only two Greek books, both printed for Damiano di Santa Maria, and one Latin book. This drop in productivity indicates that perhaps Stefano was preoccupied by some other task during this time. It might well be that he had already begun work on cutting type for Cardinal Marcello Cervini's project. As is well known, Marcello Cervini, Cardinal of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme and later Pope Marcellus II, planned to publish some of the Greek and Latin manuscripts of the Vatican collection. In 1539, he chose the Roman printer Antonio Blado (1490-1567) to be in charge of printing the Greek books in the project. At the suggestion of Paolo Manuzio, with whom Cardinal Cervini was in correspondence, Blado went to Venice to confer with Paolo Manuzio about type and equipment. In Venice, he came into contact with Stefano da Sabbio and Nikolaos Sophianos, who both joined the project. There is documentation attesting to this. The most definite information on Stefano's involvement is furnished in a document dated 28 November 1543, in which Stefano seeks to be reimbursed by Antonio Blado and Benedetto Giunta for his work on the Cardinal's project.³⁹ In this document, Stefano speaks of the debt owed to him for having worked in "la stamperia delli greci." Another document, dated 1 December 1543, mentions that Stefano had come into contact with the representatives of the Cardinal's project in Venice through the intermediary of Nikolaos Sophianos.⁴⁰ Thus Stefano Nicolini da Sabbio joined the staff that was to work on the printing of the Greek works in Rome at the project's very beginning. It is not clear whether the cutting of the Greek letters was done in Venice or in Rome. A. Tinto thinks that it was done in Venice by Stefano.⁴¹ Stefano moved to Rome and obviously continued to work on the printing of the Cardinal's works, as we can see from the documents cited above. His name does not appear in any of the colophons of the books printed. However, another indication that Stefano took part in their printing is the fact that he was given one copy of the *Theophylaktos*.⁴²

Ε' ΠΙΚΤΗΤΥ ΕΓΧΕΙΡΙΔΙΟΝ.

52

καὶ πάσαις δὲ ἐαυτὸν συναίρουσιν, καὶ πάσαις ἀφ' ἐαυτῆς τὸ ἀρ-
 χικὸν ἀξίωμα παρεχόμενῃν ὁμοφυῶς μὲν τῆς ἐκείνης προσηκούσης
 ὑφέσεως. οὕτω μὲν οὖν ἄρχειν, τὸ δὲ δύο, ἢ πλείονας ὅπως τῷ ἐνὸς τὰς
 πρώτας λέγειν ἀρχὰς ἀναγκάζοντες δὲ οἱ δύο λέγοντες τῶν ὅλων
 ἀρχὰς τότε ἀγαθόν, καὶ τὸ κακόν. καὶ τὸν ἀγαθὸν παρ' αὐτῶν λε-
 γόμενον θν', μηκέτι πάντων αἵτιον λέγειν μὴ δὲ παντοκράτορα δι-
 καίως ἀνυμνεῖν, μὴ δὲ διωάμην αὐτῶ τὴν ἀκροτάτην, καὶ ὅλως
 ἐνικτιθεῖναι, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἡμῶς τῆς ἑλκῆς διωάμεως, εἴπερ ἄρα, καὶ τεύ-
 το. μὴ δὲ νομίσαι πάντα ἀγαθὰ καὶ φωτίζειν αὐτὸν πηγὴν λε-
 γόμενον ἀγαθότητος, καὶ φωτῆς. οἷα δὲ ὅσα βλάσφημα δὲ τὸν θεὸν
 τοῖς ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων λεγόμενοις ἔξ ἀνάγκης ἀκολουθεῖ. καὶ γὰρ διὰ τὸν
 ἑσπερίου αὐτὸν, διεδοικέτα τὸ κακὸν ἐγγύς τῶν ὅρων αὐτῶ γε-
 νόμενον, μὴ καὶ οὐ τὸ δὲ ἐλθῇ. καὶ διὰ τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν, καὶ
 ἀσυμφύτως μέρη ἐαυτοῦ, καὶ μέλη τὰς ψυχὰς οὐσας ὥσφρασι μηδὲν
 ἀμαρτύνουσαι πρότερον, ἔξ ἑξίφει τῶ κακῶ, ἵνα τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν ἀγα-
 θῶν διασώσῃ. ὥσπερ στρατηγὸς φασὶ πολέμιον ἐπιόντων μέρος αὐ-
 τοῖς τῷ οἰκείου στρατοῦ προίετα, ἵνα τὸ λοιπὸν διασώσῃ. ταῦτα γὰρ
 αὐτῶν ἐστὶ τὰ ῥήματα, καὶ καὶ μὴ ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἴσως τῶν λέξεων, ὁ δὲ
 ῥίψας τὰς ψυχὰς κατὰ αὐτοῦς ἦτοι ὁ κελεύσας ῥίψωμαι, ἢ ἐλά-
 θεῖ, ἢ οὐκ ἐνόησεν οἷα μέλλουσιν αἱ ψυχὰς πάσχειν ἐκδοθεῖσαι τῶ κα-
 κῶ, ὅτι ἐμπίπρανται, καὶ ταγῶνίζονται, ὥσφρασι καὶ κακοῦται
 παντοῦ. μήτε ἀμαρτύνουσαι τί πρότερον καὶ μέρη τ' οὐ οὐσαι. τὸ δὲ
 τελευτῶν ὥσφρασι αἱ ἀσεβεῖς αὐτῶν γενόμεναι, τοιαῦτα δὲ ἔσι
 παρ' αὐτοῖς, οὐχ' αἱ φονδύσασαι, ἢ μοιχδύσασαι, ἢ τί τ' ἄλλων
 τούτων ἀπὸ ζωῆς διεφθαρμένης ποιήσασαι, ἀλλ' αἱ μὴ λέγεται δύο
 ἀρχὰς εἶναι τῶν πάντων, τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ τὸ κακόν, αὐτὰ οὖν οὐ
 δὲ ἐπιστρέφουσι ἐπὶ φασὶν δὲ τὸ ἀγαθόν, ἀλλὰ μένουσι τῶ κακῶ συγ-
 κεκολλημέναι, ὥστε καὶ ἀτελῶ μόνον ἐκείνον μέρος αὐτοῦ ἀπολέ-
 σονται, καὶ ἀνόητος οὖν ἐστὶ κατὰ αὐτοῦ. μὴ γὰρ ἐμὸς ὁ λόγος
 ἔστω, μήτε τὸ ἐαυτοῦ συμφέρον λογίσασθαι διωκομένης, μήτε τὴν τοῦ
 κακοῦ φύσιν γινώσκων. πῶς γὰρ ἐν δὲ ἐλθῇ δὲ τὴν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ μοί-
 ραν τὸ κακόν ἔξ αἰτίου διακεκριμένων αὐτοῖς τῶν κλήρων ὥσφρασι

g IIII

fig. 205

In the agreement struck on 28 November 1543 between Stefano Nicolini da Sabbio and Antonio Blado and his partner Benedetto Giunta, Stefano was to be given work even when the work on the Cardinal's project was interrupted. He was also to be the last dismissed from those employed on Cervini's works, "se fu convenuto che mancando o per il Cardinale o per carta o altro impedi-
 mento di qual si voglia, che maestro Stefano havesse a lavorare perfino havesse scontati li 20 scuti in 20 mesi a fare la forma greca o latina."⁴³ It is quite possible therefore that, during the time the work on the Cardinal's project was interrupted, Stefano was working at the shop of Antonio Blado. It is a remarkable coincidence that, during this period between 1541 and 1546, most of

Antonio Blado's own Greek imprints appeared. Furthermore, the Blado Greek font bears a remarkable resemblance in style to the type used by the Nicolini da Sabbio in Venice, DS no. 1.⁴⁴

It is now possible to infer from the above-mentioned documents that Stefano was working both in Venice and in Rome for Cardinal Cervini's project as an engraver and punch-cutter, as well as a printer, and that he was also associated with Antonio Blado. The two Greek works printed under the aegis of Cardinal Marcello Cervini, the Theophylaktos, 1542 (BLADO no. 67), and the Eustathios, *Παρεκβολαί*, 1542-1559 (BH I no. 101; BLADO no. 107), do not mention Stefano's name in their colophons. In Roman imprints, Stefano's name appears in 1547 in at least three books, two of which were in Greek. The colophons read: "per Stephanum Nicolinum Sabiensem Chalcographum Apostolicum." His name appears again in 1550 in two more works, one of which was printed at his own expense by Antonio Blado.⁴⁵ 1553 is the last time Stefano's name appears in a Greek book, the Saint Joannes Damascenus, *Λόγοι τρεῖς ἀπολογητικοί* (STC, 359) he printed under the auspices of Cardinal Pietro Carafà, whose coat-of-arms appears on its title page. Stefano continued to print an occasional work in Latin or Italian until 1582.⁴⁶



fig. 206

The brothers Nicolini da Sabbio were undoubtedly among the printers who were criticized by the Orthodox theologian Pachomios Rousanos (1508-1553).⁴⁷ In a letter addressed to the printers of Venice, Rousanos accused the printers of perpetrating mistakes and misprints in their books and fiercely attacked them for choosing to print some of the popular modern Greek texts that he considered immoral and offensive. He specifically singled out the story of *Apolonios* of Tyre, the *Imberios* romance, the poem *Penthos thanatou*, and the *Theseis*, all printed by the Nicolini da Sabbio, as well as some other works printed by Bartolomeo Zanetti and his son Cristoforo.⁴⁸

The Nicolini da Sabbio printed their Greek books with a variety of Greek fonts, five in Venice alone, two in Verona, and one in Rome. Not all of these fonts belonged to the printers, although Stefano, perhaps assisted by a brother, must have engraved and cut some of them. We know that the type used for the liturgical books printed for Andreas Kounadis and Damiano di Santa Maria, K no. 1 (20 lines=114-15 mm; fig. 28), as well as the font with which the vernacular texts were printed, K no. 2 (20 lines=88-89 mm; figs. 29, 150), belonged to the publishers, but most likely both fonts were cut by Stefano after consultation with the publishers. Neither of these fonts was used for other publications printed by the Nicolini da Sabbio, who used a third font belonging to themselves to print works on their own behalf or commissioned by others. The only exception to this was the Saint Basil of 1535 (LADAS no. 24; FINAZZI no. 66), which used K no. 2 and which was a joint venture between Stefano da Sabbio and Damiano di Santa Maria.

The first Greek font used by the Nicolini da Sabbio for a publication not commissioned by the Kounadis-di Santa Maria firm was in the *Horologion*, 1523 (BH I no. 235; ESSLING no. 2215; fig. 30), printed for Martino Locatelli. The type, DS no. 1 (20 lines=84-85 mm), is the same as that found in the works printed under the names of Melchiorre Sessa and Pietro Ravani between 1521 and 1525. It must be noted however, that the name of the Nicolini da Sabbio does not appear in any of the Sessa-Ravani imprints of this period, although later, between 1531 and 1552, they printed a good number of Greek and other works for Sessa. Some of the decorations in the Sessa-

Ravani books are at times reminiscent of those found in the imprints of the Nicolini da Sabbio (fig. 54).⁴⁹ After the dissolution of the Sessa-Ravani partnership, the type remained in the hands of Pietro Ravani. It was used consistently by him and his heirs and was later sold with other equipment and with the Ravani mark, the crowned siren, to Giovanni Varisco sometime in the mid-1550s.⁵⁰ One possibility is that Stefano sold strikes or matrices of his type to Pietro Ravani as early as 1521, who then used it to print the Greek books in the Sessa-Ravani series. It is not clear if Ravani was a printer or only a publisher and bookseller. The Nicolini da Sabbio recast DS no. 1 on a larger body (20 lines=92-93 mm) and continued to use this font to print works commissioned by publishers or individuals other than Damiano di Santa Maria (fig. 205).⁵¹ The Nicolini da Sabbio also owned smaller typefaces DS no. 2 (20 lines=72-73 mm), which they used mostly for works printed with Greek and Latin in parallel columns or parallel pages (fig. 220).⁵² As mentioned earlier, most of the books printed on behalf of Andreas Kounadis and Damiano di Santa Maria through 1546 were printed either with K no. 1 (20 lines=114-115 mm), used primarily but not exclusively for the liturgical publications, and K no. 2 (20 lines=88-89 mm), a smaller, simpler font that was used mainly to print the secular literature in modern Greek. Both these fonts were retired after 1546.⁵³

Between 1528 and 1532, while Stefano and one of his brothers were in Verona working for Bishop Giberti, they used two distinctly different fonts⁵⁴ that were undoubtedly engraved and cut by Stefano himself. The first, a boldface cursive, (20 lines=126-128 mm), can be seen in the edition of Saint Joannes Chrysostomus, *Εἰς τὰς Παύλου ἐπιστολὰς ἐρμηνεία*, 1529 (SANDER no. 3644; STC, 102) and in the Joannes Damascenus, *Ἐκδοσις τῆς Ὁρθοδόξου πίστεως*, 1531 (SANDER no. 3648; STC, 359; fig. 32). The second font (20 lines=128-129 mm) can be seen in the Oecumenius, *Ἐξηγήσεις παλαιαί*, 1532 (DROULIA no. 76; STC, 103; fig. 33). In 1543, when Stefano was no longer working in Venice, the Nicolini da Sabbio began using a new type (20 lines=88-89 mm), which from then on, except for the works printed for Damiano di Santa Maria, was used for all books printed by them in Venice regardless of whether the books were classical or liturgical editions. Beginning in 1548, even the works commissioned by Damiano di Santa Maria were printed with this new font (fig. 31). This new type, DS no. 3, seems to have been bought either from Basel or Germany. It had been used by Froben and Episcopius since 1531 and was later also introduced to England.⁵⁵ It is not clear if this was the Greek type that was supplied to Froben and Episcopius by Peter II Schöffer. Schöffer had spent some time in Venice between 1541 and 1542 and it is possible that the Nicolini da Sabbio acquired the type directly from him.⁵⁶

As mentioned earlier, in Rome Stefano Nicolini da Sabbio printed only three Greek books under his own name. There is also the possibility that he might have been the printer of the Greek works published under the Blado name. The type used for Stefano's Roman imprints was Cervini no. 2 (20 lines=91-92 mm), which originally had been commissioned by Cardinal Marcello Cervini



fig. 207

and designed by Giovanni Onorio. This type was expressly cut for the books commissioned by the Cardinal and printed under the name of Antonio Blado.⁵⁷

It is difficult to decide which among the decorative initials and other ornaments that appeared in the Nicolini da Sabbio imprints were their own and which belonged to publishers such as the Kounadis-Santa Maria group or Melchiorre Sessa, to mention only two of their most steady customers for Greek books. Some of the ornaments can be definitely assigned to the Nicolini da Sabbio because they also appear in imprints not sponsored by Damiano di Santa Maria or Melchiorre Sessa. One example is the page border mentioned earlier (fig. 54), which was used in several of the books they printed. The Nicolini da Sabbio also owned a series of small cuts of Catholic religious scenes that appear in several of their early imprints.⁵⁸ They used at least two sets of decorative initials imitative of Greek fifteenth and sixteenth century manuscript initial decorations. Other decorations, such as headpieces and endpieces, were very much in the Venetian style of book decoration of this period. Some of the Nicolini da Sabbio decorations were later acquired by Cristoforo Zanetti.⁵⁹

There has been no consensus among researchers about the Nicolini da Sabbio devices. Many sources give a variety of vignettes as their possible mark. This confusion results from the fact that the Nicolini da Sabbio were primarily printers who seldom printed books at their own expense. As we have seen they printed for other publishers or for individual clients. Thus they had few occasions to display their own printer's device. Most of their Greek publications have either the Kounadis mark (a marten within a shield) or the famous Sessa cat-and-mouse device. In their Italian works, the mark displayed most frequently was that of Niccolò and Domenico dal Jesus (a woodcut Christ-symbol). Nevertheless, the Nicolini da Sabbio had their own distinct mark, a cabbage with a serpent entwined around its stem enclosed within a shield with the word "Brasica" below (fig. 206). Their device first appeared in 1521, soon after they established their own independent business, and was used whenever they either financed a publication themselves or when the editor or author of a work they printed did not have a personal mark or coat-of-arms to be displayed.⁶⁰ During the early stages of their careers all of the brothers used this device, even Stefano, who later fashioned his own distinct mark. This mark, which is associated only with him, is a play on the Greek meaning of his name, "στέφανος," i.e., a crown or garland. Stefano's device consists of a crown over a bridge that, according to E. Follieri,⁶¹ represents or is a symbol of the region from which the family originated near the river Chiese in Val Sabbia (fig. 207).

Works printed by the Nicolini da Sabbio, 1521-1553:

- | | |
|------|--|
| 1521 | Ψαλτήριον (BH III no. 230) for A. Kounadis
"per Io. Antonium et fratres de Sabio" |
| 1522 | Παρακλητική (VRETOS I no. 4; BH I no. 65; LADAS no. 10) for A. Kounadis
"in aedibus Ioannis Antonii et fratrum de Sabio" |
| 1522 | Τριώδιον (BH I no. 66=III no. 242) for A. Kounadis
As above |
| 1523 | Ἀρχὴ τοῦ Μηνολογίου... Ὁρολόγιον (BH II no. 235; EISS III no. 4003; ESSLING no. 2215; SANDER no. 3468) for M. Locatelli
"per Ioannem Antonium & fratres de Sabio" |

- 1523 Ὀκτώηχος (ESSLING no. 2217; PHOSKOLOS B no.1) for D. di Santa Maria
"per Io. Antonium, et fratres de Sabio"
- 1523 Παρακλητική (ILIOU no. 2; LADAS no. 13)⁶²
"Per Ioan. Antonium et fratres de Sabio"
- 1524 Ἀπολόνιος (EISS I no. 1933/2133; LAYTON no. 15=1534 [sic])⁶³ for D. di Santa Maria
"in edibus Stephani de Sabio"
- 1524 Ὡρολόγιον (BH I no. 71) for D. di Santa Maria
"in Edibus Stephani"
- 1524 Πένθος θανάτου (BH I no. 69) for P. Kounadis
"per Stephanum de Sabio"
- 1524 Ψαλτήριον (BH I no. 70; EISS III no. 4017) for P. Kounadis
As above
- 1525 Αἶσωπος (EISS I no. 328/351) for D. di Santa Maria
As above
- 1525 Ἀπόστολος (KORDOSIS A no. 1; LADAS no. 14) for D. di Santa Maria
"In Aedibus Stephani de Sabio"
- 1525 Πεντηκοστάριον (BH III no. 270) for D. di Santa Maria
"in Aedibus Stephani: filii quondam Turini de Sabio"
- 1526 Aristoteles, Περὶ ζώων γενέσεως (BH I no. 74;; EISS I no. 2642/2863)
"per Ioan. Antonium: & Fratres de Sabio"
- 1526 Homerus, Ἰλιάς (BH I no. 75; FINAZZI no. 54) for D. di Santa Maria
"per Maestro Stefano da Sabio: il quale habita a Santa Maria formosa"
- 1526 Σεπτέμβριος (BH III no. 279; LADAS no. 16) for D. di Santa Maria
As above
- 1527 Introductorio...Corona Preciosa (BH I no. 79; FINAZZI no. 56) for A. Torresano
"per Ioan. Antonium & fratres de Sabio"
- 1527 Ὀκτώβριος (BH III no. 285; LADAS no. 17) for D. di Santa Maria
"in edibus Ioã. Antoni. & Fratres de Sabio"
- 1527 Νοέμβριος (BH III no. 286) for D. di Santa Maria
"per Ioan. Antonium & Fratres de Nicolinis de Sabio"⁶⁴
- 1528 Δεκέμβριος (PAPADOPOULOS II no. 49; BEES I no. 495) for D. di Santa Maria
"Per Ioannem Antonium: & Fratres de Sabio"
- 1528 Epictetus, Συμπλικίου ἐξήγησις (FINAZZI no. 58)
As above

- 1528 Ἱστορία τοῦ Ταγιαπιέρα (BH I no. 81=VRETOS II no. 31)⁶⁵ for D. di Santa Maria?
"παρὰ Στεφάνῳ τῷ Σαβίῳ"
- 1528 Πένθος θανάτου (LAYTON no. 12) for D. di Santa Maria
"per Ioannem Antonium & Fratres de Sabio"
- 1528 Ἡ Θεία Λειτουργία (BH I no. 80, EISS III no. 4010) for Demetrios Zenos &
Menandros Noukios
As above
- 1529 Ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μακεδών (BH I no. 83; ILIOU no. 3) for D. di Santa Maria
"per Giouan Antonio & Fratelli da Sabbio"
- 1529 Ἄνθος τῶν Χαρίτων (BH III no. 305) for D. di Santa Maria
"per Giouvanantonio da Sabio & Fratelli"
- 1529 Liber ex Polybii historiis excerptus (BH I no. 82)
"Ioannes Antonius de Sabio excudebat"
- 1529 Θησέος καὶ γάμοι τῆς Ἑμηνίας (BH I no. 84; EISS II no. 2421)⁶⁶ for D. di Santa
Maria
"per Giouanantonio et fratelli da Sabbio"
- 1529 Joannes Chrysostomus, Εἰς τὰς Παύλου ἐπιστολὰς ἐρμηνεία. (SANDER no. 3644)
Verona, for Bishop Giberti
"per Stephanum & fratres da Sabio"
- 1531 Joannes Damascenus, Ἐκδοσις τῆς Ὁρθοδόξου πίστεως (PAPADOPOULOS A no.
5; SANDER no. 3648) Verona, for Bishop Giberti
"apud Stephanum et fratres Sabios"
- 1532 Oecumenius, Ἐξηγήσεις παλαιαί (DROULIA no. 76; STC, 103) Verona, for Bishop
Giberti
"apud Stephanum et fratres Sabios"
- 1532 Psellus, Ἐπίλυσις...φιλοσοφίας τρόπους (BH I no. 86) for A. Apostolis
"per Stephanum et fratres de Sabio"
- 1532 Psellus, Σύνταγμα (BH I no. 88) for A. Apostolis
"παρὰ Στεφάνῳ Σαβίῳ καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς αὐτοῦ"
- 1533 Δεκέμβριος (STOYANOV no. 10) for D. di Santa Maria
"per Stephanum de Sabio"
- 1533 Ἰαννουάριος (BH III no. 327) for D. di Santa Maria
As above
- 1533 Epistolae diui Pauli Apostoli (EISS II no. 2146; STC, 102) for G. A. Garufa
"apud Io. Antonium et fratres de Sabio"
- 1533 C. Lascaris, De octo orationis (BH III no. 330; FINAZZI no. 61)⁶⁷
"Per Melchiorem Sessam"

- 1533 Φευρουάριος (PAVLOPOULOS no. A 40)
[Per Stephanum de Sabio]
- 1533 Philes, Στίχοι...Περὶ ζώων ιδιότητος (BH I no. 89) for A. Apostolis
"παρὰ Στεφάνῳ Σαβίῳ καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς αὐτοῦ"
- 1534 Alphabetum graecum (GENNADIUS LIBRARY)
"Apud Stephanum Sabiensem"
- 1534 Ἀπόκοπος (BH I no. 90; EISS II no. 1617) for D. di Santa Maria
"per maestro Stephano da Sabio"
- 1534 Ἀπολώνιος (BH I no. 91=VRETOS II no. 36)⁶⁸ for D. di Santa Maria
"per maestro Stephano da Sabio"
- 1534 Ἀπόστολος (BH III no. 334) for D. di Santa Maria
As above
- 1534 Ph. Melanchthon, Grammatica graeca (GENNADIUS LIBRARY) for M. Sessa
"apud Ioan. Ant. de Nicolinis de Sabio"
- 1534 Ψαλτήριον (BH III no. 333; BEES I no. 157) for D. di Santa Maria
"per maestro Stephano da Sabio"
- 1535 Alcinous, Λόγος (BH I no. 93; EISS I no. 743/811) for A. Apostolis
"παρὰ Στεφάνῳ τῷ Σαβίῳ"
- 1535 Basilius Caesariensis, Opera (EISS II no. 767; LADAS no. 24; FINAZZI no. 66)
partly for D. di Santa Maria
Some colophons: "per Stephanvm de Sabio" others "per Stephanvm de Sabio
svmptv expensis vero D. Damiani de Sancta Maria"
- 1536 Φευρουάριος (BH III no. 351; EISS III no. 4011)⁶⁹ for D. di Santa Maria
"in aedibus Stephani de Sabio"
- 1537 Ἀνθος τῶν Χαρίτων (BH III no. 366) for D. di Santa Maria
"per Stephano da Sabbio"
- 1537 Th. Gaza, Introductionis grammaticae (LADAS no. 26) for M. Sessa
"per Joan. Anto. de Nicolinis de Sabio"
- 1538 Ὁρολόγιον (BEES I no. 170) for D. di Santa Maria
"per Stephano da Sabio"
- 1538 Παρακλητική (BH I no. 97) for G. Giraldi and D. di Santa Maria
"per Stephanum Sabiensem"
- 1538 Τῆς Καινῆς Διαθήκης ἅπαντα (BH II no. 237; EISS II no. 2089) for M. Sessa
"per Ioan. Anto. de Nicolinis de Sabio"
- 1538 Τριώδιον (BH I no. 96) for G. Giraldi and D. di Santa Maria
"in Aedibus Stephani Sabiensis"

- [1539] Βατραχομυομαχία (BH I no. 100) for D. di Santa Maria
Issued with BH I no. 98 below?
Mark of Andreas Kounadis on title page
- 1539 Γαδάρου, λύκου...(BH I no. 98) for D. di Santa Maria
"per Stephano da Sabio"
- 1539 Ἱερὸν Εὐαγγέλιον (BH I no. 99) for G. Giraldis and D. di Santa Maria
"per Stephanum Sabieñ"
Mark of Stefano da Stabbio at end
- 1539 C. Lascaris, De octo orationis partibus (PAPADOPOULOS II no. 77) for M. Sessa
"per Ioan. Ant. de Nicolinis de Sabio"
- 1540 I. Ceperinus, Compendium grammaticae Graecae (EISS III no. 3782) for M. Sessa
As above
- 1540 C. Lascaris, De octo orationis partibus (BH III no. 401) for Federico and Francesco
Torresano
As above
- 1540 Ὀκτώηχος (BEES I no. 170) for D. di Santa Maria
"per maestro Stephano da Sabio"
- 1542 Ἀπόστολος (BH II no. 238) for D. di Santa Maria
"per Giouann' Antonio & Pietro fratelli di Nicolini da Sabio"
- 1542 Hippocrates, Lex, determinationes dissectio (STC, 327) for P. Magnoli?
"παρὰ τοῖς Νικολίνοις ἐκ Σαβίου"
- 1543 Αἵσωπος, Μῦθοι (BH I no. 103) for D. di Santa Maria
"per Giouanni Antonio & Pietro fratelli di Nicolini da Sabio"
- c. 1543 Graecvm alphabetvm (UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA LIBRARY)⁷⁰ for
M. Sessa
- 1543 M. Chrysoloras, Graecae interrogationes (BH III no. 442) for P. Rocca
"per Io. Ant. & Petrum Fratres de Nicolinis de Sabio"
- 1543 N. Clenardus, Institutiones...in linguam graecam (BAKELANTS-HOVEN no. 74;
STC, 187) for M. Sessa
"per Ioan Anto. & Petrum fratres de Nicolinis de Sabio"
- 1543 N. Clenardus, Meditationes graecanicae (BAKELANTS-HOVEN no. 75; STC, 187)
for M. Sessa
As above
- 1543 Ἐξήγησις... Ἡμπερίου (PAPADOPOULOS I no. 6108)⁷¹ for D. di Santa Maria
"per Giouanni Antonio & Pietro fratelli, di Nicolini da Sabio"

- 1544 U. Bolzanio, *Institutionum in linguam Graecam* (EISS II no. 2920) for M. Sessa
"apud Ioan. Antonium & Petrum de Nicolinis"
- 1544 C. Lascaris, *Grammaticae institutiones* (BH III no. 448) for M. Sessa
"apud Ioan. Antonium & Petrum fratres de Nicolinis Sabionenses"
- 1544 Πεντηκοστόριον (BH I no. 109) for D. di Santa Maria
"per Ioan. Ant. et Petrum de Nicolinis de Sabio"
- 1545 Ἀμμωνίου...εἰς τὰς πέντε φωνὰς τοῦ Πορφυρίου (EISS I no. 1418/1580; STC, 48) for M. Sessa
"per Ioan. Ant. & Petrum fratres de Nicolinis de Sabio"
- 1545 Ἀμμωνίου...εἰς τὰς τοῦ Ἀριστοτέλους κατηγορίας ὑπόμνημα (EISS I no. 1416/1578) for M. Sessa
As above
- 1545 Ἀμμωνίου...εἰς τὸ τοῦ Ἀριστοτέλους περὶ ἑρμηνείας ὑπόμνημα (EISS I no. 1417/1579; STC, 48) for M. Sessa
As above
- 1545 Th. Gaza, *Grammaticae introductionis* (BH III no. 462) for M. Sessa
"in aedibus Ioan. Ant. & Petrum fratres de Nicolinis de Sabio"
Some copies have: "in aedibus Ioan. Ant. & Petri fratrum...de Sabio"
- 1545 Ψαλτήριον (BH I no. 117) for M. Sessa
"per Ioan. Anto. & Petrum Fratres de Nicolinis de Sabio"
- 1545 Τυπικόν (BH I no. 114) for D. di Santa Maria
"ἐν οἰκίᾳ ἰωάννου ἀντωνίου καὶ πέτρου τῶν σαβιέων καὶ ἀνταδέλφων"
- 1546 Ἄνθος τῶν Χαρίτων (BH I no. 119) for D. di Santa Maria
"per Giouann' Antonio & Pietro fratelli, di Nicolini da Sabio"
- 1546 Aristoteles, *Φυσικῆς ἀκροάσεως βιβλία ὀκτώ* (EISS I no. 2665/2885; STC, 51) for M. Sessa
"apud Ioan. Ant. & Petrum fratres de Nicolinis de Sabio"
- 1546 Ὠρολόγιον (BH I no. 118; EISS III no. 4004=1547 [sic]) for M. Sessa
"apud Petrum, & Cornelium nepotem de Nicolinis de Sabio"
- 1546 Ψαλτήριον (LAYTON no. 17) for D. di Santa Maria
"per Giouann' Antonio & Pietro fratelli, di Nicolini da Sabio"
- 1547 M. Chrysoloras, *Erotemata* (BH III no. 477) for P. Rocca
"in aedibus Petri & Cornelii Nepotis de Nicolinis de Sabio"
- 1547 Διάλογοι ἱεροὶ διάφοροι ἀπαθεῖς... (LADAS no. 38) Rome
"παρὰ Στεφάνῳ Νικολίνῳ Σαβιεῖ ἀποστολικῷ χαλκογράφῳ"
- 1547 Homerus, *Ἰλιάς, Ὀδύσσεια* (STC, 330) for M. Sessa
"apud Petrum de Nicolinis de Sabio"

- 1547 Theodoretus, bp. of Cyrus, *Διάλογοι τρεῖς* (STC, 667) Rome
"per Stephanum Nicolinum Sabiensem Chalcographum Apostolicum"
- 1548 M. Chrysoloras, *Ἑρωτήματα* (BH III no. 489) for G. M. Salvioni
"apud Petrum de Nicolinis de Sabio"
- 1548 *Διήγησις...Βελισσαρίου* (BH I no. 122) for D. di Santa Maria
"per Pietro di Nicolini da Sabio"
- 1549 Aeschines, *Τῶν τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐξόχων ρητόρων* (EISS I no. 299/323; STC, 7) for M. Sessa
"per Petrum de Nicolinis de Sabio"
- 1549 Aesopus, *Fabellae* (PAPADOPOULOS II no. 128^a; EISS I no. 346/372) for M. Sessa
"apud Petrum & Io. Mariam & Cornelium eorum nepotem Nicolinos Sabienses"
- 1549 U. Bolzanio, *Grammaticae institutiones* (EISS II no. 2922; STC, 117) for M. Sessa
"apud Petrum & Io. Mariam & nepotes de Nicolinis de Sabio"
- 1549 *Corona pretiosa* (PAPADOPOULOS A no. 15)
"per Pietro & Gio. Maria fratelli, & Cornelio nepote, di Nicolini da Sabio"
- 1549 *Ἱστορία τῶν γυναικῶν* (BH I no. 123bis) for D. di Santa Maria
"per Pietro de Nicolini da Sabio"
- 1549 *ᾠρολόγιον* (PAPADOPOULOS II no. 131; EISS III no. 4005)
"per Petrum & Ioannem Mariam fratres & eius nepotem de Nicolinis de Sabio"
- 1549 Isocrates, *Λόγοι καὶ ἐπιστολαί* (FINAZZI no. 81; DROULIA no. III) for M. Sessa
"Imprimebat Petrus Nicolinus Sabiensis & socij"
- 1550 *Ἀνθολογία διαφόρων ἐπιγραμμάτων* (FINAZZI no. 82; EISS I no. 1761/1946) for M. Sessa
"apud Petrum et Ioan. Mariam Nicolinos Sabienses"
- 1550 C. Lascaris, *Grammaticae institutiones* (PAPADOPOULOS A no. 17) for M. Sessa
"apud Petrum & Ioan. Mariam fratres de Nicolinis Sabienses"
- 1550 Philostratus, *Εἰκόνες* (STC, 512) for M. Sessa
"apud Petrum & Io. Mariam Nicolinos Sabienses"
- 1551 *Ἀπόστολος* (ILIOU 318 no. 10)
"Pietro di Sabio"
- 1551 Homerus, *Ἰλιάς, Ὀδύσσεια* (PAPADOPOULOS II no. 146) for M. Sessa
"apud Petrum de Nicolinis de Sabio"

- 1552 N. Clenardus, *Institutiones in graecam linguam* (BAKELANTS-HOVEN no. 118bis) for M. Sessa
"apud Petrum de Nicolinis de Sabio"
- 1552 N. Clenardus, *Meditationes graecanicae* (BAKELANTS-HOVEN no. 118) for M. Sessa
As above
- 1553 Joannes Damascenus, *Λόγοι τρεῖς* (STC, 359) Rome
"apud Stephanum nicolinum Sabiensem, Chalcographum Apostolicum"

NOTES

- ¹ In the Greek works printed by them it was spelled Sabio except in 'Ο 'Αλέξανδρος ὁ Μακεδών, 1529, *Θησέος καὶ γάμοι τῆς Ἑμῆλιας*, 1529 and in *Ἄνθος τῶν Χαρίτων*, 1537 when it was spelled Sabbio.
- ² W. BELOE, *Anecdotes of Literature*, V, 168-77; G. C. GIULIARI, *Della tipografia veronese*. Verona, 1871, 45-51; R. FULIN, *Documenti*, no. 230; E. PASTORELLO, *Bibliografia storico-analitica*, nos. 9, 291, 422, 470, 937, 1315; U. VAGLIA, *Storia della Valle Sabbia*. Brescia, 1964, I, 269-75, and his I da Sabbio stampatori in Brescia, *Commentari dell' Ateneo di Brescia per l'anno 1973*, 50-69; U. BARONCELLI, *Editori e stampatori a Brescia nel Cinquecento, Studi di biblioteconomia e storia del libro in onore di Francesco Barberi*. Roma, 1976, 104-05; E. FOLLIERI, *Su alcuni libri greci*, 119-64, and her *Il libro greco*, 502-08; E. LAYTON, *Notes on Some Printers*, 119-44; STC, 898-900; KONTOSOPOULOS, 293-94, 338; P. SIMONI, *Stefano Nicolini e fratelli, tipografi a Verona nel Cinquecento, Civiltà veronese*, n. s. 1 no. 2(1988)23-40; M. SCHIAVONE, *I fratelli da Sabbio, tipografi a Venezia, L' Esopo*, no. 49(1991)31-37; L. CARPANÈ, *Per una storia della stampa a Verona nel Cinquecento, L. CARPANÈ-M. MENATO, Annali della tipografia veronese*, 1992, I, 11-26; C. STEVANONI, *Il greco al servizio della riforma cattolica. Per uno studio della tipografia di Stefano Nicolini da Sabbio e di G. M. Giberti a Verona (1529-1532), Origini della letteratura neogreca*, II, 606-32.
- ³ U. VAGLIA, *I da Sabbio*, 59 and his *Storia della Valle Sabbia*, I, 269-71.
- ⁴ F. MAVROIDI, 'Inquisitio' patriarcale, 43-53.
- ⁵ "Zuanantonio e Fradelli da Sabbio in calle del Forno a San Fantino" (SANDER no. 5486); "Stefano da Sabio che sta a San Fantino sotto le colonne a la Madonetta" (ESSLING no. 2568; SANDER no. 4514); see also NORTON, 150.
- ⁶ "Per maestro Stefano de Sabio: qual habita a Santa Maria formosa" (LADAS no. 15).
- ⁷ "Venetia per Zuane Antonio & fradeli da Sabio ad instantia de Nicolo & Domenego dal Iesus fradeli MDXXII" ; see G. GOMBOSI, *Die 'Epistole et evangeli' und Raffaels Einfluss auf die venezianische Buchillustration, Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für vervielfältigende Kunst*, 54 no. 4(1931)53-56 but see *Maso Finiguerra*, 2(1937)230-31, where the typographical error in the date is explained; see also MORTIMER, no. 59; E. LAYTON, *Notes*, 126.
- ⁸ *Annales typografici ab artis inventae origine ad annum [MDXXXVII]*. Nurenberg, 1798-1803, VIII, 436 no. 810: Geta e Birria. Nouella... Venezia per Gio. Antonio e fratelli di Sabbio 1516; see also NORTON, 150.
- ⁹ ESSLING nos. 2090, 2106, 2109, 2121, 2127; SANDER nos. 17, 2329, 5486; BH III no. 230. One Greek book, four in Latin, and two in Italian.
- ¹⁰ None of the Aldine or Torresano imprints of this period bear the name of the Nicolini da Sabbio as printers.
- ¹¹ F. MAVROIDI, *Op. cit.*, 51.
- ¹² "Per Ioannem Antonium & fratres de Sabio" (BH III no. 230) or "Per Zuanantonio e fradelli da Sabbio" (SANDER no. 5486).
- ¹³ *Documenti*, no. 230.
- ¹⁴ L. S. OLSCHKI, *Riche et précieuse collection de livres à figures des XV^e et XVI^e siècles*. Florence, 1900, no. 1182 (His Catalogue L).
- ¹⁵ H. F. BROWN, *The Venetian*, 101.

- 16 In the transcription of a document given in F. MAVROIDI, *Op. cit.*, 50, the name of the father is given as "Magister Stephanus quodam Marini de Sabio".
- 17 L. BALSAMO & A. TINTO, *Origini del corsivo*, 142-43; A. TINTO, *Il corsivo*, 19.
- 18 BH IV, 155. Sometime after the dissolution of the publishing firm, the type that belonged to Andreas Kounadis and Damiano di Santa Maria passed into the hands of Giacomo Leoncini.
- 19 The Greek books printed under the Sessa-Ravani name were: C. Lascaris, *In hoc libro haec continentur*, 17 October, 1521 (BH III no. 239; CURI NICOLARDI no. 31) reprinted in 18 February, 1521/22 (CURI NICOLARDI no. 35); *Dictionarium graecum*, 1525 (CURI NICOLARDI no. 62); *Oktoechos*, 1525 (BH I no. 72); *Psalterion*, 1525 (BH I no. 73; CURI NICOLARDI, no. 64).
- 20 See under Pietro Ravani and Melchiorre Sessa in Part II.
- 21 ASCARELLI, 182-83; ASCARELLI-MENATO, 354; BORSA I, 234; PASTORELLO nos. 296¹⁻⁴; STC, 898-99; STC, 313, 898, lists an *Anthologia*, 1550 under G. A. and Pietro but the book was actually printed not by Giovanantonio but by Pietro and Giovanni Maria Nicolini da Sabbio. The colophon reads: Apud Petrum et Ioan. Mariam Nicolinos Sabienses (FINAZZI no. 82).
- 22 U. VAGLIA, I da Sabbio, 62; U. BARONCELLI, Editori e stampatori, 104-05. But see Σ. Ε. ΚΑΚΑΜΑΝΗΣ, 'Ἀρχεὶακὲς μαρτυρίαι', 604 where he mentions that the type (K no. 1) had remained in the hands of Giovanni Antonio Nicolini da Sabbio and his heirs until after 1554 when it was returned to Andreas Kounadis's son who had inherited it.
- 23 U. VAGLIA, I da Sabbio, 65.
- 24 Marcus Pollio Vitruvius, *De architectura*. In le case de Ioāne Antonio & Piero Fratelli da Sabio, 1524 (SANDER no. 7699); see also MORTIMER, 759. For Pietro see ASCARELLI, 183; ASCARELLI-MENATO, 354, 355; BORSA I, 234; PASTORELLO nos. 297¹⁻⁶.
- 25 L. BALSAMO & A. TINTO, *Origini del corsivo*, 183, list a book: Aristoteles, *Philosophiae moralis ad Nicomachum*... Venetiis, apud Petrum de Nicolinis de Sabio, 1567 but according to EISS I no. 2670/2890=1547, "Alcuni esemplari con data di stampa errata: MDLXVII."; see also PASTORELLO nos. 296², 297¹⁻⁶; STC 899-900.
- 26 *Corona pretiosa*, 1549 (PAPADOPOULOS A no. 15). For Giovanni Maria and Cornelio see ASCARELLI, 184; ASCARELLI-MENATO, 354, 355; BORSA I, 234; PASTORELLO, no. 297²⁻³; STC, 899-900.
- 27 ASCARELLI, 184; ASCARELLI-MENATO, 355, 356; PASTORELLO no. 294¹, 297³; STC, 898.
- 28 E. FOLLIERI, Su alcuni libri, 126-29; E. LAYTON, Notes on Some Printers, 125-26. For Angelos Fortias see M. VITTI, Βιβλιογραφικά στὸν 16^ο αἰῶνα (ὁ Κερκυραῖος γιατρὸς "Ἄγγελος Φορτιάς alias Angelo Forte), 'Ο Ἐρανιστής, 3(1965)273-76.
- 29 For Stefano see ASCARELLI, 70, 182, 184, 223; ASCARELLI-MENATO, 111, 354-55, 458; BORSA I, 234.
- 30 See notes 5 and 6 above.
- 31 G. FEDALTO, *Ricerche*, 64-66; E. FOLLIERI, Il libro greco, 491-98, 507-08 and especially F. MAVROIDI, 'Inquisitio' patriarcale, 50-53.
- 32 BH I, 201; see also E. FOLLIERI, Su alcuni, 128 and note 15 and her Il libro greco, 501-02 and note 93. Many sources consider Pietro Burrana to be the compiler of this work. See K. GESNER, *Mithridates*. Tiguri, 1555, 47; G. MAZZUCHELLI, *Gli scrittori d'Italia*. Brescia, 1762, II, pt. 3, 1782; C. TREZZINI, Borroni, Borrana, de Borranis, *Historisch-Biographisches Lexikon der Schweiz*. Neuenburg, 1924, II, 315; N. Μ. ΠΑΝΑΓΙΩΤΑΚΗΣ, Τὸ κείμενο τῆς πρώτης ἔκδοσης τοῦ "Ἀπόκοπου," 97-98 note 2.
- 33 Other editions include: 1543 (BH III no. 439); 1546 (ILIOU no. 5); 1549 (PAPADOPOULOS A no. 15); 1567 (BH IV no. 642).
- 34 A. PROSPERI, *Tra evangelismo e controriforma*, 217-34; F. ANDREU, Spunti di attività libraria in S. Gaetano Thiene, *Studi di bibliografia e di storia in onore di T. de Marinis*. Verona, 1964, I, 17-32; L. CARPANÈ-M. MENATO, *Annali della tipografia veronese del Cinquecento*, 11-24; C. STEVANONI, Il greco al servizio della riforma cattolica. Per uno studio della tipografia di Stefano Nicolini da Sabbio e di G. M. Giberti a Verona (1529-1532), 606-32.
- 35 For the works printed by Stefano in Verona see G. C. GIULIARI, *Della tipografia veronese*. Verona, 1871, 46-54; P. SIMONI, Stefano Nicolini e fratelli tipografi a Verona nel Cinquecento, 23-40; see also A. PROSPERI, *Tra evangelismo*, 217-26; E. FOLLIERI, Il libro greco, 503.
- 36 Venice. Archivio di Stato. Capi del Consiglio dei Dieci. Notatorio. 16 December 1535, and Senato Terra. Registro. 30 December 1535.
- 37 E. FOLLIERI, Su alcuni libri, 143-44 and note 40; see also her Il libro greco, 504-06.
- 38 Ambrosius, Saint, *Officiorum libri tres*. Venetiis in aedibus Stephani Sabiensis, 1541 (EISS I no. 1333/1491).

- ³⁹ E. CASANOVA, Le carte di Constantino Corvisieri, 30-32; E. VACCARO-SOFIA, Documenti e precisazioni su Antonio Blado ed eredi tipografi camerale del sec. XVI, *Bolletino dell' Istituto di patologia del libro*, 9 no. 1-4(1950)61.
- ⁴⁰ E. CASANOVA, Le carte, 32.
- ⁴¹ *Il corsivo*, 19.
- ⁴² Theophylaktos, abp. of Achrida, *Ἑρμηνεία εἰς τὰ τέσσερα Εὐαγγέλια*. Roma, Antonio Blado, 1542 (BLADO no. 67; STC, 668); see also L. DOREZ, Le cardinal Marcello Cervini, 305 and note 2.
- ⁴³ E. CASANOVA, Le carte, 30-31.
- ⁴⁴ For the Greek works printed by Antonio Blado see E. VACCARO-SOFIA, Documenti, 61-62; see also BLADO I nos. 66, 67, 78, 79, 83, 107, 161, 183, III nos. 1193, 1220, IV nos. 1523, 1527.
- ⁴⁵ S. Sigonio, *De concordia...* Apud A. Bladum Stephanus Nicolini Sabiensis imprimendum curavit, 1550 (BLADO IV no. 1570; STC, 626); *Alcune virtuti de gli Agnus Dei...* per Stephano Nicolini da Sabio, Stampatore Apostolico [1550] see E. FOLLIERI, Su alcuni libri, 128 note 15.
- ⁴⁶ A. Massarellus, *Epistola monitoria*. Romae, per S. Nicolinum, 1582 (STC, 425).
- ⁴⁷ On Pachomios Rousanos see I. N. KAPMIPHΣ, 'Ο Π. Ρουσάνος καὶ τὰ ἀνέκδοτα δογματικὰ καὶ ἄλλα ἔργα αὐτοῦ. Ἀθήναι, 1935, 1-15 see also his article on Rousanos in *ΘΗΕ*, 10(1966) cols. 858-61; O. ΛΑΜΨΙΔΗΣ, 'Ο Παχώμιος Ρουσάνος καὶ ὁ βίος τῶν συγχρόνων του, *Ἑπετηρίς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν*, 13(1937)385-92; C. CASTELLANI, Pacomio Rusano, grammatico greco del secolo XVI e i manoscritti autografi delle sue opere, *Atti del R. istituto veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti*, ser. 7, 6(1894-95)903-10; I. ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΣ, Παχωμίου Ρουσάνου Κατὰ χυδαῖζόντων καὶ αἰρετικῶν καὶ ἄλλα τοῦ αὐτοῦ, *Σπ. Κανέλλου, Γραμματική τῆς κοινῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων γλώσσης*. Ἐν Τεργέστη, 1908, 49-118; K. AMANTOS, Παχώμιος Ρουσάνος, *Νέα Ἑστία*, 1(1927)1061-64; X. ΦΙΛΗΤΑΣ, Περὶ Ἰωαννικίου Καρτάνου, 5-32.
- ⁴⁸ For the text of Rousanos's letter, Πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Βενετίᾳ χαλκογραφεῖς, see *Ἑλληνομνήμων*, 11(1852) 648-53; ΣΠ. ΛΑΜΠΡΟΣ, Αἱ κατὰ τῶν τυπογράφων, 346-51.
- ⁴⁹ For example, compare the page border ornament in the *Horologion*, 1523 (BH II no. 235) and the title border of the Manouel Philes, 1533 (BH I no. 89) with folio α2^r of the Sessa-Ravani *Psalterion*, 1525 (BH I no. 73; ESSLING no. 177; CURI NICOLARDI no. 64); see also L. S. OLSCHKI, *Riche et précieuse*, 173, 187 no. 328.
- ⁵⁰ For further details see also under Pietro Ravani in Part II. See also S. CURI NICOLARDI, *Una società*, 35-38.
- ⁵¹ Works printed with DS no. 1 (20 lines=92-93 mm): Aristoteles, 1526 (BH I no. 74); *Introdottorio*, 1527 (BH I no. 79); Epictetus, 1528 (FINAZZI no. 58); *Θεία Λειτουργία*, 1528 (BH I no. 80); Polybius, 1529 (BH I no. 82); two works by Psellus, 1532 (BH I nos. 86 and 88); Philes, 1533 (BH I no. 89); *Alphabetum graecum*, 1534 (GENNADIUS); Alcinous, 1535 (BH I no. 93). See also E. LAYTON, Notes on Some Printers, 127 and note 22. Two books, an Isocrates, 1527 (STC, 342) and Th. Gaza, *Introductionis grammaticae*, 1527 (BH III no. 290; FINAZZI no. 57) were printed with DS no. 1. Both works were edited by Ercole Girlandi and printed under the name of Francesco Garrone, an itinerant printer who was in Venice between 1525 and 1527 see ASCARELLI-MENATO, 361.
- ⁵² Works printed with DS no. 2 include: *Epistolae Divi Pauli*, 1533 (EISS II no. 2146); C. Lascaris, *De octo orationis*, 1533 (BH III no. 330; FINAZZI no. 61); P. Melanchthon, *Grammatica graeca*, 1534 (GENNADIUS); Th. Gaza, *Introductionis grammaticae*, 1537 (LADAS no. 26); *Καινὴ Διαθήκη*, 1538 (BH II no. 237; EISS II no. 2089); C. Lascaris, *De octo orationis*, 1539 (PAPADOPOULOS II no. 77); C. Lascaris, *De octo orationis*, 1540 (BH III no. 401); Hippocrates, 1542 (STC, 327).
- ⁵³ To date, the last work printed with K no. 1 is the *Psalterion*, 1546 (LAYTON no. 17) and the *Anthos Chariton*, 1546 (BH I no. 119). For the works financed by Kounadis-di Santa Maria see under Andreas Kounadis and Damiano di Santa Maria in Part II.
- ⁵⁴ Compare the type of Joannes Damascenus, *Ἐκδοσις Ὁρθοδόξου πίστεως*, 1531 (SANDER no. 3644), and that of Oecumenius, *Ἐξηγήσεις παλαιαί*, 1532 (DROULIA no. 76; STC, 103).
- ⁵⁵ H. CARTER, *A View of Early Typography*, 112-13; T. B. REED, *History of the Old English Letter Foundries*, 51-55, 89; E. LAYTON, Notes on Some Printers, 128 and note 24.
- ⁵⁶ A. BRUCKNER, *Schweizer Stempelschneider*, 41-44; H. HEIDENHEIMER, Peter Schöfer der Jüngere in Basel und Venedig, 456-59.
- ⁵⁷ For the history of this font and Cervini no. 1, see under Nikolaos Sophianos in Part II. Works printed in Rome by Stefano Nicolini da Sabbio with Cervini no. 2 include: *Διάλογοι ἱεροί*, 1547 (LADAS no. 38); Theodoretus, 1547 (STC, 667); Joannes Damascenus, 1553 (STC, 359).
- ⁵⁸ See cut of the Nativity on the title page of the *Martyrologium secundum morem Romane curie*, 1522 (ESSLING no. 1175) which is also used on the title pages of the *Psalteria*, 1521 (fig. 58) and 1524 (BH III no. 230 and I no. 70), see ASCARELLI no. 105 and VACCARO no. 417.

- ⁵⁹ See fig. 106. This title border with the Nicolini da Sabbio mark was used by the Nicolini da Sabbio in the *Martyrologium*, 1522 (ESSLING no. 1175; VACCARO no. 417). It was later used by Cristoforo Zanetti in the title pages of three editions of the *Thesaurus* of Damaskenos Stoudites in 1557-58, 1561 and 1562 (PAPADOPOULOS II no. 209 and LADAS no. 54).
- ⁶⁰ For the Nicolini da Sabbio devices see KRISTELLER nos. 276-278; ESSLING, pt. III, 176 nos. 1175, 2193; T. F. DIBDIN, *The Bibliographical Decameron*. London, 1817, II, 239; VACCARO no. 417; ZAPPELLA, no. 226. See also H. W. WINGER, *The Cover Design*, *The Library Quarterly*, 39(1969)271.
- ⁶¹ Il libro greco, 502-03 and pl. 55; ASCARELLI no. 107; VACCARO no. 419; ZAPPELLA no. 387. DAVIES no. 231 and VACCARO no. 418 give another device representing Charity and Faith as a mark used by Giovanni Antonio Nicolini da Sabbio; ZAPPELLA no. 211; ASCARELLI nos. 105-106 and 108 gives three different illustrations as characteristic marks of Giovanni Antonio, however, these are probably used as decorative vignettes and are not really printer's devices; ESSLING pt. III, 176 nos. 758, 2090, p. 177 no. 69. See also ZAPPELLA nos. 441 and 667.
- ⁶² Edition not extant.
- ⁶³ Γ. ΚΕΧΑΓΙΟΓΛΟΥ, Τρεῖς ἀβιβλιογράφητες ἐκδόσεις τοῦ 16ου αἰῶνα, *Τετράδια Ἑργασίας*, 10(1988)457-70 and his Πρῶτες ἐκδόσεις τῆς ριμάδας τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου: Νέα στοιχεῖα, *Ἑλληνικά*, 37(1986)145-59.
- ⁶⁴ In 1527 there are two works printed with DS no. 1 that do not mention the Nicolini da Sabbio but could possibly have been printed by them. These are: Isocrates, *Πρὸς Δημόνικον* (STC, 342) and Th. Gaza, *Introductionis grammaticae libri quattor* (BH III no. 290; FINAZZI no. 57). Both have colophons which read: "Venetiis in aedibus Francisci Garoni."
- ⁶⁵ Edition not extant.
- ⁶⁶ There are also copies with *Θησέος καὶ γάμου* [sic] τῆς Ἑμήλιας.
- ⁶⁷ Although there is no mention of the printers, only "Per Melchiorum Sessam," the type is unmistakably DS no. 2.
- ⁶⁸ Γ. ΚΕΧΑΓΙΟΓΛΟΥ, Πρῶτες ἐκδόσεις τῆς ριμάδας τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου: Νέα στοιχεῖα, 145-59.
- ⁶⁹ STOYANOV no. 12=1535 [sic].
- ⁷⁰ Only the Sessa cat is displayed but printed with DS no. 3 which was introduced to Italy by the Nicolini da Sabbio about this time.
- ⁷¹ See E. LAYTON, *Notes on Some Printers*, 133-34 and note 38.

Andronikos (Nikandros) Noukios, fl. 1537-1556

BORN in Corfu at the very end of the fifteenth or the very beginning of the sixteenth century, Andronikos Noukios¹ is also known by the more familiar form of his name, Nikandros. In official documents, his last name appears also as Nuntius, Nucius, Nuchio, Nunzio, and Nuncio, and in Greek as Νούκκιος or Νούντζιος.² In 1537, when Corfu was attacked and pillaged by the Turkish troops of Suleiman I and by Khair ed-Din, known as Barbarossa (d. 1546), Andronikos's father took his entire family to Venice.³ Although the rest of the family eventually returned to Corfu after the danger had passed, Andronikos remained in Venice, where he tried to earn a living by copying manuscripts and by editing and correcting books for Damiano di Santa Maria. Andronikos Noukios became a member of the scriptorium of Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador to Venice. He was probably introduced to Mendoza either by Antonios Eparchos or Nikolaos Sophianos, both of Corfu.⁴ Andronikos Noukios copied at least fourteen manuscripts for Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, now with all of Mendoza's collection of manuscripts at the Escorial library in Spain. Four of the manuscripts are dated; the earliest bears the date of 24 November 1541, and the last, that of 12 March 1543. There are also manuscripts copied by Andronikos Noukios in various other libraries in Europe.⁵

During his stay in Venice, Noukios also edited two liturgical books for Damiano di Santa Maria that were printed by the Nicolini da Sabbio. These were an *Apostolos*, 1542 (BH II no. 238), and the first edition of the *Typikon*, 1545 (BH I no. 114).⁶ Noukios also translated into modern Greek prose one hundred and fifty of Aesop's fables, which were also published by Damiano di Santa Maria in 1543 (BH I no. 103). This was the first time Aesop was translated into modern Greek.⁷

Andronikos Noukios played an active role in the life and affairs of the Greek Brotherhood of Venice, of which he was a member from 1541. In 1543, he acted as Secretary of the organization. Even during his absences from Venice in 1545 and 1546, he paid his dues to the Brotherhood. Upon his return to Venice in 1547, he was again elected Secretary. During the same year, he was sent by the Brotherhood to Rome as their representative to intercede with Pope Paul III on their behalf to lift the papal Bull of 6 March 1542, which restricted the religious freedoms granted to the Greek Orthodox community of Venice by Popes Leo X and Clement VII. Noukios succeeded in his mission, and the restrictions finally were lifted by the Bull of 22 June 1549.⁸

At the home of Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, Noukios met the envoy of Charles V to Constantinople, Gerhard Veltwyck of Ravenstein, and joined his entourage. He travelled to Constantinople with him and later travelled extensively through western Europe during Veltwyck's various missions for the Emperor. He visited Germany, Belgium, and Holland, and also spent some time in England and Scotland. Noukios returned to Italy in 1547 via France, where he met Angelos Vergikios. Noukios described his meeting with Vergikios in his journal.⁹ During his trip, he kept a diary of his impressions of the various countries that consisted of three books entitled *Ἀποδημῖαι*, which remained in manuscript form until recently. Noukios's journals survived in three manuscripts and constitute one of the most important travel accounts of a Greek to western Europe during the Renaissance.¹⁰

It is not clear when Noukios returned to Corfu. His last dues to the Greek Brotherhood were paid on 26 January 1547. The last mention of his name in Venice is found when, on 18 May 1548, he was one of the witnesses to a document concerning Metrophanes, Archbishop of Caesarea, Demetrios Marmaretos, Silvestro de Odino and Vasileios Valeris.¹¹ It appears that Noukios returned shortly after this date to his native Corfu. He was elected a member of the Corfiote Assembly on 29 October 1552. His name appears for the last time in official documents on Corfu in February 1556. His last literary effort, *Τραγωδία εἰς τὴν τοῦ Αὐτεξουσίου ἀναίρεσιν*, was a Greek adaptation and translation in 1551 of an anti-papist satirical work by Francesco Negri of Bassano, *Della tragedia intitolata Libero arbitrio*, originally published in Basel in 1546 and reprinted in 1550 (STC, 66 and 463).¹²

Although only three printed works mention Andronikos Noukios by name, it is quite possible that he edited more works published by Damiano di Santa Maria between 1542 and 1545. All of the chapbooks published during this period are without indication of editor. This was the custom with editions of modern Greek texts, which seldom give the name of the editor/corrector or adapter.¹³ It is perhaps not a coincidence that most of the first editions published by Damiano di Santa Maria in 1543 and 1544 were written by Heptanesiotes.

- 1542 Ἀπόστολος (BH II no. 238)
"ἐπιμελεία δὲ Ἀνδρονίκου Νουκίου Κερκυραίου"
- 1543 Αἴσωπος, Μῦθοι (BH I no. 103)
"ὑπὸ AN[ΔΡΟΝΙΚΟΥ] ΝΟΥ[ΚΙΟΥ] ΚΕΡ[ΚΥΡΑΙΟΥ]"
- 1545 Τυπικόν (BH I no. 114)
Preface: "Τοῖς ἐν τῷ ἁγιωτάτῳ κλήρῳ ἐναριθμουμένοις Χριστιανοῖς Ὁρθοδόξοις Ἀνδρόνικος Νούκιος ὁ Κερκυραῖος ἐν Κυρίῳ χαίρειν"

NOTES

- ¹ A. ΜΟΥΣΤΟΞΥΔΗΣ, Νίκανδρος Νούκιος, *Πανδώρα*, 7(1856)217-25; X. ΦΙΛΗΤΑΣ, Εἰδήσεις περὶ ἀντιτύπου τινὸς τοῦ ὑπὸ Ἀδρονίκου Νουκίου ἐκδοθέντος Τυπικοῦ, *Πανδώρα*, 8(1857)413-16; SATHAS, 155-58; BH I, clxxxii, 241-43; P. MEYER, *Die theologische Litteratur*, 118; A. RAES, *Les livres liturgiques grecs*, 214; KONTOSOPOULOS, 313; Δ. Κ. ΜΙΧΑΗΛΙΔΗΣ, Βιβλιογραφικὸ σημεῖωμα γιὰ τὸν Ἀνδρόνικο Νούκιο, *Ὁ Ἐρανιστής*, 8(1970)220-22; Φ. ΜΑΥΡΟΕΙΔΗ, *Συμβολή*, 81, 93; B. KNÖS, *L'histoire*, 316-17; M. I. ΜΑΝΟΥΣΑΚΑΣ, Ἡ ἐν Βενετίᾳ Ἑλληνικὴ Κοινότης, 180-81 and his *Aperçu d'une histoire de la colonie grecque orthodoxe de Venise*, *Θησαυρίσματα*, 19(1982)14-15, 17 and note 44; A. DEISSER, Nicandre de Corfou, le premier grec qui descendit dans une mine liégeoise, *La vie wallone*, 50(1976)5-21 and his *Entre Constantinople et Venise. L'Hodoeporicum de Favoli et son escale au Tenare (début 1546)*, *Θησαυρίσματα*, 15(1978)248-50; E. ΓΙΩΤΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ-ΣΙΣΙΛΙΑΝΟΥ, Ἀντώνιος ὁ Ἐπαρχος, ἕνας Κερκυραῖος οὐμανιστής τοῦ 15 αἰῶνα, 73-75; A. VAN GEMERT, Μαρίνου Φαλιέρου, Ἐρωτικὰ ὄνειρα, 51-52. See also A. DEISSER, Ὁ Νίκανδρος, ὁ Φραγκίσκος Α' καὶ τὰ θαύματα τῆς Κέρκυρας, *Δελτίον τῆς Ἀναγνωστικῆς Ἑταιρείας Κερκύρας*, 12(1975)165-80.
- ² BH I, 241 and note 1; C. GRAUX, *Essai*, 190 and note 1; J.-A. de FOUCAULT, *Nicandre de Corcyre, Voyages*. Paris, 1962, 7-8; A. MALINA, Nikandros Nukios, Ἀποδημίαι Buch I. Bericht über seine Reise durch Deutschland in den Jahren 1545-1546, *Ὁ Ἑλληνισμός εἰς τὸ ἐξωτερικόν. Über Beziehungen des Griechentums zum Ausland in der neuen Zeit*. Berlin, 1968, 54 no. 4; A. DEISSER, Nicandre de Corfou, 9.
- ³ J.-A. de FOUCAULT, *Nicandre de Corcyre, Voyages*, 8, speculated that perhaps Andronikos's father was Menandros Noukios, who in 1528 co-sponsored along with D. Zenos the publication of the Divine Liturgy (BH I no. 80). See also Γ. ΧΥΤΗΡΗΣ, Ἡ Τουρκικὴ πολιορκία τῆς Κερκύρας στὰ 1537 καὶ ὁ Νούκιος Νίκανδρος, *Δελτίον Ἀναγνωστικῆς Ἑταιρείας Κερκύρας*, 6(1969)99-113.
- ⁴ E. ΓΙΩΤΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ-ΣΙΣΙΛΙΑΝΟΥ, Ἀντώνιος ὁ Ἐπαρχος, 74-75; C. GRAUX, *Essai*, 190-92; J. IRIGOIN, *Les ambassadeurs a Venise*, II, 405.

⁵ For information on A. Noukios as a scribe see VG, 31; PATRINELIS, 100-01; CANART, 79; J. WIESNER and U. VICTOR, *Griechische Schreiber der Renaissance*, *Rivista di studi bizantini e neoellenici*, n.s. 8-9(1971-72)61; GAMILLSCHEG-HARLFINGER, I, no. 20, II no. 27.

⁶ The preface of the *Typikon*, written by Noukios is reproduced in BH I, 268-70. On the *Typikon* see also X. ΦΙΛΗΤΑΣ, *Εἰδήσεις*, 413-16.

⁷ G. Kechagioglou has suggested that perhaps the edition of Aesop published by Damiano di Santa Maria in 1525 (EISS I no. 328/351) had served as the basis for the Noukios translation; see his *Τρεῖς ἀβιβλιογράφητες ἐκδόσεις*, 461-63.

⁸ Φ. ΜΑΥΡΟΕΙΔΗ, *Συμβολή*, 93; G. FEDALTO, *Ricerche storiche*, 80; M. I. ΜΑΝΟΥΣΑΚΑΣ, 'Η ἐν Βενετία, 180-81 and his *Aperçu*, 14-15; Γ. ΠΛΟΥΜΙΔΗΣ, *Αἱ βουλλαι τῶν Παπῶν περὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων Ὁρθοδόξων τῆς Βενετίας* (1445-1782), *Θησαυρίσματα*, 7(1970)233-34, 246-50.

⁹ See BH I, clxxxii.

¹⁰ J. A. CRAMER, ed. *The Second Book of the Travels of Nikander Nucius of Corcyra*. London, 1841; A. ΜΟΥΣΤΟΞΥΔΗΣ, *Νίκανδρος Νούκιος*, *Ἱστορικῶν καὶ φιλολογικῶν ἀναλέκτων*. Τόμος I. ἐκδ. ὑπὸ Μ. Α. Μουστοξύδη. Ἐν Κερκύρα, 1872; J.-A. FOUCAULT, *Nicandre de Corcyre, Voyages*; A. MALINA, *Nikandros Nukios*, 45-181; see also, A. ΜΟΥΣΤΟΞΥΔΗΣ, *Νίκανδρος Νούκιος*, 217-25; Π. ΧΙΩΤΗΣ, *Περὶ τοῦ χειρογράφου τῶν Ἀποδημιῶν Νικάνδρου τοῦ Νουκίου*, *Πανδώρα*, 12(1862)140-42; Σ. ΛΑΜΠΡΟΣ, *Περὶ τῆς ἐκδόσεως τοῦ ὁδοιπορικοῦ τοῦ Νουκίου*, *Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων*, 15(1921)94-95; Φ. ΜΠΟΥΜΠΟΥΛΙΔΗΣ, *Παρατηρήσεις εἰς τὰς Ἀποδημίας τοῦ Νουκίου*, *Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν*, 34(1965)218-21; Γ. ΣΕΦΕΡΗΣ, *Ἐνας Ἑλληνας ταξιδιώτης στὴν Ἀγγλία στὰ 1545*, *Ἀγγλοελληνικὴ Ἐπιθεώρησις*, 5(1952)436-38; Π. Γ. ΚΑΛΛΙΝΙΚΟΣ, *Ὁ Νίκανδρος Νούκιος στὴ Βρεταννία*, *Δελτίον Ἀναγνωστικῆς Ἑταιρείας Κερκύρας*, 7(1970)35-42; A. DEISSER, *Nicandre de Corfou*, 5-21.

¹¹ Σ. Ε. ΚΑΚΛΑΜΑΝΗΣ, *Τρεῖς πρῶτες ἐκδόσεις*, 240-42 and document no. 1. See also under Vasileios Valeris in Part II.

¹² A. DEISSER, *Nicandre de Corfou*, 12 and his *Τραγωδία εἰς τὴν τοῦ Αὐτεξουσίου ἀναίρεσιν*, *Θεατρικά*, 14-18(1977)54-57.

¹³ The following chapbooks were published during this period: *Apokopos*, 1543 (BH I no. 104); M. Depharanas, *Logoi didaktikoi*, 1543 (BH I no. 105); *Penthos thanatou*, 1543 (BH I no. 102); *Imberios*, 1543 (PAPADOPOULOS I no. 6108); I. Trivolis, *Historia tou re tes Skotzias*, 1543 (BH I no. 106=EHINGER, 129) and his *Historia tou Tagiapiera*, 1544 (BH I no. 112=EHINGER, 129); and M. Phalieros, *Staurosis*, 1544 (BH I no. 113=EHINGER, 129). A liturgical work, the *Pentekostarion*, 1544 (BH I no. 109), has no indication of editor either.

Konstantinos Palaiokapas, fl. 1508-1521

IT has become clear by now that there were two different persons by this name. Both came from Kydonia in Crete, and they were probably closely related, perhaps uncle and nephew. Thus the Konstantinos Palaiokapas who edited and corrected a liturgical book for Andreas Kounadis in 1521¹ and the Konstantinos Palaiokapas, the scribe and forger also known as the monk Pachomios, who was active some years later, mostly in France, are not the same person. The latter worked for Charles de Guise, Cardinal of Lorraine (1538-1574), and also worked along with Iakovos Diassorinos and Angelos Vergikios on a catalogue of the Fontainebleau Royal library.² Up until now there has been great confusion about the life and times of Konstantinos Palaiokapas because the two were considered one person, and there was conflicting information about their activities. For example, some scholars were puzzled to read in the preface of a *Triodion*, 1551 (BH II no. 240), that Konstantinos Palaiokapas had died in 1551, because there are manuscripts copied and dated by him from after this date. Palaiokapas's activities could be traced to 1561.³ Others who dealt with Konstantinos Palaiokapas, the editor and corrector of liturgical books, cast aspersions on his competence and reliability and cautioned about the quality of his editing, as well as his ability to obtain a manuscript of quality for the works he edited, because of his reputation as a forger.⁴

The editor/corrector K. Palaiokapas was already in Venice as early as 1508, and probably earlier. The first mention of his name in the sources appears in 1509 or 1510 in an undated letter written by Arsenios Apostolis (1465-1535) to the Patriarch of Constantinople, Pachomios, concerning Apostolis's dismissal by the Patriarch as Bishop of Monemvasia. In this letter, Apostolis accuses Konstantinos Palaiokapas for being one of the main persons responsible for his dismissal, because it was Palaiokapas and his friends in Venice who had influenced the Patriarch against him.⁵ This episode and the statement that K. Palaiokapas had an influence on the Patriarch denotes that Palaiokapas was already a person of some importance and stature as early as 1509. He probably resided in Venice on a permanent basis, for, in 1516, his name is listed as a member of the Greek Brotherhood.⁶ The next time Palaiokapas's name appears in the sources is when he sought the public professorship of Greek and Latin in Venice. The position became vacant at the death of Markos Mousouros in October 1517. The contestants for the position, according to the chronicler Marino Sanuto, were three: Vettore or Vittorio Fausto, a Venitian scholar well versed in Greek,⁷ Konstantinos Palaiokapas, and Giovanni-Hector Lascaris, surnamed Pirgoteles. Under the date of 16 October 1518, Marino Sanuto jotted this entry in his diary: "Fo balotà tre posti a la lectura greca, *videlicet* Constantin Paleocapo greco, Vctor Fausto veneto et Zuan Hector Pirgotele, et rimase Vctor Fausto doctor veneto. La balotation sarà scritta qui avanti," and, further down:

Infrascripti fecerunt se scribi ad probam lectionae graecae loco qu. domini Marci Musuri.

† 2 Victor Faustus doctor, civis venetus originarius, graecae et latinae
linguae peritus 121. 26

1. Constantinus Paleocapus grecus cretensis, offert se exponere
ordinariam lectionem latine et grece, denique gramaticam
speculativam et positivam, dareque imitationes grecas
volentibus latinas; legere minime vult eoque ab homine
greco non egent veneti lectionibus latinis 38. 113

3. Joannes Hector Maria Lascari cognominatus Pirgoteles. 30. 120⁸

How Palaiokapas earned a living after he was unsuccessful in obtaining the post in Venice, which went to Fausto, is not known. It is not improbable to surmise that he too like his younger namesake, was a scribe. However, this conjecture only comes from the information that, during his last illness, he was residing at the house of the French ambassador to Venice. In 1521, Konstantinos Palaiokapas edited the first liturgical edition, indeed the very first book, published by Andreas Kounadis. It seems that the plan was for K. Palaiokapas to become the main editor/corrector of the newly established press for, as we shall see, Andreas Kounadis and Konstantinos Palaiokapas were close friends. However, shortly after the publication of this work, Palaiokapas became ill and died.

During his illness, Palaiokapas wrote his will, dated 18 October 1521, at the home of the ambassador of France. In his will, Palaiokapas gave power of attorney and appointed in charge of his affairs in Venice his best man (κουμπάρος), Andreas Kounadis. He asked Kounadis to make a list of all of his assets in Venice and to sell them and pay his debtors. He also instructed Kounadis to take all of his books and place them in Kounadis's bookshop (libreria) to sell. Whatever remained from his estate after all of his debts were paid was to be sent to Chania in Crete to his father and brother.⁹ Palaiokapas must have died shortly after his will was signed, for there is mention of his death in the next liturgical book brought out by the firm of Andreas Kounadis. In the preface of the *Triodion* published on 31 March 1522 (BH I no. 66=III no. 242), Ercole Girlandi¹⁰ of Mantua, who took over the editorial duties of Palaiokapas, had this to say about Palaiokapas:

ἐν τῇδε τῇ τυπουργίᾳ καὶ πολὺ μογήσας οὐ μικρὸν ἡμῖν ἐπεβοήθησεν, Κωνσταντῖνος [sic] ὁ παλαιόκαπος, ὁ κρής, ὁ ἐκ τῆς κυδωνίας ὅσπερ εὐφυῆς ὢν, καὶ μεγίστην τὴν πείραν ἐσχικώς, ἐν τῇ τῆς τε θεωρητικῆς, καὶ πρακτικῆς φιλοσοφίας πραγματεία, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖσδε τῆς θείας γραφῆς βιβλίοις, τοπάλαι πολὺ κατασκησάμενος, τῆς ταυτησὶ φιλοπονίας πρῶτος ἤρξατο. Κἂνταῦθα δὲ σπουδῇ τε, καὶ προθυμίᾳ χρησάμενος, οὐδὲν παρήκεν, καθ' ὅσον οἶον τε ἦν, εἰς ὀρθὴν τε, καὶ εὐάρμοστον τῆς βίβλου σύνθεσιν. ἀλλ' οὕτως ἄθλιοί τε καὶ δυστυχεῖς ὄντες τυγχάνομεν βροτοί, ὥσθ' ἡμᾶς οὐδέποτε, μακρὰν δύνασθαι ἀπολαύειν, μήτε ἀγαθοῦ τινος, μήτε χρησίμου. ἦν γὰρ ὁ Κωνσταντῖνος [sic] καὶ πάσαις ἀρεταῖς περιφανής, καὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις πάνυ ὠφέλιμος. ἀλλ' ὅσῳ βελτίων ἦν, τοσούτῳ θᾶττον στρυφνῶ τῷ θανάτῳ, εὐθαλῆς τὴν ἡλικίαν ἔτι ὢν, φεῦ πρὸ τῆς ἡμέρας, ἀπέθανεν. ἀλλὰ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐτελείετο βουλή. ἡμεῖς οὖν, ἅτε ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ ἔργῳ διάδοχοι, ὅπερ ἐκεῖνος διαφθαρεῖς οὐκ ἠδύνατο, τουτὶ τὸ βιβλίον φροντισάμενοι, μετὰ πόνου πολλοῦ, ξὺν θεῷ, ἀποτελέσαμεν...οὐ μὲν ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ Κυρίῳ Ἀνδρέᾳ τῷ Κουνάδῃ, τῷ ἐκ τῆς ἐνδοξοτάτης τῶν πατρῶν πόλεως, γένος ἔχοντι, τὴν πολλὴν εἶδετε χάριν, ὥσπερ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τῇδε τῇ ἐκτυπώσει, καὶ πολλὴν φιλανθρωπῶς ἐδαπάνησε χρυσόν.¹¹

The above preface was reprinted in the 1551 *Triodion* and resulted in scholarly confusion about the date of death of Konstantinos Palaiokapas, the scribe whose activities can be traced as far as 1561 and the possibility that there might be more than one Konstantinos Palaiokapas.¹²

- 1521 Ψαλτήριον (BH III no. 230)
 "πόνω δέ, Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ Παλαιοκάπου τοῦ κρητός, τοῦ ἐκ κυδωνίας ἔλκοντος
 τὴν γενετῆς σειράν"
- 1522 Τριώδιον (BH I no. 66=III no. 242)
 Edited partially by K. Palaiokapas; see citation of the preface above
- 1551 Τριώδιον (BH II no. 240)
 Reprint of 1522 edition with same preface and text

NOTES

¹ SATHAS, 230-31; A. RAES, *Les livres liturgiques grecs*, 214 and note 19.

² H. OMONT, *Catalogue de manuscrits grecs copiés à Paris au XVI^e siècle par Constantin Palaeocappa*, *Annuaire de l'Association pour l'encouragement des études grecques en France*, 20(1886)242-43; M. JUGIE, *Une nouvelle invention au compte de Constantin Palaeocappa: Samonas de Gaza et son Dialogue sur l'Eucharistie*, *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati*. Rome, 1946, III, 351 (*Studi e testi*, 123); L. COHN, *Konstantin Palaeokappa und Jakob Diassorinos*, *Philologische Abhandlungen. Martin Hertz zum siebzigsten Geburtstag*. Berlin, 1888, 123.

³ L. COHN, *Ibidem*, 123-25; A. DILLER, *Two Greek Forgeries of the Sixteenth Century*, *American Journal of Philology*, 57(1936)128 and note 12.

⁴ A. RAES, *Les livres liturgiques grecs*, 214.

⁵ M. I. MANOYΣAKAS, 'Ἀρχιερεῖς Μεθώνης καὶ Μονεμβασίας γύρω στὰ 1500, *Πελοποννησιακά*, 3-4(1958-59)111, 112 and note 1, 139. The letter is published in BH II, 342-46 see especially 343.

⁶ A. ΠΑΡΔΟΣ, 'Ἀλφαβητικὸς κατάλογος τῶν πρώτων μελῶν τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Ἀδελφότητος Βενετίας ἀπὸ τὸ κατάστιχο 129(1498-1530), *Θησαυρίσματα*, 16(1979)307, 365, 17(1980)193.

⁷ See also under his name in Part II.

⁸ *I diarii. Venice*, 1889, XXVI, cols.125-26, 127-28.

⁹ I wish to extend my thanks to Mr. Antonis Pardos, who found Palaiokapas's will and who was kind enough to supply me with the information related here.

¹⁰ For Ercole Girlandi or Girlando, see also under his name in Part II.

¹¹ Legrand was unable to consult the edition of the 1522 *Triodion*. The preface is reprinted verbatim but with small changes in capitalization and punctuation in the *Triodion*, 1551 see BH II, 162-63.

¹² For the life and career of Konstantinos Palaiokapas the scribe, see VG, 247-50; PATRINELIS, 101-02; CANART, 66; K. A. DE MEYIER, *Scribes grecs de la Renaissance. Additions et corrections aux répertoires de Vogel-Gardthausen, Patrinélis et de Canart*, *Scriptorium*, 18(1964)262; GAMILLSCHEG-HARLFINGER, I no. 225, II no. 316.

Nikephoros Parasches, also known as Nikephoros Trikkes,
c. 1537-c. 1599

NIKEPHOROS PARASCHES, from Trikke (Trikkala) in Thessaly, was born c. 1537, the son of a merchant. On his mother's side, he was related to Michael Cantacuzenos Seitanoglu.¹ After his ordination as deacon (*ιεροδιάκονος*), Nikephoros went to Italy to complete his studies at the University of Padua. In 1572, while still in Italy, he was appointed by Patriarch Hieremias II of Constantinople as his Exarch in Venice.² There Parasches had a falling out a few years later with Gabriel Severos, Metropolitan of Philadelphia, whose jurisdiction included the Greek Community of Venice. Severos had to forbid Nikephoros Parasches to openly attack from the pulpit of Saint George of the Greeks a Catholic preacher by the name of Panigarola.³

In 1580, Nikephoros Parasches was recalled to Constantinople by Patriarch Hieremias II where he became one of Hieremias's most devoted friends and confidential advisers. In the service of the Patriarch, Nikephoros's career was very active, some would even say stormy. As an Exarch, he made several trips to Moldavia and Wallachia on behalf of the Patriarch. In Rumania, he was known as "the teacher" (*dascalul*).⁴ As the Vicar of the Patriarch Hieremias, Nikephoros was in charge of the Oecumenical Patriarchate during the exile of the Patriarch in 1586-87, and again when Hieremias visited Russia and Rumania during 1588-89. He was also the leading figure of the Orthodox delegation representing the Patriarch of Constantinople to the Council of Brest in 1596. Along with Kyrillos Loukaris, who represented the Patriarch of Alexandria, Meletios Pegas, as his Exarch, Parasches was the chief policymaker representing the Orthodox side.⁵ When the outcome of the Council was to declare the union of the Ruthenian Greek Catholic Church with Rome, Nikephoros, as the spokesman of the Patriarch, rejected and condemned the action and excommunicated the uniate bishops. He was arrested and accused of being a spy for the Turks. In March of 1597, he was tried in Warsaw by the Polish Diet and died of starvation in a Polish prison c. 1599.⁶

During his stay in Venice, Nikephoros Parasches edited and corrected two liturgical books printed at the expense of Antonios Verghis, a wealthy Greek businessman who was active in community affairs.⁷

1578 Ὁκτώηχος (BH II no. 158)

“ἐπιμελεία δὲ καὶ ἀναγκαιωτάτῃ ἐπιδιορθώσει, Νικηφόρου τοῦ ἐκ τρίκκης τῆς
θετταλίας, καὶ ἐπιτρόπου τοῦ τῆς κωνσταντινουπόλεως νέας ῥώμης
οἰκουμενικοῦ πατριάρχου κυρίου Ἱερεμίου”

1578 Εὐχολόγιον (BH II no. 272; EISS III no. 3997)

“ἐπιμελεία δὲ καὶ ἀναγκαιωτάτῃ ἐπιδιορθώσει ἔν τε ταῖς ἱεραῖς λειτουργίαις καὶ
ἐν ἄλλοις πολλοῖς Νικηφόρου τοῦ ἐκ τρίκκης τῆς θετταλίας... Ἱερεμίου”

NOTES

- ¹ N. IORGA, Nichifor Dascălul, Exarh patriarhal și legăturile lui cu țările noastre (1580-1599), *Analele academiei române Memoriile secțiunii istorice*, ser. 2, 27(1904-05)183-200; P. P. PANAITESCU, Despre Nichifor Dascălul și legăturile lui cu noi, *Rivista istorică*, 12-13(1926-27)83; also his *Mihai Viteazul*. București, 1936, 99-101, 194-97 and his *Documente privitoare la istoria lui Mihai Viteazul*. București, 1936, 81-86; Ἀθηναγόρας, μητρ. Παραμυθίας, Ὁ σοφὸς διδάσκαλος καὶ ἱερομάρτυς Νικηφόρος Παράσχος ὁ Καντακουζηνός, *Γρηγόριος ὁ Παλαμᾶς*, 20(1936)7-15; 45-54; 77-82; 125-33; K. Δ. MEPTZIOS, Νικηφόρος Παράσχος, *Ἡπειρωτικὰ Χρονικά*, 15(1940)21-22; KONTOSOPOULOS, 315-16; Λ. BRANOYΣΗΣ, Ἡ ἐν Ἡπείρῳ μονὴ Σωσίνου, *Ἐπετηρὶς τοῦ Μεσαιωνικοῦ Ἀρχείου*, 6(1956)91 note 2; Α. Π. ΑΡΧΟΝΤΙΔΗΣ, Εἰδήσεις γιὰ τὸ πατριαρχεῖο τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως τὸ 1592 (ἀπὸ ἐπιστολῇ τοῦ Θεοδώρου Σεβήρου), *Θησαυρίσματα*, 15(1978)119-26.
- ² ἈΘΗΝΑΓΟΡΑΣ, μητρ. Παραμυθίας, Ὁ σοφὸς διδάσκαλος, 10; W. K. MEDLIN & C. G. PATRINELIS, *Renaissance Influences*, 86; Φ. ΔΗΜΗΤΡΑΚΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, Ἀρσένιος Ἐλασσόνος, 38.
- ³ Μ. Ι. ΜΑΝΟΥΣΑΚΑΣ, Ἀνέκδοτα πατριαρχικὰ γράμματα, 19-20 and his Ἡ ἐν Βενετίᾳ Ἑλληνικὴ Κοινότης, 205-06; K. Δ. MEPTZIOS, Νικηφόρος Παράσχος, 21-22 and his *Πατριαρχικά*, 4-6.
- ⁴ N. IORGA, Nichifor Dascălul, 183-200; P. P. PANAITESCU, Despre Nichifor Dascălul, 83.
- ⁵ See Nikephoros Parasches's letter to Kyrillos Loukaris dated Dubno, 16 September 1596, in BH XVIIIs. IV, 221-25.
- ⁶ ΑΘΗΝΑΓΟΡΑΣ, μητρ. Παραμυθίας, Ὁ σοφὸς διδάσκαλος, 81-82, 125-33; W. K. MEDLIN & C. G. PATRINELIS, *Renaissance Influences*, 87, 96-97 notes 14-16.
- ⁷ KONTOSOPOULOS, 316 attributes to N. Parasches the editorship of I. Trivolis, *Ἱστορία τοῦ ῥέ τῆς Σκότζιας*, 1577 (BH II no. 271) and of the *Evangelion*, 1581 (BH II no. 273). The Trivolis work, as is the usual custom with most of the chapbooks published in the sixteenth century, does not mention the name of the editor. The *Evangelion*, 1581 was edited by Theophanes Logaras.

Antonio Pinelli, the Elder, fl. 1600-1631?

THE Pinelli firm properly belongs to the seventeenth century. It began operations in 1600, and the period of its major activity was in the seventeenth century, though it continued to operate even after the fall of the Venetian Republic in 1797. Under the initiative of the founder, Antonio Pinelli, the firm began its Greek printing activities in 1600 with the publication of a series of liturgical and vernacular texts. The Pinelli firm's address, at least at the beginning, was "A S. Maria Formosa in Cale del Mondo Nouo."¹

Antonio Pinelli bought the stock of Cristoforo Zanetti from the heirs of his son, Pietro Zanetti. The Pinelli also acquired the stock from other defunct presses of the late sixteenth century that had specialized in Greek printing. From the Zanetti, they acquired the type cut in 1548 by Guillaume I Le Bé, which they used to print their liturgical publications (fig. 208).² Besides the type, they also acquired some of the headpieces and other ornaments from the Zanetti stock. In addition, they also acquired a variety of other type, such as the *augustine grecque* of Pierre Haultin and other Greek fonts of French provenance, which can be seen in some of their early editions of the Greek vernacular texts. A variety of other ornaments first used in other defunct presses, such as that of Giacomo Leoncini (fig. 209), are also evident in their liturgical publications.³ The Pinelli even bought the set of woodcuts that was used to print the first (1526) edition of the modern Greek *Iliad* of Nikolaos Loukanis (BH I no. 75). They published at least two editions in 1603 and again in 1640 of the modern Greek *Iliad* (BH XVIIIs. V no. 11 (1603) and I no. 290 (1640) using whatever woodcuts had survived from the original set.⁴ In their turn, the Pinelli introduced new features to their books, such as some elaborate woodcut title page borders that were obviously designed expressly for their liturgical editions (fig. 121). They also introduced some other new decorative initials and headpieces.

As early as 1601, Antonio Pinelli went into partnership with one Zuan Premuda for the exclusive purpose of producing Greek books and exporting them to Constantinople.⁵ How long this partnership lasted or how successful it

μθ'.

Θεταώς οί αἱ ὁῖ. καὶ τῶν μὲν ἀγγέλων τὸ πῆμα
 πόρνηφάρια ὑπεῖξεν μόρος, τῆς τιμῆς καὶ τῆς
 μακαριότητος ὅξενεσε τῆς ἀρετῆς. τὸ δὲ τῶν
 αἱμάτων ἀπαμύχνης, τὴν δεσποτικὴν ἐντολὴν πα-
 ραβὰς, δεινῶς πεσὼν κατωλίανησεν. οὐτ' αἱμοῦ
 ἔτ' ἀγγελοῦ ἔχον τὸν βοήθητοντα. ὅθεν τὸ ἄ-
 κροτον ἀγαθὸν φῦσει ὑπὸ λαγχμοῦ ὃν ἠνδρόκνησε τὸ
 σιῶθετον καὶ ὑλικὸν ἀπλοῦν γενέσθαι. καὶ τὸν
 χῶρον ἀμαπληρῶσαι, τῶν ἀποστάτων ἀπέλυν.
 τὸ δὲ μέσον τὸ ταύτῃ τὴν ἀξίαν ποιοῦν, τὰ ὑπὸ
 τῆς κείνου Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν μερομοδετημῆρα,
 εἰσὶν ἅγια μυσηῖα. Οἷς ὁ μὴ καθὼς ἡ ἀγία καὶ
 καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία, διδάσκει χρῶν μῆρος. ἀδυνά-
 τον, τῆς δαῦτε οἱ ἀλογημῆροι τῆ πατρὸς μου, ἀ-
 κούσαι μακαρίας φωνῆς. Ταῦτά μοι τοίγῃ
 ἀδελφοὶ σωετέθῃ σωστικῶς ὡς εἴρηται, πε-
 ρὶ τῆς τῶν ἁγίων μυσηῖων πραγματείας. ἔς
 ἀξίῳ ὁπμιελῆσθαι τῆ βραχέως τούτου ἐγχει-
 ρήματος, καὶ συνεχῶς διδρῆσθαι καὶ ἀμαγ-
 γλώσκειν. ἵνα τὴν τούτου ἐξίμῃχορτες, οὐμόνον
 τοῖς πωθαμομῆροις ἀπταποκρίνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ Σ
 τοὺς ἀμνήτους διδάσκειν, διωκθῆτε ῥαδίως.

fig. 208



fig. 209

was is not known. As already mentioned, the Pinelli's proper place is not in the sixteenth but in the seventeenth century. The Pinelli were appointed as the official printers of the Republic and published the laws and other documents of the government under the designation "Stampatori ducali."⁶ Although the firm remained in operation even after the fall of the Republic, its activities as a printer of Greek books for Greek readers was already considerably reduced by 1676. From the late 1760s on, the publications of the Pinelli for Greek consumption were confined to government documents — laws, regulations, tariffs, etc. — issued by the government for use in the Venetian-occupied Greek lands.⁷ In 1754, Giovanni Antonio Pinelli served as Prior of the Venetian Guild of Printers and Booksellers.⁸ The Pinelli mark was a pine tree enclosed within an elaborate woodcut border (fig. 210). However, one of their very first publications, G. Severos's *Συνταγμάτιον*, 1600 (BH II no. 235 [sic, read 234]), displays a different mark on its title page. Instead of the pine tree, there is a dove sitting on a tree trunk holding a small olive branch in its beak within a decorative frame (fig. 144).⁹

In 1600, the only year to be considered here, the editor of the liturgical publications published by the Pinelli firm was Maximos Margounios, Bishop of Kythera, who was, without a doubt, the most distinguished and erudite Greek clergyman of his time.¹⁰

Books printed by the Pinelli in 1600:

- | | |
|-------|---|
| 1600 | Ἀπολόνιος (BH XVIIIs. V no. 2=1601 [sic]) ¹¹
"Παρά Πέτρου, υἱοῦ τοῦ ποταῖ Χριστοφόρου τοῦ τζανέτου" ¹² |
| 1600? | Εὐχολόγιον (ADAMS L no. 878; ILIOU, 319 no. 36) ¹³
A. Pinelli? |
| 1600 | Γαδάρου, λύκου...διήγησις ὥραϊα (BH XVIIIs. V no. 3=1601 [sic] read 1600) ¹⁴
"Παρά Ἀντωνίῳ τῷ Πινέλλῳ" |
| 1600 | Ἡμπέριος (BH XVIIIs. V no. 4=1601 [sic] read 1600) ¹⁵
"Παρά Ἀντωνίῳ τῷ Πινέλλῳ" |
| 1600 | Πεντηκοστάριον (BH II no. 232)
As above. |
| 1600 | Πένθος θανάτου (PAPADOPOULOS II no. 1046)
As above |

- 1600 Γ. Σεβήρος, Συνταγματίον (BH II no. 235 [sic] read no. 234)
 "Παρά Ἰωάννη Ἀντωνίῳ τῷ Πινέλῳ"
- 1600 Τριώδιον (PAPADOPOULOS II no. 320^a)¹⁶
 "Παρά Ἀντωνίῳ τῷ Πινέλῳ"



fig. 210

NOTES

¹ *Catalogue of Seventeenth Century Italian Books in the British Library*. London, 1986, III, 1126. See also KONTOSOPOULOS, 302-03; PAPADOPOULOS I, 703-04.

² For information about this type, see under Cristoforo Zanetti in Part II.

³ For example, the headpiece on folio α2^r in the Pinelli *Triodion*, 1636 (BH XVIIIs. I no. 249) was first used by Giacomo Leoncini. It was also used in exactly the same place in the Pinelli edition of the *Menaion* of February, 1643 (BH XVIIIs. I no. 331). Another, similar headpiece, originally found in the liturgical publications of Cristoforo Zanetti, can be seen on folio α2^r in the edition of the Pinelli *Typikon*, 1603-1604 (BH XVIIIs. I no. 21).

⁴ D. HOLTON, *A Set of Sixteenth Century Woodcuts*, 371-76. See also E. LAYTON, *Notes on the Illustration of the Sixteenth Century Greek Book in Italy*, Ἀφιέρωμα στὸν Μ. Ι. Μανούσκα (in press).

⁵ J. BALL, *The Greek Community*, 170 note 26.

⁶ G. FUMAGALLI, *Lexicon typographicum Italiae*. Firenze, 1905, 501; H. F. BROWN, *The Venetian*, 192-93.

⁷ See PAPADOPOULOS, I, 704.

⁸ H. F. BROWN, *The Venetian*, 302.

⁹ This mark originally belonged to the Venetian printer Pietro Dusielli (fl.1578-1597), see ZAPPELLA no. 360. BH II, 142 which describes the mark, calls the bird a crow, "un corbeau," while ZAPPELLA calls it a dove, "colomba."

¹⁰ For other, later editors of the Pinelli press, see G. PLUMIDIS, *La stampa greca a Venezia nel secolo XVII*, *Archivio veneto*, ser. 5, 93(1971)29-40, especially p. 31. See also under Maximos Margounios in Part II.

¹¹ See Π. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΟΥ, 'Αποκατάσταση χρονολογίας στήν *Bibliographie hellénique* τοῦ 'Em. Legrand, 'Ο 'Ερανιστής, 14(1977)206-08.

¹² This edition of *Apolonios* is clearly a Pinelli edition since Pietro Zanetti died in 1596 and his heirs sold his stock and all unsold copies to the Pinelli. There are other books brought out by Pinelli which still have the Zanetti name either on the title page or in the colophon see the *Menaion* of October, 1603 (BH XVIIIs. V no. 14) and the *Oktoechos*, 1639 (ILIOU no. 36).

¹³ Imperfect copy, lacks title page and colophon. Printed with the Zanetti-Le Bé type.

¹⁴ See also Π. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΟΥ, 'Αποκατάσταση χρονολογίας, 206-08; K. ΤΣΑΝΤΣΑΝΟΓΛΟΥ, "Περὶ ὄνου..." *Ἑλληνικά*, 24(1971)54-64.

¹⁵ Π. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΟΥ, 'Αποκατάσταση, 206-08.

¹⁶ There are editions with 1600 on the title page and 1604 in the colophon; see BH II no. 234 [sic, read 233]. and BH XVIIIs. I no. 22. LADAS no. 100 lists a possible 1600 edition of the *Synaxaria* compiled and translated into modern Greek by Maximos Margounios as given in A. GRAF, *Jeórgiosz Zavírasz Budapesti Könyvtárának Katalógusa. Κατάλογος τῆς ἐν Βουδαπέστη Βιβλιοθήκης Γεωργίου Ζαβίρα*. Budapest, 1935, 27. The date as given in the Graf entry must refer to the preface of Maximos Margounios which is dated 28 January 1600. However, the book was not printed until 1603 (KORDOSIS B no. 5). See under Maximos Margounios in Part II.

Domenico de Poloni, fl. 1599-1603

DOMENICO DE POLONI — in Greek, Ἡτεπολώνιος or Ντεπολώνιος — is a little-known printer who, at the end of the sixteenth century, produced a handful of Greek liturgical books and one chapbook.¹ He and his brother Andrea had a bookshop situated at the “Ponte di San Lio.” How long they were active as booksellers is not known. Domenico de Poloni had been a member of the guild of Printers and Booksellers since 1598 having been admitted “ne larte de la stampa in grecho solamente.”² In 1599, Domenico began publication of a series of Greek liturgical books, but his foray into printing Greek books was short-lived ceasing in 1603. In 1600, he also brought out one vernacular text, the story of Alexander the Great (ILIOU no. 25), a verse romance that was first published by Damiano di Santa Maria in 1529.

Domenico de Poloni acquired the type that was originally designed and cut by Andrea Spinelli (20 lines=114-115 mm; fig. 37) and that had later passed into the hands of Z. B. Tauroceni and then to Giovanni Aliprandi.³ De Poloni acquired not only the typefaces from Aliprandi, but also some of the woodcut blocks of various Greek saints and those depicting the life of Christ and the Virgin Mary first used by Tauroceni. Even the Tauroceni monogram was acquired and can be seen displayed in de Poloni's books.⁴ He also acquired from Aliprandi a page border used by Spinelli and later Tauroceni; it also appears in some of the de Poloni imprints.⁵

The last three books to come out of the de Poloni press, the *Oktoechos*, 1602 (BH XVIIIs. I no. 6), and the *Menaia* of December, 1602-03 (BH XVIIIs. I no. 11; LADAS no. 103), and of January, 1603 (BH XVIIIs. I no. 12; LADAS no. 110), were printed with different typefaces, “τύποις τῆς τοῦ Βεργῆ,” as is stated on the title pages of the three works. Antonios Verghis, a member of a wealthy family of Corfu residing in Venice, had purchased typefaces of the *parangon grec* of Robert Granjon (20 lines=129-130 mm) and used them to publish three liturgical books in 1578.⁶ Thus when Domenico de Poloni mentions the Verghis type, he is referring to the Granjon type that he bought from Verghis or whomever had it at the time. It is perhaps not a coincidence that on 11 April 1600, Domenico and Andrea de Poloni purchased from the estate of Emmanouel Glyzounis, which was administered by the governing members of the Greek Brotherhood in Venice, a large quantity of Greek and Italian books, which were among the books left in the Glyzounis bookshop after his death in 1596.⁷ Glyzounis, who was also a publisher, had made extensive use of the *parangon grec* of Robert Granjon in his own publications. Although no mention of Verghis is made in the Glyzounis books, it is not improbable that the typefaces of the *parangon grec* originally purchased by Verghis first passed to the hands of E. Glyzounis and thence to Domenico de Poloni.

Some of the woodcuts used in the de Poloni imprints also had belonged either to Glyzounis or to his partner, Francesco Giuliani, who had also died in 1596. One of these was an elaborate headpiece extending down either side to meet the text page in the shape of the Greek Π (fig. 83). This much-imitated headpiece can also be found in the Glyzounis imprints. Another was a title page border originally used by G. Leoncini (fig. 122)⁸ and later by Glyzounis-Giuliani on the title page of a *Thesaurus* by Damaskenos Stoudites in 1594 (PAPADOPOULOS II no. 302). It was used by de Poloni on the title page of the *Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μακεδών*, 1600 (ILIOU no. 25). At the end of the



М Н Н

Φ Ε Υ Ρ Ο Υ Α Ρ Ι Ο Ε

Εὐχὴν ἡμῶν, κή. ἢ κθ'. ἡμῶν ἔχει ὥρας, ια'. καὶ ἡμῶν ὥρας, ιβ'.
 Εἰς τὴν α', πρεσβύτερα τῆς ὑπατάτης τῆς κύριου καὶ θεοῦ καὶ
 τῆς ἡμῶν ἰησοῦ χυ, καὶ τῆς ἀγίας μαρτυροῦς Ὑψίστου
 Εἰς δ' κύριε ἐκέκραξα, σιχηρὰ πρεσβύτερα.
 Ἦχος, δ'. Ὡς γεγραμμένον ἐν μαρτυρίᾳ.



Δυσ. Εὐ. Ναν. 78 24.

Δ

Ἦσ' ὁσπὴν ῥεπίζεται, ἐκκλησία εἰς δέχεται.
 ἐν αὐτῇ τὸν κή, ὥσπερ μήτηρ. Ἐπιδιμῶν
 τα καὶ χάρισι. μοντῶς φαιδριώοντα, δ
 πρὸς ὅτατον αὐτῆς. καὶ φιλόθεον οὐκ ἔχοντα,
 ὡ καὶ κέκραγε. σὺ εἰδόξα καὶ κλέος. καὶ
 ὁ κόσμος, τῆς πληρώματος με λόγε, ὁ μνη
 πάσας σαρκὶ δι' ἐμέ:~

Ἦσ' ὁσπὴν ῥεπίζεται, ἐκκλησία εἰς δέχεται.
 ἐν αὐτῇ τὸν κή, ὥσπερ μήτηρ. Ἐπιδιμῶν
 τα καὶ χάρισι. μοντῶς φαιδριώοντα, δ
 πρὸς ὅτατον αὐτῆς. καὶ φιλόθεον οὐκ ἔχοντα,
 ὡ καὶ κέκραγε. σὺ εἰδόξα καὶ κλέος. καὶ
 ὁ κόσμος, τῆς πληρώματος με λόγε, ὁ μνη
 πάσας σαρκὶ δι' ἐμέ:~

Εὐμεῶν ἰδρώτατε. τὴν ἐλπίδα ὑμῶν κέκτισται.
 ἐν σαρκὶ θεάσασθαι, δάρο πρεσβύτερα.
 ἐν τῷ μαῶ καὶ εἰς δεδεξαί. ἀγκάλας καὶ
 βόησον. μὴ ἀπόλυσον σὴν. ἐκ τῆς γῆς με
 πὸς δούλεμόν σου, καὶ συγκάλεσον. καὶ τὴν
 αἴμα πρεσβύτερα, τῆς δόξας. μετὰ σὺ

μέτοχος. ἐν ἡμῶν ἐχρημάτισας, διαφαι
 μέσας. γεγραμμένους ἀγῶνας, διαθλίσας
 ἐνδοξε. Σ μάρτυς ἀληθείας γενομένης,
 χυ ἰκέτα. δωρηθῶναι ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἡμῶν
 Ὑψίστου. τὴν εἰρήνην, Σ δ' μέγα ἔλεος:~
 Ὑψίστου πρεσβύτερα φῶς, αἰδὶς λάμψει
 σι. φωτεινὸς ὅλος γέγονας, κατὰ τρεῖς
 μέγας. τὴν ζοφώδη πλάττω, Σ τὸς κοσμο
 κράτορας. τῆς σκοτῆς καθελὼν θεία χά
 ρις. δι' ἰκέτα. δωρηθῶναι ταῖς ψυχαῖς
 ἡμῶν. τὴν εἰρήνην καὶ δ' μέγα ἔλεος:~
 Ὑψίστου μακάριε χαρὰς, Σ ἀγαλλιάσεις.
 ἀγγελικῆς κατηξίωσαι, ἀπαρνησάμενος.
 τὰ τὸρπνὰ τῆς βίης, καὶ ψυχῆς εὐδότης.
 καὶ πάντα παρούδην ἡγνοσάμενος, καὶ
 καρτὸν ὡς. διαμύσας τὸ μαρτύριον.
 καὶ πρεσβύτερα, ὑπὸ τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν.

Δόξα. Ἦχος, β'.

πρεσβύτερα τῶν τῆς γενεῶν, παρὰ
 καὶ Ὑψίστου σεβάσμιε, πρὸς δ' οὐρανὸν αἴμα

Alexander romance, the de Poloni edition displays the mark of Andreas Kounadis. Again the last printer to use the Kounadis mark before this was Francesco Giuliani, who probably acquired it from Giacomo Leoncini. A work printed in 1587 in Greek and Latin by Giuliani uses it, the *Funebria carmina in D. Aloisium Delphinem Venetum sepultum in aede Angelorum Murani*, by Io. Dom. Trajani (VACCARO no. 365). The Alexander the Great romance is illustrated with nine woodcuts, one of which is a repeat. These cuts were originally used to illustrate the modern Greek Iliad of 1526 (BH I no. 75). The first edition of the Alexander romance (BH I no. 83) in 1529 was also illustrated with woodcuts from the Iliad, as were many other chapbooks printed during the sixteenth century.⁹

A large Crucifixion, which originally came from the Spinelli stock and which was used by many printers of Greek liturgical works, can also be found in the de Poloni books (fig. 74).¹⁰ The only new illustration in the de Poloni stock appearing for the first time in Greek imprints, is an elaborate title page border (fig. 68). This, however, must have belonged to the stock of an earlier printer since, at its base in the middle, there is a mark of an eagle flying toward the sun while shedding some of its feathers. Around the eagle is a motto: "Renovata iuventus."¹¹ A similar mark can be found in the middle of a large headpiece used by de Poloni (fig. 211).¹² In the *Evangelion*, 1599 (LADAS no. 99), de Poloni has also used four full-page woodcuts of the apostles, which appeared at the beginning of each section of the appropriate gospel. These cuts were copies of the cuts originally used in the *Evangelion*, 1550 (BH I no. 127), of Andrea Spinelli. Similar cuts can also be found in *Evangelia* of other printers.

As mentioned above, on 11 April 1600, Domenico de Poloni and his brother Andrea purchased from the estate of Emmanouel Glyzounis a large number of Greek and Italian books that had belonged to the Glyzounis stock. The brothers de Poloni bought the books at a bargain price of 1344 ducats, i.e., 24 ducats to the bale. Domenico gave a down payment of 224 ducats, the remainder to be paid in installments within the next four years.¹³

Domenico de Poloni employed only two editors, both clerics. Nathanael Emboros from Athens worked for him in 1599 and 1600.¹⁴ The other editor who worked for him at the beginning of the seventeenth century was the hieromonachos Matthaïos Galatianos of Cyprus who edited the last two works that came out of the de Poloni press.¹⁵

- | | |
|------|--|
| 1599 | Ἀνθολόγιον (PAPADOPOULOS II no. 309 ^a)
"παρὰ Δομινίκῳ τῷ Ητεπολωνίῳ. Τύποις τοῖς τοῦ Σπινέλλου" |
| 1599 | Εὐαγγέλιον (LADAS no. 99)
As above |
| 1599 | Εὐχολόγιον (ILIOU, 319 no. 35) ¹⁶ |
| 1599 | Μὴν Φεβρουάριος (BH IV no. 857; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 311)
"Παρὰ Δομινίκῳ τῷ Ητεπολωνίῳ. Τύποις τοῖς τοῦ Σπινέλλου" |
| 1599 | Τριώδιον (PAPADOPOULOS II no. 312)
"παρὰ Δομινίκῳ τῷ Ντεπολωνίῳ. Τύποις τοῖς τοῦ Σπινέλλου" |
| 1600 | Ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μακεδών (ILIOU no. 25; LADAS no. 102)
As above |

- 1600 Παρακλητική (BH IV no. 863; PHOSKOLOS A no. 10 and B no. 6)
 “παρὰ Δομινίκῳ τῷ Ἡτεπολωνίῳ. Τύποις τοῖς τοῦ Σπινέλλου”
- 1600 Πεντηκοστάριον (BH IV no. 862)
 As above
- 1602 Ὁκτώηχος (BH XVIIIs. I no. 6)
 “Παρὰ Δομινίκῳ τῷ Ἡτεπολωνίῳ τύποις τῆς τοῦ Βεργῆ”
- 1602-03 Μὴν ὁ Δεκέμβριος (BH XVIIIs. I no. 11; LADAS no. 103)
 “παρὰ Δομινίκῳ τῷ Ἡτεπολωνίῳ, τύποις τῆς τοῦ Βεργῆ”
- 1603 Μὴν Ἰανουάριος (BH XVIIIs. I no. 12; LADAS no. 110)
 “παρὰ...τύποις τῆς τοῦ Αεργῆ [sic]”

NOTES

- ¹ BH XVII I, 495; K. Δ. MEPTZIOS, *Θωμᾶς Φλαγγίνης*, 208-09, refers to him as Δομήνικος ντὲ Βολόνι; KONTOSOPOULOS, 302.
- ² C. LECUIR, *Les éditeurs Grecs*, 130 and note 74.
- ³ See also under Z. B. Tauroceni and Giovanni Aliprandi in Part II.
- ⁴ See *Menaion* of February, 1599 (BH IV no. 857; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 311); *Evangelion*, 1599 (LADAS no. 99), which display the Tauroceni mark. See *Menaia* of December, 1602-03 (LADAS no. 103) and of January, 1603 (LADAS no. 110) which use several of the Tauroceni small cuts of saints and of other religious scenes.
- ⁵ See *Pentekostarion*, 1600 (BH IV no. 862) and *Menaion* of December, 1602-03 (BH XVIIIs. I no. 11; LADAS no. 103).
- ⁶ See also under Antonios Verghis in Part II.
- ⁷ See also under Emanouel Glyzounis in Part II.
- ⁸ See *Apostolos*, 1573-78 (ILIOU no. 14) and ILIOU p. 46 for reproduction of the title page.
- ⁹ D. HOLTON, *A Set of Sixteenth*, 373-74; see also E. LAYTON, *Notes on the Illustration of the Sixteenth Century Greek Book in Italy*, *Ἀφιέρωμα στὸν Μ. Ι. Μανούσακα* (in press).
- ¹⁰ See verso of the title page of the *Pentekostarion*, 1600 (BH IV no. 862) and of the *Menaion* of December, 1602-03 (BH XVIIIs. I no. 11; LADAS no. 103).
- ¹¹ The brothers Domenico and Giovanni Battista Guerra (1560-1600) used a device very similar to this and accompanied with the same motto. See ASCARELLI-MENATO, 405 and fig. 49; VACCARO no. 373; ZAPPELLA nos. 132-34.
- ¹² See *Menaion* of February, 1599 (BH IV no. 857) folio α2^r.
- ¹³ K. Σ. MEPTZIOS, *Θωμᾶς Φλαγγίνης*, 208-09. Mertzios confused Domenico de Poloni with Giovanni Aliprandi for he says that the purchase was made by Domenico Aliprandi. However, the documents of the sale now at the Archives of the Istituto Ellenico di Studi Bizantini e Postbizantini in Venice clearly state “domenego stampador” and in a transaction dated 8 May 1600 the name is given as “Domenego di Poloni”. See also J. BALL, *The Greek Community*, 173.
- ¹⁴ See also under his name in Part II.
- ¹⁵ For M. Galatianos see Θ. Ε. ΣΧΙΖΑΣ, *Ὁ Ματθαῖος Γαλατιανός καὶ τὸ ὑμνογραφικὸν ἔργον του, Πρακτικὰ Β' Διεθνoῦς Κυπριολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου*. Λευκωσία, 1986, II, 253-59.
- ¹⁶ Edition not extant.

Francesco Rampazetto, fl. 1538?-1576

ALTHOUGH Francesco Rampazetto's name appears in a book as early as 1538,¹ this is an isolated case, as is the 1540 printing of another work by G. V. Roseto, *Plictho*, 1540 (STC, 588). All other sources give 1553 as the year in which imprints bearing his name began to appear on a regular, continuous basis.² Francesco Rampazetto was primarily a printer who worked for a number of publishers, among them Melchiorre Sessa and his heirs, Damiano di Santa Maria, and Giacomo Leoncini. He also produced many works at the expense of their authors or editors. Francesco Rampazetto was also designated by the authorities to print the laws and decrees issued by the Venetian Republic.³ The bulk of Rampazetto's output was primarily in Latin or Italian. The number of Greek books he produced was small and was invariably printed at the expense of others. The address of his establishment was in "Calle della Rassa"⁴ also given as "Calle delle Rasse."⁵

In 1572, Francesco Rampazetto was elected prior of the Guild of Printers and Booksellers. Under his leadership, new laws and provisions were enacted by the Guild in order to improve the preparation of those who planned to enter the printing profession. Before Rampazetto's time, those who planned to open printing presses in Venice were simply required to be matriculated in the Guild. In 27 April, 1572, the Guild decreed that, in order to set up a printing press, open a bookshop, or exercise the functions of a bookseller or printer, one must serve a five-year apprenticeship in Venice and be articulated at the Justizia Vecchia. Afterwards, one had to serve as a workman at a printing shop for three consecutive years in Venice. After completion of the three years of preparation, the apprentice would be examined by the prior and the officers of the Guild and would receive matriculation only after passing the examination and paying the sum of five ducats to the Guild. Only the sons and heirs of printers already matriculated were exempt from payment. Similarly, if a foreigner wished to exercise the art of printing in Venice, he had to serve a five-year apprenticeship in the city. After that, he would be examined by the Guild and, if approved, could pay ten ducats and receive matriculation. The penalty for infringement of the rules was a fine of fifty ducats. Thus, the prestige of the Guild and the quality of printing in Venice, which had been allowed to deteriorate, was raised considerably.⁶

Francesco Rampazetto, like so many other Venetian printers of his time, got in trouble with the Roman Inquisition. In October 1572, he was summoned by the Inquisition and reprimanded for having printed an unauthorized version of the Little Office.⁷

All of the Greek books that bear the name of Francesco Rampazetto were printed with a cursive

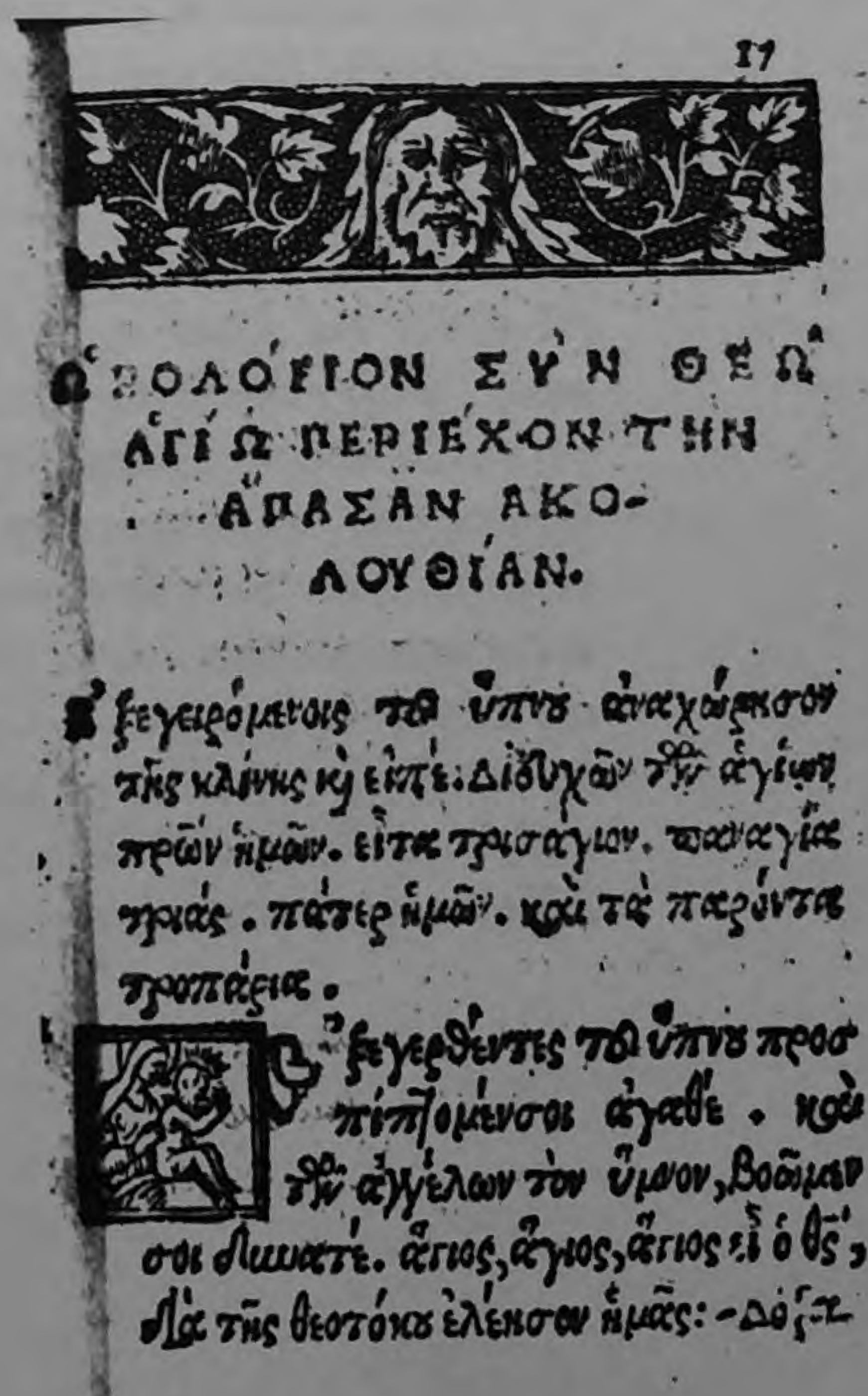


fig. 212

παισὺν γλυζύνει οὐκ ἔχουσιν ἀπασὶ τοῖς τῷ παρόντι
ὄντεσσι τοῖς ποιήματι χαίρειν .



ΠΑΛΑΙ ΜΕΝ ΤΩΝ ΑΡΙΘΜΗΤΙΚΩΝ ΕΓΧΑΡΑΓΜΑΤΕΣ ΣΟΦΩΣ
ΤΕΜΑΛΑ ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΩΣ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΙ ΑΓΓΕΛΟΙ, ΜΕΤΕΔΩΚΑΝ ΤΟΙΣ
ΒΟΥΛΟΜΕΝΟΙΣ ΤΩΝ ΕΥΡΗΜΕΝΩΝ ΕΚΕΙΝΟΙΣ ΠΟΤΗΡ ΜΕΤΟΧΕΤΟΥΕ-
ΘΑΙ, ΠΡΟΣ ΕΚΠΛΗΡΩΣΙΝ ΤΗΣ ΕΝ ΤΑΙΣ ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΙΑΣ ΑΥΤΩΝ
ΕΦΕΣΕΩΣ. ΤΑΥΤΗΝ Δ' ΕΠΕΙΔΗ ΤΟ ΠΑΝ ΤΗΣ ΣΟΦΙΑΣ ΖΗΜΩ-
ΘΕΝΤΙΣ ΕΣ ΤΟΣΕΤΟΝ ΑΠΑΙΔΕΥΣΙΑΣ ΠΡΟΗΧΘΗΜΕΝ, ΑΡΜΑ ΜΕΝ
ΤΗΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑΣ ΣΕΡΙΔΕΝΤΕΣ, ΑΡΜΑ ΔΕ ΠΑΙΣΗΣ ΣΟΦΙΑΣ ΤΕ
ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΙΑΣ ΓΥΜΝΩΔΕΙΤΕΣ (ΟΙΣ ΚΡΙΜΑΣΙ ΚΥΡΙΟΣ ΟΙΔΕ) ΔΕΙΝ ΕΓΓΩΝ ΜΗ ΠΑΡΙΣΤΕΙΝ.
ΑΛΛΑ ΚΑΝ ΕΚΕΙΝΩΝ ΑΠΕΡ ΤΩΝ ΑΝΑΓΚΑΙΩΝ ΟΣΙ ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΑΙΣ ΗΜΩΝ ΕΜΠΟΡΙΑΣ ΧΡΩ-
ΜΕΘΑ, ΠΑΣΙ ΔΙΔΩΡΟΝ ΤΙ ΚΟΙΝΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΠΩΦΕΛΕΣ ΕΝΤΥΠΩΣΑΣ ΧΑΡΙΣΑΘΑΙ. ΤΩΝ ΘΕΥΛ-
ΛΟΥΜΕΝΩΝ ΔΗΛΑΔΗ ΠΑΡΑ ΠΑΝΤΩΝ ΠΡΑΚΤΙΚΩΝ ΑΡΙΘΜΗΤΙΚΩΝ, Η ΜΑΛΛΟΝ ΕΙΠΕΙΝ ΛΟ-
ΓΑΡΙΣΤΙΚΩΝ ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΙΑ. Ο ΜΕΝ ΔΕ ΑΛΛΑ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΣΧΑΛΙΟΝ ΔΙΗΚΕΣ ΤΕ ΚΥ ΑΠΕΙΡΟΥ
ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟ ΠΟΤΕ ΔΕ ΤΟ ΠΑΣΧΑ ΠΟΙΕΙΝ ΕΙΔΕΙΝΑΙ, ΑΠΟΚΡΕΒΕΙΝ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΑΛΛ' ΑΤΤΑ ΤΩΝ
ΑΝΑΓΚΑΙΩΝ ΠΑΡΑ ΤΟΙΣ ΘΕΟΣΕΒΕΣΙ ΚΑΙ ΟΣ ΦΙΛΟΛΟΓΟΙΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΟΙΣ ΤΕΛΕΝΤΑΙ ΜΕΧΡΙ ΤΗΣ
ΣΗΜΕΡΟΝ ΕΙΣ ΤΟ ΕΞΗΣ ΜΕΛΛΟΥΣΙΝ. ΑΛΛΑ ΠΡΟΣ ΜΕΝ ΤΟΙΣ ΕΙΔΟΤΟΙ ΚΥ ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΙΑΣ, ΙΝ' ΕΙ-
ΠΟΘΗΝ ΔΙΟΡΘΩΣΕΩΣ ΔΙΕΝΤΑΙ, ΜΗ ΠΑΡΕΦΘΕΙΝ. ΤΟΙΣ ΔΕ ΑΓΝΟΥΣΙ, ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟ ΜΑΝΘΑ-
ΝΕΙΝ ΔΙΕΓΕΙΡΕΘΑΙ, ΟΠΩΣ ΜΗ ΑΜΕΛΕΙΑΣ ΕΓΚΛΗΜΑ ΕΑΥΤΟΙΣ ΠΑΡΙΣΤΕΙΝ. ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥΤΟ
ΜΕΝ ΕΚΛΙΠΑΡΩ ΙΝΑ ΜΗ ΜΗ ΚΑΤΑΓΝΩΣΑΝΤΑΙ ΑΜΑΘΙΑΝ ΜΟΝΟΝΤΕΣ ΚΑΘΟΡΩΝΤΕΣ ΤΟ ΠΡΟ-
ΘΥΜΟΝ. ΤΟΥΤΟ ΔΕ, ΟΠΩΣ ΔΙΕΠΟΤΙ ΑΠΑΣΙΩΣ ΚΑΙ ΜΕΤΑ ΧΑΡΕΩΣ ΠΟΛΛΗΣ ΤΩΤΟ ΔΙΕ-
ΧΘΩΣΙΝ, ΕΠΕΙΔΗ ΠΟΛΛΗΝ ΤΩΝ ΑΦΕΛΕΙΑΝ ΕΙ ΜΕΙΝΑ ΤΟ ΚΕΡΔΟΣ ΔΕ ΑΥΤΗΣ ΤΗΣ ΤΕΧΝΗΣΤΕ
ΚΥ ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΙΑΣ ΚΑΡΤΩΣΑΝΤΑΙ. ΤΑΥΤΑ ΔΙΕΦΕΡΧΕΜΕΝΟΙ ΠΑΝΤΕΣ, ΟΚ ΑΥΤΟΠΟΛΗΣ ΑΛΛ'
ΑΠΟΣΟΜΑΤΙΖΕΙΝ ΑΠΕΡ ΧΡΕΩΝ ΕΙΣ ΜΗΜΩΝ ΑΓΕΙΝ, ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΧΕΙΡΑ ΤΗ ΓΡΑΦΙΔΙ ΑΜΟΝΗ-
ΤΙ ΠΑΡΑ Τ' ΝΟΟΣ ΔΙΕΚΧΕΙΘΑΙ. Ι ΔΙΟΤΟ Δ' ΑΝΤΙΣ ΑΝΑΧΕΙΡΑΣ ΛΑΒΑΝ ΤΩΝ ΑΡΙΘΜΗΤΙΚΩΝ
ΤΩΝ ΚΑΘ' ΕΞΗΣ ΚΕΦΑΛΑΙΩΝ. ΩΣ ΜΕΝ ΕΝ ΤΟΙΣ ΤΡΙΣΙ ΚΕΦΑΛΑΙΟΙΣ ΤΟΙΣ ΠΡΩΤΑΙΣ ΤΩΝ
ΔΙΑΓΝΩΣΙΝ ΤΩΝ ΨΗΦΙΩΝ ΕΥΡΑΝ. ΕΝ ΔΕ ΤΩ Δ' ΑΥΤΩ ΤΩΝ ΨΗΦΟΡΕΙΑΝ ΑΠΕΡ
ΔΗ ΜΑΛΛΟΝ ΤΩΝ ΑΛΛΩΝ ΕΧΕΙΝ ΕΝ ΕΞΕΩΣ ΒΑΘΡΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΙΣΑΝ ΤΩΝ ΕΦ' ΕΞΗΣ ΚΕΦΑ-
ΛΑΙΩΝ. ΔΙΩΝ ΕΙΣΑΝ ΩΣΠΕΡ ΊΤΙΣ ΑΛΛΗ ΜΕΛΙΟΣΑ ΑΝΙΜΑΔΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΔΙΑΚΡΙΣΙΝ ΤΑΥ-
ΤΗΣ ΔΙΩΝΕΤΑΙ. ΔΙΑΚΡΙΤΑΙ ΓΑΡ ΕΙΣ ΤΕΣΑΡΑ ΑΠΑΣΑ ΑΥΤΗ ΩΣ ΕΙΚΟΝ. ΟΥΤΑ-
ΨΩ ΥΦΕΙΛΜΕΝ. ΠΟΛΥΠΛΑΣΙΑΣΜΟΝ, ΚΑΙ ΜΕΡΙΣΜΟΝ. ΑΤΤΙΑ ΕΓΙ ΚΑΙ ΣΟΙΧΕΙΑ ΚΑ-
ΤΑΝΟΜΑΣΑΙΜΕΝ. ΟΚ ΑΝ ΑΜΑΡΤΟΙΜΕΝ. ΔΕ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΓΑΡ ΤΩΝ ΤΕΣΑΡΩΝ ΑΙ ΛΟΙΠΑΙ
ΠΑΡΑΓΟΝΤΑΙ ΜΕΘΟΔΟΙ. ΑΡΧΗ ΔΕ ΤΟΥΤΩΝ ΔΕΝ Η ΣΥΝΑΨΙΣ ΊΤΙΣ ΕΙΣ ΕΝ ΣΥΝΑΨΙΣΑ
ΕΩΣ ΠΟΛΛΟΥΣ ΑΡΙΘΜΟΥΣ, ΕΙΝΑ ΚΑΙ ΜΟΝΟΝ ΠΟΙΕΙ. ΠΙΘΕΜΕΝΩΝ ΓΑΡ ΤΩΝ ΨΗΦΙΩΝ ΔΙΩΝ-
ΘΗΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΑΞΙΝ ΠΑΡΑ ΤΩ ΜΑΛΛΟΝΤΟΣ ΣΥΝΑΨΑΙ ΤΙ Η ΜΟΝΑΣ ΜΕΝ, ΨΩΤΙΘΕΤΑΙ ΤΗ
ΜΟΝΑΔΙ. Η ΔΙΚΑΣ ΤΗ ΔΙΚΑΔΙ. Η ΔΕ ΕΚΑΤΟΤΑΣ ΤΗ ΕΚΑΤΟΤΑΔΙ. ΚΑΙ ΟΣΑ ΚΑ-
ΘΕΞΗΣ Η ΤΑΞΙΣ ΑΝ ΑΠΑΙΤΗΣΩΝ. ΕΙΤ' ΑΡ' ΕΙΜΕΛΟΣ ΑΥΤΗΣ ΕΚΤΗΣ ΜΟΝΑΔΟΣ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΩ-

ΕΙΣ ΠΙΣΑ
ΔΙΑΚΡΙΤΑΙ Η
ΠΡΑΚΤΙΚΗ
ΑΡΙΘΜΗΤΙΚΗ.

ΠΕΡΙ ΣΥΝΑΨ-
ΤΩΣ.



fig. 214

font, DS no. 3 (20 lines=88-90 mm), which was used by several printers in Italy in the middle of the sixteenth century (figs. 212, 213). This was the type imported from either Basel or Germany. Several printers in Italy had used this type, first among them the brothers Nicolini da Sabbio. It was also used by Cristoforo Zanetti.⁸

The printer's device Francesco Rampazetto most frequently used in the Greek publications printed at his own expense or for individual authors or editors shows two cherubs holding crowns of laurels standing on clouds, and above them the motto "et animo et corpori" (fig. 214).⁹

Greek books printed by Francesco Rampazetto, 1553-69:

- 1553 Ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μακεδών (BH I no. 129) for D. di Santa Maria
Mark of Andreas Kounadis on the title page
"Per Francesco Rampazerto [sic]"
- 1553 U. Bolzanio, Grammaticae institutiones (PAPADOPOULOS II no. 980; EISS II no. 2925; FINAZZI no. 87) for M. Sessa
Sessa mark on the title page
"Apud Franciscum Rampazetum"
- 1554 Διήγησις...Βελισαρίου (BH I no. 132=VRETOS II no. 45)
"Per Francesco Rampazetto"
- 1554 Ὡρολόγιον (PAPADOPOULOS II no. 161)
"παρὰ Χριστοφώρου [sic] τοῦ Ζανέτου...Apud Franciscum Rampazetum"
- 1555 Graecum alphabetum (GENNADIUS LIBRARY) For M. Sessa
Sessa mark on the title page
"Apud Franciscum Rampazetum"

- 1561 Aesop, *Fabellae* (PAPADOPOULOS II no. 203^a; EISS I no. 358/384; FINAZZI no. 91)
Mark of Rampazetto on title page
"Apud Franciscum Rampazetum"
- 1562 Διήγησις...Βελισσαρίου (BH II no. 260)
"Per Francesco Rampazetto"
- 1563 Ὡρολόγιον (BH IV no. 616)
"παρὰ Φραγκίσκου τοῦ Ῥαμπαζέτου, Ἀναλώμασι μὲν, Ἰακώβου τοῦ Λεογκίνου"
- 1566 Isocrates, Ἑλένης ἐγκώμιον (STC, 342)
Rampazetto mark on title page
"Apud Franciscum Rampazetum"
- 1567 Corona pretiosa (BH IV no. 642; FINAZZI no. 94)
Rampazetto mark on title page
"Appresso Francesco Rampazetto"
- 1567 Τζ. Βεντράμος, Ἱστορία φιλαργυρίας (LADAS no. 58)
Rampazetto mark on title page
"παρὰ Φρανκίσκου τοῦ Ραμπαζέτου"
- 1569 Ε. Γλυζούνης, Βιβλίον...λογαριαστικῆν (BH IV no. 673; FINAZZI no. 95)¹⁰
Rampazetto mark on the title page
"Appresso Francesco Rampazetto, Ad instantia di M. Manoli Glizoni"

NOTES

¹ MORTIMER II, 414 mentions an edition of G. Mariani, *Tariffa de tutti li ori* printed by Fr. Rampazetto in 1538.

² ASCARELLI, 204 (1553-1599); ASCARELLI-MENATO, 393-94 (1553-1576); PASTORELLO, no. 351¹ (1553-1576); BORSA I, 270 (1540...1553-1576); STC, 922-23 (1540-1575?); KONTOSOPOULOS, 299 (1553-1569). Kontosopoulos refers only to his Greek output. See also F. ASCARELLI - E. VACCARO, *Marche poco note di tipografi ed editori italiani del sec. xvi dalla raccolta della Biblioteca Universitaria Alessandrina, Miscellanea di studi in memoria di Anna Saita Revignas*. Firenze, 1978, 50 (1553-1576).

³ G. MORO, *Insegne librerie e marche tipografiche in un registro veneziano del '500*, *La bibliofilia*, 91(1989)71 note 45.

⁴ ASCARELLI-MENATO, 393; PASTORELLO, 71.

⁵ G. MORO, *Op. cit.*, 71 note 45.

⁶ H. F. BROWN, *The Venetian Printing Press*, 87-88, 253-54, where the text of the new legislation is given.

⁷ P. F. GRENDLER, *The Roman Inquisition*, 177.

⁸ E. LAYTON, *Notes on Some Printers*, 128-31; H. CARTER, *A View of Early Typography*, 112-13; T. B. REED, *A History of the Old English Letter Foundries*, 89. For further information about this type, see also under Nicolini da Sabbio and Cristoforo Zanetti in Part II.

⁹ MORTIMER, nos. 153 and 527; FINAZZI pl. XXII, no. 95; VACCARO no. 439. VACCARO also gives other marks, see nos. 437, 438 and 453 also used in Rampazetto publications. F. ASCARALLI - E. VACCARO, *Marche poco note*, no. 53; ZAPPELLA nos. 989-90, 1040.

¹⁰ When this work was reprinted in 1596 by Francesco Giuliani at the author's expense, a similar but not identical Rampazetto cherub mark was used on the title page.

Pietro Ravani, fl. 1516-1531, and Vittore Ravani,
fl. 1531-1559

THERE is very little information available about Pietro Ravani and his son and heir, Vittore Ravani, beyond what is furnished in the colophons of their imprints and a few documents that have come to light.¹ Pietro Ravani was a native of Brescia, as indicated in some colophons, which give his name as "Piero di Ravani, Bresano" or "Petrus de Rauanis Brixienis." It is not known when he settled in Venice. Although some sources place Pietro Ravani in Venice as early as 1511,² the date is based on supposition rather than fact, as indicated in S. Curi Nicolardi.³ To all intents and purposes, the name of Pietro Ravani as publisher first appeared in 1516, linked with that of his better-known colleague, Melchiorre, or Marchio, Sessa. They formed a partnership in August 1516 that lasted until December 1525.⁴ During this period, the mark used by the partners on the books produced by the firm was the mark associated with the Sessa, a cat holding a mouse in its mouth.⁵ Similarly, their shop was the one belonging to the Sessa organization, "all' insegna della gatta a San Zulian." During this period, Ravani is referred to as "magister Petrus Ravanus librarius ad insigne Gathe."⁶ In the will of Alessandro Bindoni, signed on 28 August 1521, Ravani's name appears as "dominum Petrum de Rauanis librarium ad signum Gatte."⁷ During the Sessa-Ravani partnership, the firm published sixty-five books, mostly in Latin or Italian.⁸ It was not until 1521 that they produced their first Greek book, C. Lascaris's *In hoc libro haec continentur* (BH III no. 239). In all, they published only five Greek books, two of which were liturgical. None of these books give the names of their editors.

The Sessa-Ravani books were well-printed and were illustrated (fig. 60) with fine decorative initials and headpieces. Some of the woodcuts used were the work of well-known book illustrators of the period, such as Luc' Antonio degli Uberti, Zoan Andrea da Venezia, Andrea Vavassore, Eustachio Celebrino, and

καὶ σκέποντο με διέσχοτο τῶν ἀπάντων, ὡς
μικρὸν τι ἀμειψόμενοι ὁμιλίᾳ σου. σὺ γὰρ γινώ-
σκεις τὴν φύσιν μου ὡς ὁ λόγιος. σὺ οἶδεις
τὴν ἀφροσύνην μου. σὺ ἐπίστασαι τὰ ἐμὰ ἵπτα
πραγμάτων. τὰ οὐ γινώσκει καὶ ἀγνοῖα. τὰ ἐκούσια
καὶ ἀκύνια. τὰ οὐ νυκτὶ καὶ ἡμέρᾳ. καὶ κατὰ
νοῦν καὶ διάνοιαν, ὡς ἀγαθὸς οὗτος καὶ φιλάλως
θεός. ἐξέλκυσον αὐτὰ τῇ δόξῃ τοῦ ἐλεοῦς σου
ὑπεράγαγε κύριε. καὶ σῶσον ἡμᾶς διὰ τὸ ὄνομα
σου τὸ ἅγιον οἷς ἐπίστασαι κείμενα. σὺ γὰρ εἶ
τὸ φῶς καὶ ἡ ἀλήθεια καὶ ἡ ζωὴ. καὶ σοὶ τίμιον ὄν-
μα ἀναπέμπωμιν τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ καὶ τῷ
ἐγίῳ πανί νυν καὶ ἀεὶ:-



Ε

εἰς τὸ τέλος ὑπὲρ τῆς λαοῦ, τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν ἁγίων με
μακρυμύνης. τῇ δόξῃ. ὡς σηλογραφίαν, ὅπως
τε ἐκρέτησαν αὐτὸ οἱ ἀλόφουλοι. οὐ γὰρ. καὶ
Πέτρον μετὰ θεοῦ, ὅτι κατεπατήσεν με ἄνθρωπος
προς, ὅλως τὴν ἡμέραν πολεμῶν, ἐθλίψέ με. Καὶ
κατεπατήσεν με οἱ ἐχθροί μου, ὅλως τὴν ἡμέραν
ὅτι πολλοὶ οἱ πολεμῶντες με ἀπὸ ὑψους. Ἡ μό-
ρας, οὐ φοβηθήσομαι. ἐγὼ δὲ, ἐλπὶς ἐπὶ σέ. Εἰ
τῷ θεῷ, ἐπαγινέσω τοὺς λόγους μου. ἐπὶ τῷ θεῷ
ἠλπίσα, οὐ φοβηθήσομαι, τί ποιήσει μοι σάβας.
Ὅλως τὴν ἡμέραν, τοὺς λόγους με ἐβδελύσων

fig. 215

Εν αἰνεσίαις, τέχνῃ καὶ δεξιότητι βετούρου τοῦ
 ποτὲ πέτρου ῥάβανου τῆς σφρόνης, καὶ
 σωτρώφω αὐτοῦ. ὃν τῷ αἵπῳ ἐκ
 θεογονίας χαλῖως ὧ ποντα
 κοσῖος ὧ τρεῖς ὧ
 πρῶτῳ μηνὸς
 μαΐου.

In Venegia per Vettor q. Piero Ravano
 della Serena & Compagni nel
 anno del Signore. M. D.
 XXXI. Del mese
 di maggio.



fig. 216

Ugo da Carpi.⁹ At times, the same woodcuts were used to illustrate works of different subject matter published by the partners, as was the custom of the day.

While the books in this partnership bear the mark of Melchiorre Sessa, it is interesting to note that the Greek books were printed with a type (20 lines=84-85 mm) that must have belonged to Pietro Ravani, for, after the partnership was dissolved, the type remained in the hands of Pietro, and later his heirs, who used it to print several more Greek books. This Greek font is identical to the one belonging to the Nicolini da Sabbio, DS no. 1, and must have been purchased from Stefano Nicolini da Sabbio.¹⁰ As mentioned elsewhere, the Nicolini da Sabbio, who printed numerous books with Greek type that belonged to Andreas Kounadis and Damiano di Santa Maria, also had a font which belonged to them and that was used when they were commissioned to

print Greek works by others or on their own behalf. The first appearance of this type is in an *Horologion*, 1523 (BH II no. 235; ESSLING no. 2215; SANDER no. 3468), printed for Martino Locatelli. This type, DS no. 1 (20 lines-84-85 mm), is identical with the type used by the Sessa-Ravani firm for printing Greek books (figs. 39, 215).¹¹ Thus it is safe to assume that Ravani bought a set of matrices directly from Stefano Nicolini da Sabbio. Some believe that, in the partnership, Sessa assumed the duties of the publisher and Ravani those of the printer. However, this is by no means clear, as in the sources both men are designated as "*librarii*," and in the colophons of their books they are described as "*socios*" or "*compagni*." Another possibility is that each partner was responsible for a certain type of publication. Perhaps Ravani was responsible for the religious texts and the Latin classics (he later continued to publish this type of book on his own), while Sessa was in charge of the publication of astronomical and scientific texts as well as the books in the vernacular.¹²

It was not until after the dissolution of the partnership with Sessa that Pietro Ravani opened his own shop, also at San Giuliano. His bookshop was at the sign of the siren (mermaid), "*Piero Ravani librer che tien per insegna la Serena*." He at times signed his books as "*Piero della Serena*." His mark after 1525 was a double-tailed, crowned mermaid, often accompanied by the motto: "*οὐ βλάπτει αὐτὰρ τοὺς ναυτίλλοντας ἐγείρει/ σειρὴν ἡμετέρης εὖστομος ἐν σελίσιν/ τῷ καὶ ἄνευ δεσμῶν, καὶ πάσης κηροῦ ἀλοιφῆς/ τῆς σοφίας πέρασον θαρσαλέως πελάγη*." The mark also was used by his heirs and his son Vittore (figs. 99a, 216-218).¹³ A document dated 15 September 1527 states that "*Pietro Ravano librer di merzeria*" owed Elizabetta Rusconi, the widow of the printer Giorgio Rusconi, a certain sum of money. The debt signifies that Ravani had made a purchase of stock and type or some other printing equipment from the defunct Rusconi press.¹⁴ Pietro Ravani died sometime before May 1531. On 23 January 1531/32, his widow, Donna Luchina, made an agreement with some persons, among them one Zuan Varisco, to renovate the printing operations of her husband.¹⁵ It was also during 1531 that the name of Vittore Ravani, the son of Pietro, appeared in print for the first time.

Vittore Ravani and his associates printed a number of Greek books, the majority of which were basic texts, such as grammars or texts for beginners. The only book that did not fall into this category was a work by Leonardos Phortios of Corfu, *Ποίημα...περὶ στρατιωτικῆς πραγματίας*, 1531 (BH I no. 85; fig. 99a). The woodcut border of this work had been previously used by the Sessa-Ravani firm to print Paris del Pozzo's (Paris de Puteo) *Duello*, 1525, and was signed by Eustachio Celebrino.¹⁶ The Phortios work was also illustrated with several woodcuts of war machines (fig. 99b-c).

The last appearance of the Ravani name was in 1559 in N. Clenardus, *Institutiones in graecam linguam* (BAKELANTS-HOVEN no. 155). After this, the firm continued its operations under the name of Giovanni Varisco, who had already printed an Isocrates in 1558 under his own name, using both the Ravani device and the Greek type. The takeover clearly included not only the press, but also the Ravani bookshop at San Giuliano, all of the equipment, including the publisher's mark,¹⁷ the crowned siren, the Greek type used



fig. 217



fig. 218

by the Ravani, and probably all of the copyrights to their publications. At least this is true with regard to their Greek imprints, for virtually all of the Varisco Greek publications were nothing but reprints of the earlier Ravani editions.¹⁸

Greek books published by Pietro Ravani in association with Melchiorre Sessa, 1521-1525:

- | | |
|------|---|
| 1521 | C. Lascaris, In hoc libro haec continentvr (BH III no. 239; CURI NICOLARDI no. 31) 17 October
"per Melchiorem Sessam & Petrum de Rauanis Socios" |
| 1521 | De literis graecis (CURI NICOLARDI no. 32(2))
As above |
| 1522 | C. Lascaris, In hoc libro haec continentvr (CURI NICOLARDI no. 35) 18 February 1521/22
As above |
| 1525 | Ὀκτώηχος (BH I no. 72) ¹⁹
As above |
| 1525 | Ψαλτήριον (BH I no. 73; CURI NICOLARDI no. 64; EISS III no. 4018)
"per Melchiorem Sessa & Petrum de Rauanis sociis" |
| 1525 | Dictionarivm graecvm (CURI NICOLARDI no. 62) ²⁰
"Melchior Sessa, & Petrus de Rauanis socii" |

Books published by Vittore Ravani and Associates, 1531-1540:

- | | |
|------|---|
| 1531 | C. Chrysoloras, Ἑρωτήματα (BH III no. 318)
"per Victorem q. Petri à Rabanis & Socios" |
| 1531 | Λ. Φόρτιος, Ποίημα...περὶ στρατιωτικῆς πραγματίας (BH I no. 85)
"per Vettor q. Piero Rauano della Serena & Compagni" |

- 1532 Cicero, Officiorum lib. III...Παράδοξα. Θεοδώρου περὶ γήρων ἐρμηνεία (BH III no. 325; STC, 175)
"Victor à Rabanis & Socii Venetiis excudebant"
- 1532 Ὠρολόγιον (BH I no. 87=III no. 319)
As above
- 1537 E. Chrysoloras, Ἑρωτήματα (PAPADOPOULOS II no. 69)
"per Victorem q. Petri à Rabanis et Socios"
- 1538 Isocrates, Πρὸς Δημόνικον (GENNADIUS LIBRARY)
"Victor à Rabanis & socii excudebant"
- 1540 E. Chrysoloras, Ἑρωτήματα (BH III no. 398)
"Victor à Rabanis & socij Venetijs excudebant"
- 1540 E. Chrysoloras, Erotemata Guarini (HOUGHTON LIBRARY)
"Victor à Rabanis et socii Venetiis excudebant"

Books published by the Heirs of Pietro Ravani and Associates:

- 1543 Corona pretiosa (BH III no. 439)
"apud haeredes Petri Rauani & socios"
On title page: "Ex Sirenis Officina"
- 1543 E. Chrysoloras, Erotemata Guarini (BH III no. 441)
As above
- 1544 N. Clenardus Institutiones + Meditationes (BAKELANTS-HOVEN no. 81)
As above
- 1545 U. Bolzanio, Grammaticae institutiones in graecam linguam (EISS II no. 2921; PAPADOPOULOS A no. 13)
"Apud haeredes Petri Rabani et socios"
- 1545 E. Chrysoloras, Ἑρωτήματα (LADAS no. 30; SKLAVENITES no. 2)
"In officina haeredum Petri Rabani et sociorum"
- 1545 E. Chrysoloras, Graecae grammaticae institutiones (BH III no. 460)
"ex officina haeredum Petri Rabani et sociorum"
- 1546 Corona pretiosa (ILIOU no. 5)
"apud haeredes Petri Rauani et Socios"
Title page: "Ex Sirenis Officina"
- 1549 Isocrates, Πρὸς Δημόνικον (GENNADIUS LIBRARY) Greek only
As above
- 1549 Isocrates, Orationes tres (STC, 342) Greek and Latin
As above
- 1550 U. Bolzanio, Grammaticae institutiones in graecam linguam (EISS II no. 2924)
As above

- 1550 E. Chrysoloras, Ἑρωτήματα (SKLAVENITES no. 3)
"in officina haeredum Petri Rabani & sociorum"
- 1550 E. Chrysoloras, Erotemata Guarini (BH III no. 508)
"apud haeredes Petri Rauani & Socios"
Title page: "Ex Sirenis Officina"
- 1554 N. Clenardus, Institutiones in graecam linguam (BAKELANTS-HOVEN no. 133)
"apud haeredes Petri Rauani & socios"
- 1554 N. Clenardus, Meditationes graecanicae (BAKELANTS-HOVEN no. 133ter)
As above
- 1555 C. Lascaris, Grammaticae compendivm graecae linguae (BH IV no. 542)
As above
- 1558? Alphabetum graecum (LAYTON no. 20=EISS I no. 1100=1516?[sic])²¹
On title page Ravani siren with Greek logo but probably printed by Giovanni Varisco
- 1559 N. Clenardus, Institutiones in graecam linguam (BAKELANTS-HOVEN no. 155)²²
As above
- 1559 N. Clenardus, Meditationes graecanicae (BAKELANTS-HOVEN no. 155ter)
apud Ioannem Variscum & socios

NOTES

¹ ASCARELLI, 180; ASCARELLI-MENATO, 358 (1516-1557); BORSA I, 272; PASTORELLO no. 354¹⁻², 355 and 401; KONTOSOPOULOS, 294; ESSLING pt. III, 326; NORTON, 151-52; STC, 924-925: Ravani, Pietro dei, Heirs of, 1543-56 and Ravani, Vittore dei, 1531-1538, Ravani, Vittore dei, and Co., 1531-1541 STC, 950: Sessa Melchiorre, and Ravani, Pietro de, 1516-1521; WEALE-BOHATTA nos. 1099, 1104, 1120, 1123, 1128; ESSLING, *Les missels*, 135, 201, 203, 205, 214.

² C. CASTELLANI, *La stampa*, xlvii.

³ *Una società tipografico-editoriale*, 9 and note 25.

⁴ S. CURI NICOLARDI, *Una società*, 5.

⁵ KRISTELLER nos. 293-299. The mark most frequently used in the Greek books was no. 298; VACCARO nos. 473-475; ZAPPELLA nos. 588-604.

⁶ S. CURI NICOLARDI, *Una società*, 6.

⁷ ESSLING, pt. III, 326 note *1.

⁸ For a list of the publications of their press see CURI NICOLARDI, 41-82.

⁹ CURI NICOLARDI, 24-32.

¹⁰ Compare the type to that of Ἀρχὴ τοῦ Μηνολογίου... Ὁρολόγιον, 1523 (BH II no. 235), printed by Giovanni Antonio Nicolini da Sabbio and brothers.

¹¹ See also under the Nicolini da Sabbio in Part II.

¹² N. VIANELLO, Per gli "annali" dei Sessa, tipografi ed editori in Venezia nei secoli XV-XVII, *Accademie e biblioteche d'Italia*, 38(1970)271; S. CURI NICOLARDI, *Una società*, 35-37.

¹³ VACCARO no. 442; ZAPPELLA nos. 1088-1090; LADAS, 25; VACCARO, 327 observes that the siren was also the mark associated with the Varisco in the second half of the sixteenth century, although she could not

find any connection with the Ravani. But as it will be seen, the Varisco were the printers who as early as 1531/32 had bought an interest into the Ravani operations and later, some time in 1558 or 1559, took over the firm completely.

14 Giorgio Rusconi had died in 1521 and was succeeded by his sons Giovanni Francesco and Giovanni Antonio, who were active between 1522-1524 (ASCARELLI-MENATO, 346-47; PASTORELLO no. 371; STC, 934) and between 1525-1527 by his widow Elisabetta Rusconi (PASTORELLO no. 369; ASCARELLI, 168; STC, 933), who was one of very few women whose name appears in colophons of printed books. See F. NOVATI, *Donne tipografe nel Cinquecento, Il libro e la stampa*, 1(1907)41-49; see also V. ROSSI, *Altre donne tipografe nel Cinquecento, Il libro e la stampa*, 1(1907)135-36.

15 S. CURI NICOLARDI, 11.

16 S. CURI NICOLARDI, 29-30, pl. xx.

17 Giovanni Varisco is described as "libraio all' insegna della Sirena a S. Giuliano." see C. MARCIANI, *Editori, tipografi, librai Veneti nel Regno di Napoli nel Cinquecento, Studi veneziani*, 10(1968)509 no. 93. For the Varisco printer's device, the siren taken over from the Ravani, see ASCARELLI nos. 141-142; VACCARO, no. 502; ZAPPELLA nos. 1092-1099.

18 Compare the editions of Isocrates, *Πρὸς Δημόνικον*, 1538 published by V. Ravani & socios with the edition of the same work published in 1558 by Ioanni Varisco & socios. V. ESSLING, *Les missels*, 135 speaks of a vignette representing Saint Veronica on the title page of a *Missale Romanum*, 1532 published by V. Ravani (no. 101) which also appears in a *Missale Romanum*, 1561 published by Giovanni Varisco.

19 Not in CURI NICOLARDI.

20 The title border of this work is signed by Zoan Andrea Vavassore.

21 EISS I no. 1100=Venezia, [Ravani?, non prima del 1516]. See also the new designation in the revised EISS I no. 1229=Varisco? non prima del 1558. In the two copies examined, the state of the printer's device is much deteriorated, with several breaks in the frame enclosing the siren. This alphabet book was probably published by the Varisco right after they took over the firm. Compare the state of the mark with the one found in Isocrates, *Πρὸς Δημόνικον*, 1558 ("apud Ioannem Variscum & socios").

22 Part II of this work, N. Clenardus, *Meditationes graecanicae*, 1559 was published by Giovanni Varisco (BAKELANTS-HOVEN no. 155ter) with the Ravani siren on its title page and colophon. For the dates of Giovanni Varisco see ASCARELLI, 209 (1562-1599); ASCARELLI-MENATO, 402 (1558-1590); PASTORELLO nos. 448³⁻⁴ (1558-1588); STC, 977 (1558-1588).

Melchiorre (Marchio) Sessa, fl. 1505-1555

MELCHIORRE, or Marchio, Sessa succeeded his father Giovanni Battista and, like him, was essentially a publisher and bookseller, among the most active and successful of his time.¹ Many of the books that he financed and that appeared under his imprint were printed by other presses. Sessa's shop was "at the sign of the cat" in San Giuliano, "all' insegna della gatta a San Zulian."² Most of the important printers and publishers had their homes and shops in San Giuliano. The Sessa also owned bookshops in many other Italian cities that were run mostly by Venetians resident abroad.³ The Sessa mark was a cat holding a mouse in its mouth; it appeared in many variations throughout the long career of the Sessa firm (fig. 113).⁴ The Sessa cat, although not as well-known as the Aldine anchor and dolphin or the Giunti lily, was nevertheless known to represent a certain quality in book production. Thomas Dampier, Bishop of Ely (1748-1812), once remarked: "whenever you see a book with a cat and mouse in the frontispiece, seize upon it: for the chances are as three to four that it will be found both curious and valuable."⁵

Although Giovanni Battista Sessa, the founder of the Sessa firm, began publishing as early as 1489, the firm did not print Greek books until 1521, when Melchiorre Sessa was in partnership with Pietro Ravani. Until that time, the Sessa had used Greek in quotations in some Latin books.⁶ Melchiorre Sessa succeeded his father in February 1505/06 and published under his own name alone until July 1516.⁷ Between 1505 and 1510, the Sessa establishment found itself in financial difficulties due to a fire that destroyed much of its stock and property.⁸ As already mentioned, most of the Sessa publications were farmed out to other printers.⁹ However, Sessa must have owned stock and ornaments of his own, for Isaac could not assign some of the type used in the Sessa books to other printers. G. Fumagalli¹⁰ observed that the Sessa imprints were decorated with charming vignettes, which he thought were executed by Florentine artists. While it is true that some of the Sessa imprints were beautifully illustrated, it is not at all clear

which of the illustrations belonged to the Sessa stock and which belonged to the printers who produced them for him.¹¹

In 1516, Melchiorre Sessa and Pietro Ravani formed a partnership that lasted until December 1525, at which time the partners went their separate ways. During the Sessa-Ravani partnership, the books published by the firm employed woodcuts designed and executed by such well-known figures as Luc' Antonio degli Uberti, Eustachio Celebrino, Ugo da Carpi, Zoan Andrea da Venezia, and Zoan Andrea Vavassore.¹² Zoan Andrea Vavassore was the artist who designed the elaborate page border of the *Dictionarium graecum*, 1525 (CURI NICOLARDI no. 62), which is an imitation of a work engraved by Holbein the Younger and is to be found in a work printed by Froben in 1522.¹³ Another of their Greek publications, the *Psalterion*, 1525 (BH I no. 73; fig. 60), has a decorative page border of unknown provenance. It is made up of small panels with figures of ani-



fig. 219

τὰ δὲ δύο, δυϊκῶς. τὰ δὲ πλείω, πληθυντικῶς. ὡς δὲ.
 Εἷς. ἐνός. ἐνί. ἕνα. Μία. μιᾶς. μιᾷ. μίαν.
 Εν. ἐνός. ἐνί. ἕν. Δύο δυοῖν. καὶ δυέν ἐπὶ θηλυκοῦ. καὶ
 τὸ δύο, αὐτό μόνον. δυϊκῶς λέγεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ πληθυντικῶς. οὕτως.
 Οἱ δύο. αἱ δύο. τὰ δύο. τῶν δύο. τοῖς δυοσί. τὸνς δύο. τὰς δύο.
 τὰ δύο. τρεῖς. τριῶν. τρισί. τρεῖς. Τρία. τριῶν. τρισί. τρία.
 Τέσσαρες. τεσσάρων. τέσσαρσι. τέσσαρας. Τέσσαρα. τεσσάρων
 τέσσαρσι. τέσσαρα.

Απὸ δὲ τῶν τεσσάρων μέχρι καὶ ἑκατὸν, πᾶς ἀριθμὸς
 ἄκλιτος τυγχάνει. ἀπὸ τῶν ἄρθρων δὲ διακρίνομεν τὰ γένη,
 καὶ τὰς πτώσεις. οἷον, Οἱ πέντε. τῶν πέντε. τοῖς πέντε. τὸνς πέντε.
 Αἱ πέντε. τῶν πέντε. ταῖς. πέντε. τὰς πέντε. Τὰ πέντε.
 τῶν πέντε. τοῖς πέντε. τὰ πέντε. Ομοίως καὶ ἕξ
 καὶ ἑπτά. καὶ ὀκτώ. καὶ ὕνέα. καὶ δέκα. καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ.
 Απὸ δὲ τῶν διακοσίων κλίνεται πᾶς ἀριθμὸς, πληθυντικὸς
 τριγενῶς. οἷον, Οἱ διακόσιοι. τῶν διακοσίων. τοῖς διακοσίοις.
 τὸνς διακοσίους. Αἱ διακόσια. τῶν διακοσίων. ταῖς διακοσίαις.
 τὰς διακοσίας. Τὰ διακόσια. τῶν διακοσίων. τοῖς διακοσίοις.
 τὰ διακόσια. ὁμοίως καὶ τριακόσιοι. τετρακόσιοι. πεντακόσιοι.
 ἑξακόσιοι. ἑπτακόσιοι. ὀκτακόσιοι. ὕνεακόσιοι. χίλιοι. διαχίλιοι.
 τριαχίλιοι. τετραχίλιοι. πενταχίλιοι. καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ.

Περὶ τῶν καταλήξεων τῶν ἐπιθέτων.

Τῶν ἐπιθέτων τὰ μὲν, εἰς ας. οἷον, Ὁ πᾶς, τὸ παντός.
 Ἡ πᾶσα, τῆς πάσης. Τὸ πᾶν, τὸ παντός. Τὰ δὲ, εἰς ης.
 οἷον, Ὁ καὶ ἡ ἀληθής, τὸ καὶ τῆς ἀληθέσθ, οὗς.
 καὶ τὸ ἀληθές, τῷ ἀληθέσθ, οὗς. Τὰ δὲ, εἰς ην. οἷον, ὁ καὶ
 ἡ τέρεν, τὸ καὶ τῆς τέρενθ. καὶ τὸ τέρεν, τὸ τέρενθ. Τὰ
 δὲ, εἰς ης. οἷον, ὁ χαρίεις, τὸ χαρίενθ. Ἡ χαρίεα,
 τῆς χαρίεας. Τὸ χαρίεν, τὸ χαρίενθ. Τὰ δὲ, εἰς ις.
 οἷον, Ὁ καὶ ἡ φιλόπατρις, τὸ καὶ τῆς φιλοπάτριδθ.
 καὶ τὸ φιλόπατρι, τὸ φιλοπάτριδθ. Τὰ δὲ εἰς ὅς,
 οἷον ὁ ἀνδρεῖθ, τὸ ἀνδρεῖν. ἡ ἀνδρεία, τῆς ἀνδρείας. τὸ ἀνδρεῖν,
 τὸ ἀνδρεῖν. Ὁ σοφός, ἡ σοφὴ, τὸ σοφόν. καὶ ἀπικῶς, Ὁ καὶ
 ἡ φιλόσοφθ, καὶ τὸ φιλόσοφον. Ὁ καὶ ἡ φιλόκαλθ,

fig. 220

mals and people interlaced with floral designs. In the middle of the page there is a cut of David praying (CURI NICOLARDI, pl. xxiv; fig. 219).

As we have mentioned, it was during the Sessa-Ravani partnership that Greek books first began to be published by the firm. Earlier, Sessa had only used Greek words and phrases in some Latin books. The first Greek text the partners printed was C. Lascaris, *In hoc libro haec continentur*, 1521 (BH III no. 239; CURI NICOLARDI, no. 31). In general, the Sessa imprints were addressed to the general public and to young students. This is revealed in the preface by M. Sessa himself, which is addressed to the "studiosi adolescentes" in the Greek and Latin edition of C. Lascaris, *De octo orationis partibus*, 1533 (BH III no. 330). Indeed, when one examines the Sessa Greek out-

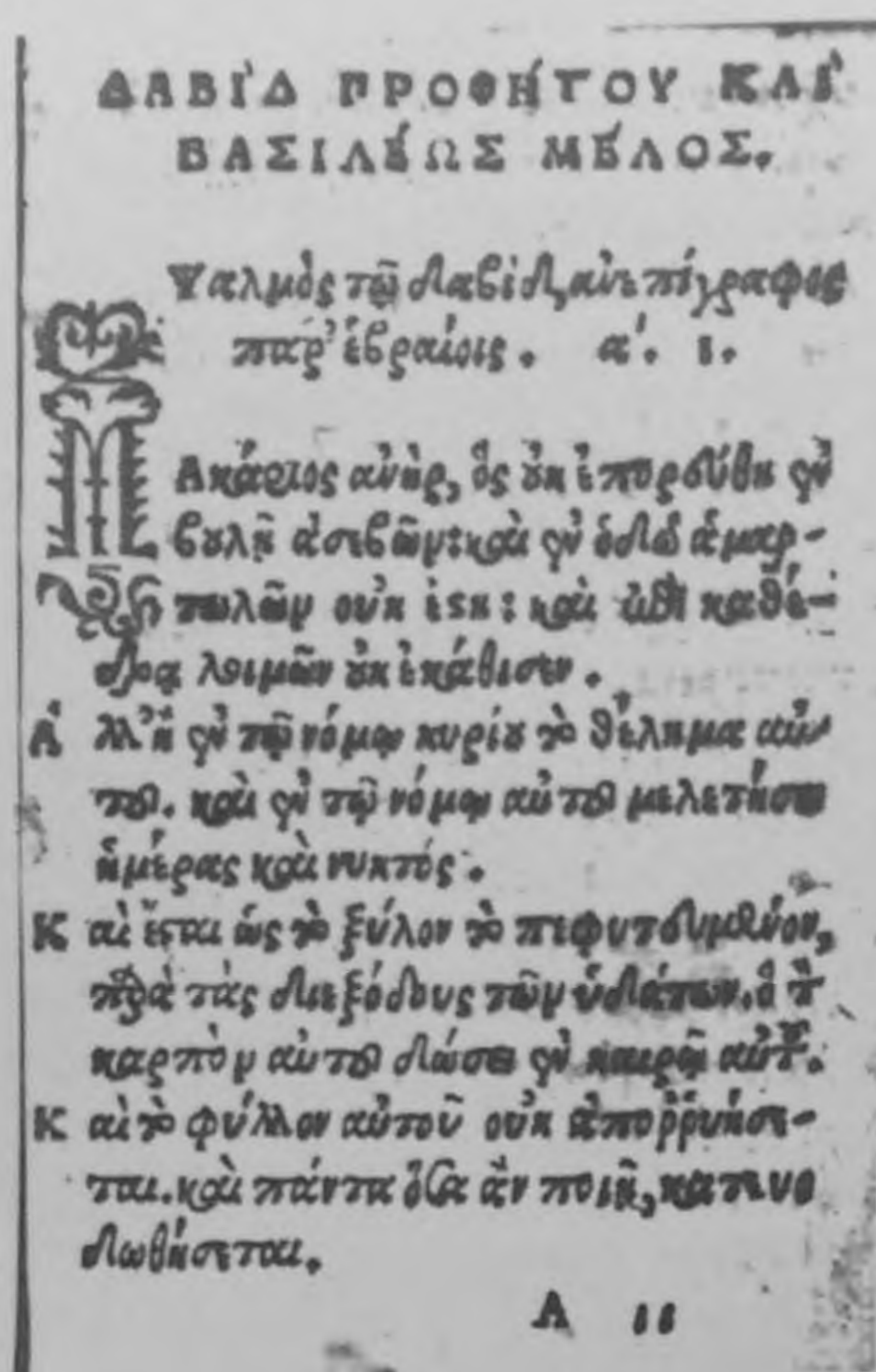


fig. 221

put, with very few exceptions the Sessa publications consist of beginner's texts or grammars. Even the issuance of the Greek liturgical books had the same purpose. As mentioned elsewhere, the *Oktoechos*, the *Psalterion*, and the *Horologion* were the liturgical books that were also used as schoolbooks during the *Tourkokratia*, and they were almost always issued in octavo editions.¹⁴

Although Melchiorre Sessa did not die until 1565 his name ceased to appear in the colophons of the firm's publications as early as 1555. We know that in his will, written on 1 March 1563, Sessa left as his executors his wife, Veronica Barone Sessa, and her two brothers, Ottavio and Giacomo Barone. His heirs, his four sons Giovanni Battista, Melchiorre, Bernardino, and Giovanni Bernardo, were still minors. One of his daughters, Faustina, was a nun at the monastery of Santa Maria Nova in Treviso, and the other, Isabeta, was married to Giacomo Barone.¹⁵ Upon Melchiorre Sessa's death in 1565, his wife Veronica, along with her brothers, became the guardian of her sons and also took over the direction of the firm, continuing to su-

pervise its activities very successfully at least through 1582, although her name never appeared in any of the books published by the firm during this period.¹⁶

The printers contracted to print Melchiorre Sessa's Greek editions were, for the most part, the brothers Nicolini da Sabbio and occasionally Bartolomeo Zanetti, all very experienced in the preparation and printing of Greek books.¹⁷ The last two Greek books issued by the Sessa after the above-mentioned printers ceased their operations were printed by Francesco Rampazetto.¹⁸

The Nicolini da Sabbio used two different fonts to print the books commissioned by Melchiorre Sessa. Up until 1539, they used their small Greek type, DS no. 2 (20 lines=72-73 mm; fig. 220). Most of the books printed during this period were classical editions with Greek and Latin text running side-by-side or on opposite pages. Beginning in 1543, the Nicolini da Sabbio used a different font, DS no. 3 (20 lines=88-89 mm; fig. 221). The Nicolini da Sabbio were the first to use this font in Italy, although it was later used by Cristoforo Zanetti and Francesco Rampazetto. Sessa also commissioned Bartolomeo Zanetti, who printed at least three works for him. Two were printed in 1538, the *Aristophanes* (EISS I no. 2602/2822), and a *Chrysoloras* grammar (BH III no. 367), and one in 1541, an *Alphabetum graecum* (EISS I no. 1102/1228). All of the books printed for Sessa by Bartolomeo Zanetti were printed with Zanetti's own type (20 lines=87-88 mm; figs. 40, 136, 137). The last two Greek works to come out of the Sessa establishment, a *Bolzanio* grammar (EISS II no. 2925) printed in 1553 and a *Graecum alphabetum* printed in 1555, were printed by Francesco Rampazetto with DS no. 3, which was the type used for all Greek publications from the press of Rampazetto.

Compared to his numerous Latin and Italian editions, Melchiorre Sessa's Greek publications were few and far between. A list is given below.

Books published in association with Pietro Ravani, 1521-1525:

- 1521 C. Lascaris, *In hoc libro haec continentvr* (BH III no. 239; CURI NICOLARDI no. 31) 17 October
"per Melchiorem Sessam & Petrum de Rauanis Socios"
- 1521 *De literis graecis* (CURI NICOLARDI no. 32(2))
As above
- 1522 C. Lascaris, *In hoc libro haec continentvr* (CURI NICOLARDI no. 35) 18 February 1521/1522
As above
- 1525 Ὀκτώηχος (BH I no. 72)¹⁹
As above
- 1525 Ψαλτήριον (BH I no. 73; CURI NICOLARDI no. 64)
"per Melchiorem Sessa & Petrum de Rauanis sociis"
- 1525 *Dictionarivm graecvm* (CURI NICOLARDI no. 62; ESSLING no. 2296; SANDER no. 2413)²⁰
"Melchior Sessa, & Petrus de Rauanis socii"

Books published by Melchiorre Sessa alone, 1533-1555:

- 1533 C. Lascaris, *De octo partibus orationis* (BH III no. 330; FINAZZI no. 61)
"Per Melchiorem Sessam"
- 1534 Ph. Melanchthon, *Grammatica graeca* (GENNADIUS LIBRARY)
"apud Ioan. Ant. de Nicolinis de Sabio, sumptu & requisitione D. Melchioris Sessae"
- 1537 U. Bolzanio, *Grammaticae institutiones graecae* (EISS II no. 2919)
"Apud Melchiorem Sessam"
- 1537 Th. Gaza, *Introductionis grammaticae* (LADAS no. 26)
"per Ioan. Anto. de Nicolinis de Sabio, sumptu vero & requisitione Melchioris Sessae"
- 1538 Aristophanes, *Κωμωδίαι ἑνδεκα* (EISS I no. 2602/2822; STC, 42)
"In aedibus Bartholomaei Zanetti Casterzagensis sumptibus Melchioris Sessae"
- 1538 E. Chrysoloras, *Graecae grammaticae institutiones* (BH III no. 367)
"in aedibus Bartholomaei Zanetti Casterzagensis, sumptu D. Melchioris Sessae"
- 1538 Τῆς Καινῆς Διαθήκης ἅπαντα (BH II no. 237; EISS II no. 2089)
"per Ioan. Anto. de Nicolinis de Sabio. Expensis vero Dñi Melchioris Sessae"
On vol. 2: "Sumptu uero et requisitione Dñi Melchioris Sessae"
- 1539 C. Lascaris, *De octo orationis* (PAPADOPOULOS II no. 77)
"per Ioan. Anto. de Nicolinis de Sabio. Expensis vero Dñi Melchioris Sessae"

- 1540 I. Ceporinus, *Compendium grammaticae Graecae* (EISS III no. 2782)
"per Ioan. Antonium de Nicolinis de Sabio, expensis uero Melchioris Sessae"
- 1541 *Alphabetvm graecvm* (EISS I no. 1102/1228)
Title page: "Venetiis. MDXLI" and Sessa cat and mouse device
Bartolomeo Zanetti type
- c. 1543 *Graecvm alphabetvm* (UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA LIBRARY)²¹
On title page: "Venetiis" and Sessa cat and mouse device
Type used DS no. 3
- 1543 N. Clenardus, *Institutiones absolutissimae in linguam graecam* (BAKELANTS-HOVEN no. 74)
"per Ioan. Anto. & Petrum fratres de Nicolinis de Sabio. Sumptu uero D. Melchioris Sessae"
- 1543 N. Clenardus, *Meditationes graecanicae* (BAKELANTS-HOVEN no. 75)
As above
- 1544 U. Bolzanio, *Institutionum in linguam graecam* (EISS II no. 2920)
"apud Ioan. Antonium & Petrum de Nicolinis. Sumptu Melchioris Sessae"
- 1544 C. Lascaris, *Grammaticae institutiones* (BH III no. 448)
"apud Ioan. Antonium & Petrum fratres de Nicolinis Sabionenses. Sumptu Melchioris Sessae"
- 1545 Ἀμμωνίου...εἰς τὰς πέντε φωνὰς τοῦ Πορφυρίου (EISS I no. 1418/1580; STC, 48)
"per Ioan. Ant. & Petrum fratres de Nicolinis de Sabio sumptu Domini Melchioris Sessae"
- 1545 Ἀμμωνίου...εἰς τὰς τοῦ Ἀριστοτέλους κατηγορίας (EISS I no. 1416/1578)
As above
- 1545 Ἀμμωνίου...εἰς τὸ τοῦ Ἀριστοτέλους περὶ ἑρμηνείας ὑπόμνημα (EISS I no. 1417/1579)
As above
- 1545 Th. Gaza, *Grammaticae introductionis* (BH III no. 462)
"in aedibus Ioan. Ant. & Petrum fratres de Nicolinis de Sabio. Sumptu vero D. Melchioris Sessae"
- 1545 Ψαλτήριον (BH I no. 117)
"per Ioan Anto. & Petrum Fratres de Nicolinis de Sabio, Sumptibus Melchioris Sessae"
- 1546 Aristoteles, *Φυσικῆς ἀκροάσεως βιβλία ὀκτώ* (EISS I no. 2665/2885; STC, 51)
"apud Ioan. Ant. & Petrum fratres de Nicolinis de Sabio, sumptu Melchioris Sessae"
- 1546 Ὠρολόγιον (BH I no. 118; EISS III no. 4004=1547 [sic])
"apud Petrum & Cornelium nepotem de Nicolinis de Sabio. Expensis Melchioris Sessae"

- 1547 Homerus, Ἰλιάς-[Ὀδύσσεια etc.] (STC, 330)
"Apud Petrum de Nicolinis de Sabio, sumptu Melchioris Sessae"
- 1549 Aeschines, Τῶν τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐξόχων ῥητόρων (EISS I no. 299/323; STC, 7)
"Per Petrum de Nicolinis de Sabio, expensis Melchioris Sessae"
- 1549 Aesopus, Fabellae (EISS I no. 346/372; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 128^a)
"Apud Petrum et Io. Mariam et Cornelium eorum nepotem Nicolinos Sabienses, impensa Melchioris Sessae"
- 1549 U. Bolzanio, Grammaticae institutiones in graecam linguam (EISS II no. 2922; STC, 117)
"Apud Petrum & Io. Mariam & nepotes de Nicolinis de Sabio. Ad instantia D. Melchioris Sessae"
- 1549 Isocrates, Λόγοι καὶ ἐπιστολαί (DROULIA no. 111; FINAZZI no. 81)
"Imprimebat Petrus Nicolinus Sabiensis et socii, sumptum vero faciebat Melchior Sessa"
- 1550 Ἀνθολογία διαφόρων ἐπιγραμμάτων (EISS I no. 1761/1946; FINAZZI no. 82)
"Apud Petrum et Ioan. Mariam Nicolinos Sabienses, impensa Melchioris Sessae"
- 1550 C. Lascaris, Grammaticae institutiones (PAPADOPOULOS A no. 17)
"apud Petrum & Ioan. Mariam fratres de Nicolinis Sabienses. Sumptu Melchioris Sessae"
- 1550 Philostratus, Εἰκόνες (STC, 512)
"Apud Petrum & Io. Mariam Nicolinos Sabienses, impensa Melchioris Sessae"
- 1551 Homerus, Ἰλιάς [Ὀδύσσεια, etc.] (PAPADOPOULOS II no. 146)
"Apud Petrum de Nicolinis de Sabio, sumptu Melchioris Sessae"
- 1552 N. Clenardus, Institutiones in graecam linguam (BAKELANTS-HOVEN no. 118)
As above
- 1552 N. Clenardus, Meditationes graecanicae (BAKELANTS-HOVEN no. 118bis)
As above
- 1553 U. Bolzanio, Grammaticae institutiones in graecam linguam (EISS II no. 2925; FINAZZI no. 87)
"Apud Franciscum Rampazetum, expensis Melchioris Sessae"
- 1555 Graecum alphabetum (GENNADIUS LIBRARY)
"apud Franciscum Rampazetum." Sessa cat on the title page

NOTES

- ¹ ASCARELLI, 162, 180; ASCARELLI-MENATO, 327; BORSA I, 298; KONTOSOPOULOS, 294; ISAAC, 68-69; NORTON, 151-52; PASTORELLO, 401¹⁻²; STC, 949-50.
- ² N. VIANELLO, *Per gli "annali"*, 264.
- ³ C. MARCIANI, *Editori, tipografi*, 463.
- ⁴ ASCARELLI nos. 78-81; CURI NICOLARDI, pl. xxvi; ISAAC, 68 (K); KRISTELLER, nos. 288-299; VACCARO, nos. 473-475; ZAPPELLA nos. 588-604.
- ⁵ T. F. DIBDIN, *The Bibliographical Decameron*. London, 1817, II, 232 note; see also G. FUMAGALLI, *Lexicon typographicum*, 486; S. CURI NICOLARDI, *Una società*, 7.
- ⁶ For Giovanni Battista Sessa, see R. PROCTOR, *An Index*, Press CXXXVII; ISAAC, 68, records Greek 79, 80, 85, and 106 used in quotations. These types undoubtedly belonged to the different printers who printed the books at the expense of Sessa. See also N. VIANELLO, *Per gli "annali"*, 264-68.
- ⁷ N. VIANELLO, *Per gli "annali"*, 270.
- ⁸ R. FULIN, *Documenti*, 173 no. 179; S. CURI NICOLARDI, *Una società*, 6-7.
- ⁹ For the identification of the types used and the printers employed up to 1520 see ISAAC, 68-69.
- ¹⁰ *Lexicon typographicum*, 482.
- ¹¹ CURI NICOLARDI, pl. xxv displays a page border which has been used by the Nicolini da Sabbio in several publications. For some of the illustrated imprints see ESSLING Part III, 331; MORTIMER, nos. 1, 133, 140, 239, 261, 358, 388.
- ¹² S. CURI NICOLARDI, 24-34. See also ESSLING nos. 174; 2203; 2124; 2125; SANDER nos. 3951; 5969; 6572; 6573.
- ¹³ CURI NICOLARDI, 28-29; F. BARBERI, *Il frontespizio nel libro italiano del Quattrocento e del Cinquecento*. Milano, 1969, I, 132. 148, note 77.
- ¹⁴ For the type of books issued by M. Sessa in Latin and Italian see NORTON, 152 and N. VIANELLO, *Op. cit.*, 271-72; STC, 949-50.
- ¹⁵ N. VIANELLO, *Op. cit.*, 263.
- ¹⁶ C. MARCIANI, *Editori, tipografi*, 500-06 and document IV, 521-23 where the text of Sessa's will is given; see also P. GRENDLER, *The Roman Inquisition*, 17.
- ¹⁷ See also under their names in Part II.
- ¹⁸ See also under Francesco Rampazetto in Part II. For the names of other printers who produced non-Greek works for the Sessa, see N. VIANELLO, *Op. cit.*, 273.
- ¹⁹ Not in CURI NICOLARDI.
- ²⁰ The title-border of this work is signed by Zoan Andrea Vavassore.
- ²¹ DS no. 3 was introduced to Italy by the Nicolini da Sabbio in 1543, see under Nicolini da Sabbio in Part II.

Zacharias Skordylis, surnamed Marapharas, fl. 1559-1572

ZACHARIAS SKORDYLIS was born in Kydonia (Chania) in Crete and belonged to a branch of the well-known family of Skordylis, surnamed Marapharas.¹ He studied in Italy, at the University of Padua. No information is available about the date of his birth or when he took orders. He entered the priesthood before 1559, for in that year he was sent as patriarchal Exarch to the island of Naxos.² More is known about his activities during the years he spent in Venice, where he was a member of the *scriptorium* of Jean Hurault de Boistaillé, who was the French ambassador to the Venetian Republic. Zacharias Skordylis worked for Hurault de Boistaillé between the years 1562 and 1564, which also coincided with his activities as editor/corrector of a few liturgical books and the publication of the first edition of his *Περὶ τῶν τῆς συγγενείας βαθμῶν* in 1564 (BH II no. 142; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 1005).³

Skordylis's signature appears in a number of manuscripts, now mostly at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris but also elsewhere. His name first appears in manuscripts in 1562, where he signed "Ζαχαρίου ἱερέως πόνος τοῦ Κρητός, τοῦ κατὰ κόσμον Σκορδιλίου, τοῦ δὲ παρ' ἐπίκλην Μαραφαρᾶ."⁴ Zacharias Skordylis became the chief scribe of Hurault de Boistaillé and was in charge of overseeing and revising the work of the other scribes employed by the ambassador, including such names as Ioannis Mourmouris, Nikolaos Tourrianos, or de la Torre, and Camillus Venetus, i.e., Camillo Zanetti, the son of the printer and scribe Bartolomeo Zanetti. Zacharias Skordylis was also responsible for compiling an inventory of Greek manuscripts in Hurault de Boistaillé's collection.⁵

Again, there is no precise information about when Skordylis was appointed Ἐπίτροπος (Overseer) of the Patriarch of Constantinople Ioasaph, who was on the patriarchal throne between the years 1551 and 1565. In all of the books he edited, Skordylis calls himself "Ἐπίτροπος τοῦ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως οἰκουμενικοῦ πατριάρχου κυρίου Ἰωάσαφ." All of the reprints of his publications repeat the same phrase after his name, even long after Ioasaph ceased to be on the patriarchal throne. All sources point to the fact that Z. Skordylis was well-educated and respected for his erudition. The Jesuit scholar Francisco Torres called him "ἀνὴρ πεπαιδευμένος καὶ λόγου ἔμπειρος."⁶

During the years he spent in Venice, Zacharias Skordylis preached from the pulpit of San Giorgio dei Greci and, on 17 July 1563, he was a candidate for one of the two positions of priest of that church. However, he was not elected to the post, although he seems to have kept a close connection with the church and the Greek Brotherhood of Venice,⁷ as evidenced by the verses he wrote on the occasion of the consecration of San Giorgio dei Greci that are inscribed above the grand entrance to the Church.⁸

In 1563, Zacharias Skordylis compiled and published the commentaries of Nicetas David on the poetry of Saint Gregorius Nazianzenus, Νικήτα Φιλοσόφου τοῦ καὶ Δαβίδ, Ἑρμηνεία εἰς τὰ τετράστιχα...Γρηγορίου τοῦ Ναζιανζηνοῦ (BH I no. 140), which is based on the Codex Alexandrinus 232.⁹ On the verso of the title page of this work (fig. 89), there is a woodcut portrait of Zacharias Skordylis. On the left-hand side of the portrait but outside the frame of the cut, there is the inscription "χεῖρ Μάρκου Βαθᾶ."¹⁰ It is not clear if the woodcut is a copy of a portrait of

Skordylis painted by M. Bathas now lost, or if Bathas did the likeness of Skordylis directly for this publication. The "χειρ Μάρκου Βαθᾶ" is not a signature.¹¹ The work was printed by Francesco Zanetti who shared the expense of publication with Skordylis. As far as can be ascertained, this is the only work printed by Francesco Zanetti in Venice. He later moved to Rome, where he was very active as a printer alone and in association with Giacomo Ruffinelli and Bartolomeo Tosi.¹² There are two variant editions of this work. One (BH IV no. 617) lacks the portrait and the accompanying verses of Skordylis, and on leaf α2 (recto and verso) there is a dedicatory epistle by Fr. Zanetti to Cardinal Fernando Medici. The colophon does not mention Zacharias Skordylis, but simply "Ἐνετίησι παρὰ Φραγγίσκῳ τῷ Ζανέτῳ." A second variant edition (PAPADOPOULOS II no. 218) is also without the Skordylis portrait and the accompanying verses and has no colophon, only "Apud Franciscum Zanettum" on the title page.¹³

The cut of the portrait of Skordylis without the "by the hand of Markos Bathas" is used on the title page of the 1564 edition of Skordylis's compilation entitled¹⁴ *Περὶ τῶν τῆς συγγενείας βαθμῶν*, 1564 (PAPADOPOULOS II no. 1005), printed by Andrea Spinelli. A very close copy of the woodcut portrait is used for the edition printed by Giacomo Leoncini also in 1564 (BH II no. 142; fig. 90a).¹⁵ There were three¹⁶ more editions of the work printed in the sixteenth century. One is without printer, publisher, or date of publication (BH II no. 199). Legrand assigned this edition to the year 1593 and to the press of Giovanni Aliprandi because at the end of the work there is the monogram of Andrea Spinelli, which was also used by G. Aliprandi.¹⁷ Giovanni Aliprandi was not the only publisher to use the Spinelli monogram. Zuan Battista Tauroceni was the first to use both the Spinelli type and the Spinelli monogram.¹⁸ However the type, with which the undated Skordylis work was printed (20 lines=100-102 mm) is not the Spinelli type. This type was never used by either Andrea Spinelli or Giovanni Aliprandi. On the other hand, Tauroceni did use it in 1581 to print an *Horologion* (BH II no. 165) that, beside the type, which is identical with that of the undated Skordylis, also has other features in common with other Tauroceni imprints.¹⁹ The type used to print these two books is the type that was designed by and belonged to Nikolaos Sophianos and was first used by Antonio Blado for some of the publications sponsored by Cardinal Cervini in Rome, Cervini no. 1. Nikolaos Sophianos brought a set of this type with him to Venice, and with it he printed an *Horologion*, 1545 (BH I no. 115) and an *Euchologion*, 1545 (BH I no. 116). It was also used in several other books printed in Venice by Vasileios and Hipolitos Valeris between 1549 and 1571.²⁰ The books printed for Vasileios and Hipolitos Valeris have other features in common with the 1581 *Horologion* and the undated Skordylis beside the type. Several of the ornaments used in the Tauroceni imprints were also used previously in some of the Valeris books as well. The portrait of Skordylis is yet a different, close copy of the previous two (fig. 90b). The very last edition of the Skordylis work was printed in 1588 by Pietro Zanetti. This edition does not have a portrait of Zacharias Skordylis on the title page or anywhere else.

In all of the editions of the *Περὶ τῶν τῆς συγγενείας βαθμῶν*, there is a brief section that begins with "Παράφρασις Λεοντίου μοναχοῦ." It has been suggested by A. Moustoxydes²¹ that the monk Leontios, might be Leontios Eustratios from Cyprus (b. 1565 or 1566), who spent some time in Venice during the latter part of the sixteenth century. However, this is impossible for obvious reasons. It is much more likely that this passage was composed by the monk Leontios Monghistos of Nauplia, who was in Venice during the 1560s and who collaborated with Zacharias Skordylis in editing and correcting the *Anthologion*, 1564 (PAPADOPOULOS II 220^a).

Zacharias Skordylis returned to his native Crete sometime after 1564. His name is mentioned in a report made by the Venetian Syndic, Pietro Basadonna, to the Venetian government dated 24

June 1566 about the ecclesiastical climate in Crete and the activities of the Uniate as well as the Orthodox clergy of the island. Basadonna describes Zacharias Skordylis as a learned man (*persona dotta*) who was admired and respected by the people for his erudition but who was not well-disposed toward the pressure exerted by the Catholics to take part in the interfaith liturgies instigated by the Catholic hierarchy and the Venetian government, in which the name of the Pope and the doge were invoked in prayer.²²

The date of Skordylis's death is not known. He died sometime after 1572, this being the last time there is tangible evidence that he was still alive. This was the year he signed a manuscript, now the Parisinus graecus 1688.²³ Some believe that he died a little before 1588, perhaps because this is the date of the last known edition of his *Περὶ τῶν τῆς συγγενείας βαθμῶν*.

At the end of the *Horologion*, 1563 (BH I no. 141), there is a *Paschalion* and a "Σύνταγμα ἐκ τῶν θείων καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων" composed by Zacharias Skordylis. Skordylis also composed the answers representing the Orthodox point of view to the twelve questions posed by Charles de Guise, Cardinal of Lorraine (1538-1574), "Ἐρωτήσεις IB' τοῦ αἰδαισιμωτάτου καρδινάλιου τῆς Λωρίνης κυρίου Κλαυδίου [sic, read Καρόλου] τῆς Γουΐσης, καὶ ἀνταποκρίσεις πρὸς ταῦτα τῶν Ἑλλήνων," which were published in I. Lamius.²⁴

In addition to the edition of Nicetas David, published in collaboration with Francesco Zanetti, Zacharias Skordylis edited a number of liturgical works for Andrea Spinelli, Giacomo Leoncini, and Hippolitos Valeris.

- 1563 Νικήτα Δαβίδ, Ἑρμηνεία (BH I no. 140; BH IV no. 617; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 218)²⁵ Fr. Zanetti
 "ἐν οἰκίᾳ κυρίου Φραγγίσκου τοῦ ζανέτου. πόνῳ δὲ πολλῷ καὶ πλείστη ἐπιμελείᾳ, Ζαχαρίου ἱερέως σκορδυλίου κρητὸς τοῦ ἐπιλεγομένου μαραφαῤ, καὶ ἐπιτρόπου τοῦ τῆς Κωνσταντιπόλεως οἰκουμενικοῦ πατριάρχου κυρίου Ἰωάσαφ ἀναλώμασι μὲν τοῖς αὐτῶν"
- 1563 Ὁρολόγιον (BH I no. 141) A. Spinelli
 "ἐπιμελείᾳ τε καὶ ἐπιδιορθώσει Ζαχαρίου ἱερέως σκορδυλίου κρητὸς τοῦ ἐπιλεγομένου μαραφαῤ, καὶ ἐπιτρόπου τοῦ τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως οἰκουμενικοῦ πατριάρχου κυρίου Ἰωάσαφ"
- 1564 Ἀνθολόγιον (PAPADOPOULOS II no. 220^a) H. Valeris
 "δεξιότητι καὶ ἐπιδιορθώσει Ζαχαρίου ἱερέως σκορδυλίου [sic] κρητὸς τοῦ ἐπονομαζομένου μαραφαῤ, καὶ ἐπιτρόπου...Ἰωάσαφ. ἔτιτε πόνῳ καὶ ἐπιμελείᾳ, Λεοντίου μοναχοῦ ναυπλιέως, τοῦ μογγιστοῦ"
- 1564 Ζ. Σκορδύλης, Περὶ τῶν τῆς συγγενείας βαθμῶν (PAPADOPOULOS II no. 1005) A. Spinelli
 "συλλογῇ καὶ ἐπιμελείᾳ Ζαχαρίου ἱερέως σκορδυλίου κρητὸς τοῦ ἐπονομαζομένου μαραφαῤ...Ἰωάσαφ"
- 1564 Ζ. Σκορδύλης, Περὶ τῶν τῆς συγγενείας βαθμῶν (BH II no. 142; FINAZZI no. 93) G. Leoncini
 As above
- 1569 Ζ. Σκορδύλης, Περὶ τῶν τῆς συγγενείας βαθμῶν (VRETOS I no. 16)²⁶
- 1575 Ζ. Σκορδύλης, Περὶ τῶν τῆς συγγενείας βαθμῶν [sic] (PAPADOPOULOS II no. 257) G. Leoncini
 "συλλογῇ καὶ ἐπιμελείᾳ Ζαχαρίου...Ἰωάσαφ"

- c. 1581 Z. Σκορδύλης, *Περὶ τῶν τῆς συγγενείας βαθμῶν* (BH II no. 199=1593 [sic]; STC, 752= [1580?]) Z. B. Tauroceni?
- 1588 Z. Σκορδύλης, *Περὶ τῶν τῆς συγγενείας βαθμῶν* [sic] (BH II no. 178; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 1040; STC, 630=[1585?]) P. Zanetti
 "ἐπιμελεία, γεωργίου ἱερέως βλαστοῦ κρητὸς τοῦ ἐπονομαζομένου πουνιαλέτου"

NOTES

- ¹ I. ΒΕΛΟΥΔΗΣ, *Ἑλλήνων Ὁρθόδοξων*, 34, 137, 169 note 31; BH I, 316-18; P. CANART, 68 and his Jean Nathanael, 418 note 6; M. CRUSIUS, *Turcograeciae*, 200; KONTOSOPOULOS, 314; A. K. ΔΗΜΗΤΡΑΚΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, *Προσθήκαι*, 12 and his *Ὁρθόδοξος Ἑλλάς*, 126-27; A. E. ΚΑΡΑΘΑΝΑΣΗΣ, *Ἡ ἐκκλησιαστικὴ ρητορική*, 144; P. MEYER, *Die Theologische Litteratur*, 85-87; A. ΜΟΥΣΤΟΞΥΔΗΣ, *Ζαχαρίας Σκορδύλιος, Ἑλληνομνήμων*, 5(1843)306-320; X. Γ. ΠΑΤΡΙΝΕΛΗΣ, *Σκορδύλης Ζαχαρίας*, *ΘΗΕ*, 11(1967)231; PATRINELIS, 107; SATHAS, 181-82; N. B. ΤΩΜΑΔΑΚΗΣ, *Ἐπισκοπὴ καὶ ἐπίσκοποι Κυδωνίας*, 35-36; Γ. Ι. ΖΑΒΙΡΑΣ, *Νέα Ἑλλάς*, 303-04; Z. N. ΤΣΙΡΠΙΑΝΛΗΣ, *Τὸ κληροδότημα*, 153 and note 2.
- ² N. B. ΤΩΜΑΔΑΚΗΣ, *Ibidem*, 35.
- ³ For Z. Skordylis as a scribe, see VG, 126 and note 2; PATRINELIS, 107; CANART, 68; GAMILLSCHEG-HARLFINGER II no. 157.
- ⁴ BH I, 317; See also A. ΜΟΥΣΤΟΞΥΔΗΣ, *Op cit.*, 307.
- ⁵ J. IRIGOIN, *Les ambassadeurs a Venise*, 411-12 and Table II.; P. CANART, Jean Nathanaël, 418 and note 6.
- ⁶ BH I, 318; A. ΜΟΥΣΤΟΞΥΔΗΣ, *Op. cit.*, 310; Z. Skordylis wrote an epigram that was included in the Fr. Torres edition of *Διαταγαὶ τῶν ἀγίων Ἀποστόλων*, 1563, printed by G. Ziletti (PHOSKOLOS A no. 4; LADAS no. 55).
- ⁷ A. E. ΚΑΡΑΘΑΝΑΣΗΣ, *Ἡ ἐκκλησιαστικὴ ρητορική*, 44. Some sources describe him as having held the position of priest of San Giorgio see A. K. ΔΗΜΗΤΡΑΚΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, *Ὁρθόδοξος Ἑλλάς*, 126; N. B. ΤΩΜΑΔΑΚΗΣ, *Op. cit.*, 35; Z. N. ΤΣΙΡΠΙΑΝΛΗΣ, *Τὸ κληροδότημα*, 153 note 2.
- ⁸ I. ΒΕΛΟΥΔΗΣ, *Op. cit.*, 34, 169 note 31. The verses are also included at the end of all the editions of Z. Skordylis's *Περὶ τῶν τῆς συγγενείας βαθμῶν*. See also BH II, 2.
- ⁹ X. Γ. ΠΑΤΡΙΝΕΛΗΣ, *Σκορδύλης Ζαχαρίας*, 321.
- ¹⁰ Markos Bathas, or Vathas (1498-1578) was a Cretan painter who lived and worked in Venice and was a member of the Greek Brotherhood from 1538. He resided in one of the rental houses that belonged to the Brotherhood. In 1563, he was one of the candidates for office in the *Gionta* but was not elected. See M. I. ΜΑΝΟΥΣΑΚΑΣ, *Ἑλληνες ζωγράφοι*, 217-18; Φ. ΜΑΥΡΟΕΙΔΗ, *Συμβολή*, 80-81. See also H. HUNGER, Markos Bathas, ein griechischer Maler des Cinquecento in Venedig, *Jahrbuch der Oesterreichischen Byzantinistik*, 21(1972)131-37; M. ΑΧΕΙΜΑΣΤΟΥ-ΠΟΤΑΜΙΑΝΟΥ, *Φορητὲς εἰκόνες τοῦ ζωγράφου Μάρκου Στριλίτζα Μπαθᾶ ἢ Βαθᾶ στὴν Ἡπειρο, Δελτίον Χριστιανικῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας*, περ. Δ' 8(1975-76)109-44.
- ¹¹ Within the frame of the cut there are the Greek letters Π on the left and Ζ on the right (fig. 89). Legrand (BH I, 315 note 1) made the observation that the initials probably stand for "Πρόσωπον Ζαχαρίου." However, it is also possible that they stand for "Πατὴρ Ζαχαρίας."
- ¹² ASCARELLI, 72, no. 27; ASCARELLI-MENATO, 121-22, 369; BORSA I, 351; PASTORELLO no. 476; STC, 985-86; VACCARO, 205-07 and no. 236. See also G. L. MASETTI ZANNINI, *Stampatori e librai a Roma nella seconda metà del Cinquecento. Documenti inediti*. Rome, 1980, 168.
- ¹³ These variant editions that omit the contribution of Skordylis to the publication are obviously the copies that were addressed to a non-Greek clientele.
- ¹⁴ Most scholars believe that the original author of the main body of the work, which Skordylis identifies as "Μανουὴλ ἱεροδιάκονος καὶ μέγας χαρτοφύλαξ τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας," was Manouel Xanthinos, see M. ΓΕΔΕΩΝ, *Πατριαρχικαὶ ἐφημερίδες*, 27 and his *Μνεία τῶν πρὸ ἐμοῦ*. Ἐν Ἀθήναις, 1934-36, 41-43; T. ΓΡΙΤΣΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, *Πατριαρχικὴ Μεγάλη τοῦ Γένους Σχολή*, I, 90 and note 3. According to A. ΜΟΥΣΤΟΞΥΔΗΣ, *Op. cit.*, 312-14, the Manouel hierodiakonos refers not to Manouel Xanthinos who was the Grand Chartularios of Patriarch Hieremias II, but Manouel Rhetor the Peloponnesian, who was active during the earlier part of the sixteenth century and who was known to Ioustinos Dekadios.
- ¹⁵ The 1575 edition, also published by Giacomo Leoncini, survived only in one copy that lacks the title page. The portrait cut is missing, but the whole edition seems to be a reprint of the 1564 Leoncini edition.

16 VRETOS I no. 16 lists a 1569 edition taken from M. CRUSIUS, *Turcograecia*, 200 that is not extant today.

17 Andrea Spinelli ceased publishing in 1564. Indeed, several of the *Menaia* published by Aliprandi use the Spinelli mark. See *Menaia* of May to August, 1592-1593 (BH II nos. 197-98; BH IV nos. 833-35).

18 See the *Euchologion*, 1580 (LADAS no. 74), *Triodion*, 1580 (BH IV no. 739), the *Menaia* of October and November both printed in 1581 (BH IV nos. 751 and 752), and the *Apostolos*, 1584 (BH IV no. 778). To my knowledge, the Spinelli monogram made its last appearance at the end of a *Pentekostarion*, 1681 (BH XVIIIs. V no. 178) and on the last page of Marinos Tzanes Mpouniales, *Διήγησις διὰ στοιχείων τοῦ δεινοῦ πολέμου τοῦ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ Κρήτης*, 1681 (BH XVIIIs. II no. 565), both printed by Andrea Giuliani.

19 For example, the headpiece on folio E5^r is the same as the one used by Z. B. Tauroceni in the *Menaion* of January, 1582 (BH IV no. 757), see folio α2^v.

20 See also under Nikolaos Sophianos, Hippolitos Valeris, and Vasileios Valeris in Part II.

21 Ζαχαρίας Σκορδύλιος, 314.

22 Ζ. ΤΣΙΡΠΙΑΝΛΗΣ, *Τὸ κληροδότημα*, 152-53.

23 Χ. Γ. ΠΑΤΡΙΝΕΛΗΣ, Σκορδύλης Ζαχαρίας, 231.

24 *Deliciae eruditorum*. Florentiae, 1738, IV, 72-118; see also Α. ΔΗΜΗΤΡΑΚΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, 'Ορθόδοξος Ἑλλάς, 126-27; Α. ΜΟΥΣΤΟΞΥΔΗΣ, Ζαχαρίας Σκορδύλιος, 318-20; see also note 6 above for a Skordylis epigram printed in 1563. For his unpublished works, see Χ. Γ. ΠΑΤΡΙΝΕΛΗΣ, Σκορδύλης Ζαχαρίας, 231.

25 See note 13 above.

26 Edition not extant. See note 16 above.

Nikolaos Sophianos, fl. 1533-1552

NIKOLAOS SOPHIANOS¹ was one of the most interesting and accomplished figures among the Greeks residing in Italy during the first half of the sixteenth century. He was born on the island of Corfu at the beginning of the sixteenth century, the son of Pavlos Sophianos, known from a letter addressed to him by Cardinal Bessarion.² The Sophianoï of Corfu were of noble lineage and were included in the *Libro d'oro* of the nobility of the island.³ Some have written that the Sophianos family was descended from Byzantium and originally belonged to the Monemvasia Sophianoï branch of the Sophianoï. There is, however, no documentation to link the Monemvasia Sophianoï with the Corfu branch.⁴ It is not known when Nikolaos Sophianos left his native Corfu to pursue his studies in Italy. At one time it was believed that Sophianos was among the first pupils to enter the Greek Gymnasium, founded by Pope Leo X on the Quirinal Hill in Rome in 1514 and directed by Ianos Lascaris.⁵ Information that Nikolaos Sophianos and Matthaïos Devaris, also from Corfu, were classmates along with Konstantinos Rallis and Christophoros Kontoleon, is given by Petros Devaris, the nephew of Matthaïos, in his dedicatory epistle to Cardinal Alessandro Farnese in the edition of M. Devaris's work published in 1588.⁶ A document published more recently gives a list of the very first pupils who entered the college in February 1514; Nikolaos Sophianos is not among them. Of the four classmates mentioned by Petros Devaris, only Konstantinos Rallis was among the first pupils to enter the Greek Gymnasium in 1514.⁷ This, of course, does not preclude the possibility that Nikolaos Sophianos entered the college at a later date. He must have studied in Rome at some time in order to have formed his contacts with the Cardinals Marcello Cervini and Niccolò Ridolfi, as well as his lifelong friendship with M. Devaris, K. Rallis and C. Kontoleon.⁸

If indeed Sophianos studied at the Greek Gymnasium, he also came into contact with and studied under Ianos Lascaris. In addition, as we have discovered from the same document published by M. I. Manousakas,⁹ he was also the pupil of Zacharias Kallierges, who was in charge of the young scholars at the school. Both Lascaris and Kallierges were expert in designing Greek type, preparing and editing Greek texts for the press, and, in the case of Z. Kallierges, expert in the art of printing, skills which Sophianos seems to have acquired, as shall be seen later.

Various sources mention that N. Sophianos, M. Devaris, K. Rallis, and C. Kontoleon worked for Cardinal Niccolò Ridolfi (1501-1550), the nephew of Pope Leo X. Cardinal Ridolfi was a collector of Greek manuscripts and a bibliophile. Sophianos and Devaris were given the task of preparing a catalogue of the Cardinal's collection of manuscripts. However, although Devaris remained in the Cardinal's employ until the Cardinal's death, it appears that Sophianos, for unknown reasons, left his position and moved to Venice, where he earned a living copying manuscripts.¹⁰ All that is known about his activities during this period is that, in 1533, he copied a manuscript in Venice for Dionisio Zanettini (c. 1500-1565), the Greek Catholic Bishop of Zea and Thermiai (Tzias kai Thermion) who later was appointed to the bishopric of Mylopotamos and Cherronessos in Crete.¹¹ The manuscript in question, now at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, is dated Venice, 30 August 1533. This is the first firm date available about Sophianos and his activities we now have. He also copied another manuscript in Venice, dated September 1534, for Georges de Selve, Bishop of Lavaur, the French envoy of François I in Venice.¹²

It was during this first sojourn of Sophianos in Venice that we also see the first indications of his interest in the Greek vernacular. Around 1533, Nikolaos Sophianos composed a dialogue in modern Greek that is found in a manuscript version of Agostino Ricchi's comedy, *I tre tiranni*, which Ricchi wished to present to Luigi Gritti. Luigi Gritti, who was very powerful politically, was the natural son of the Doge Andrea Gritti and a Greek from Constantinople. The dialogue preserved in the manuscript was identified by Mario Vitti and Paul Canart as coming from the hand of Nikolaos Sophianos.¹³ This is the earliest and one of the few examples of dialogue in modern Greek preserved from the sixteenth century, the other being the one composed by Demetrios Zenos of Zakynthos found at the beginning of his edition of the *Βατροχομνομαχία*, 1539 (BH I no. 100).¹⁴ According to G. Schirò,¹⁵ it was during Sophianos's early years as a scribe that he also copied a manuscript in the Greek vernacular, the Chronicle of the Tocco (*Χρονικὸν τῶν Τόκκων*).

In 1543, Sophianos undertook a trip to Greece to buy manuscripts on behalf of the Spanish ambassador of Charles V in Venice, Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza (1503-1575), who was a collector of manuscripts that were later incorporated into the library of the Escorial. During his stay in Venice, Mendoza had a number of scribes copying manuscripts for him. Besides N. Sophianos, among them were Andronikos Noukios, Nikolaos Mourmouris, and Ioannes Mavrommatis.¹⁶ Sophianos journeyed to various monasteries in Thessaly and visited Mount Athos, where he bought manuscripts and copied those he could not purchase, during a trip that lasted some seven months.¹⁷ It has been suggested that Sophianos made not one but two trips to the East on behalf of Mendoza. However, there is very little information about this second journey. The only mention of such a trip comes from a letter of G.-B. Amalteo to Paolo Manuzio, dated 27 February 1561, in which Amalteo says that he was told by Sophianos himself that he was sent by Mendoza to Greece twice and that he had brought back some three hundred manuscripts.¹⁸ Conrad Gesner (1516-1565) speaks of making Sophianos's acquaintance during a trip to Venice at the end of 1543 or the beginning of 1544 and of having consulted some of the manuscripts Sophianos had brought from his trip to the East.¹⁹

It was undoubtedly during this trip to Greece in 1543 that Sophianos observed the poor state of education among the Greek masses and conceived his idea to undertake a series of translations of ancient Greek authors into modern Greek in order to make them more accessible to the people, who no longer understood ancient Greek. His plans are stated in the dedication of his translation of Plutarch's *Περὶ παίδων ἀγωγῆς*, printed in January 1545 (1544 Venetian year) under the title *Παιδαγωγός* (BH I no. 107). The work is dedicated to Bishop Dionisio Zanettini, for whom Sophianos had copied the manuscript in 1533 mentioned above. In his dedication, Sophianos says: "When I saw, your Grace, that because of its long and bitter enslavement our nation declined and does not even remember the achievements of our ancestors nor the progress which left an everlasting glory in all the world, I often wished to discuss this and to get the advice of as many wise and educated and truly noble descendants of the ill-fated ancient Hellas..."²⁰ Sophianos goes on to say that he has discussed the matter with as many Greek intellectuals as he could find, and they have agreed that through translation of ancient texts into the vernacular they could reach their goal of ameliorating the state of ignorance of the masses. In the same preface, he also speaks of plans to translate the rest of Plutarch's works, as well as Lucian's dialogues and works of theology.²¹

As far as is known, Sophianos did not publish any more translations of ancient Greek authors, which leads one to believe that the publication of the *Paidagogos* did not meet with success. His

forward-looking ideas about the importance of the vernacular for the regeneration of Greek education were ahead of his time. It was not until much later, toward the end of the eighteenth century, that such ideas began to take root among the Greeks.²²

Sophianos also composed a grammar of modern Greek, the earliest of its kind, although it remained in manuscript form until E. Legrand edited and published it in 1870 and again in 1874.²³ It is not known when Sophianos wrote his grammar. It certainly was written before the 1550 death of Jean de Guise, Cardinal of Lorraine (1498-1550), to whom the work is dedicated. The work is preserved in two undated manuscripts, one at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, and the other at the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. The grammar and the translation of Plutarch's *Περὶ παίδων ἀγωγῆς* must belong to the same period, for, in his Latin dedication to the Cardinal of Lorraine, Sophianos still speaks of his plans to prepare other works in the vernacular, including a lexicon of modern Greek, another work that never saw the light of day.²⁴ It has been suggested recently, that Sophianos used as his model the grammar of C. Lascaris.²⁵

Among Sophianos's many accomplishments, one of the most important was the preparation and publication of a map of Greece. Unfortunately, its first edition is not extant today, and there are conflicting reports about its date of publication. Some say that it was published as early as 1536, others c. 1540 or before 1543.²⁶ The only contemporary reference to Sophianos's map comes from a letter of Jean Metellus to Antonio Augustin dated 8 February 1543, where mention is made of Sophianos and his map. After Metellus informs Augustin of Sophianos's departure for Thessaly and Mount Athos, he goes on to say "Is est cujus tabellam Graeciae nuper commendabat Philaenus Lunardus noster."²⁷ Thus, all that is known about the first edition of this map is that it was published before 1543. Legrand, despite his researches in many of the libraries of Europe, was unable to locate a copy, and none has been found to date. Several works on the cartography of Greece use 1543 as the date of the first edition of the Sophianos map, again without providing their source of information.²⁸ In 1552, Sophianos's map came out in another, perhaps abridged, edition, *Totivs Graeciae descriptio* (BH II no. 246). It consisted of only four sheets instead of the eight sheets that the first edition supposedly contained. In his preface, Sophianos enumerates his principal sources, who were the ancient writers Pausanias, Herodotos, Strabo, and Ptolemy.²⁹

Soon after the publication of his map, N. Sophianos brought out a gazetteer of Greece, *Nomina antiqua et recentia urbium Graeciae descriptionis* (BH III no. 106). It consisted of a folio sheet printed only on one side that gave the ancient Greek place names along with the Italian and modern Greek equivalents. According to Legrand, the gazetteer was published in Rome around 1544. Sophianos's work was received with praise by the scientific world of his time. Nicolas Gerbel wrote a commentary on it which was first printed in Basel in 1545, *In descriptionem Graeciae Sophiani praefatio* (BH III no. 466). It was also printed in a second revised and enlarged edition entitled *Pro declaratione picturae sive descriptionis Graeciae Sophiani libri septem*, Basel, 1550.³⁰

In recent years, Sophianos's name has been linked to the operations instigated in Rome in 1539 by Marcello Cervini (1501-1555), Cardinal of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme and later Pope Marcellus II, who wished to finance the printing of a number of Greek and Latin books from manuscripts in the Vatican collections. Even before he became a Cardinal in 1539, as early as 1534, while he was the tutor of Pope Paul's III nephew Alessandro Farnese, Marcello Cervini had expressed his wish to publish the Greek manuscripts of the Palatina, as the Vatican library was then called.³¹ In a 1539 letter from Paolo Manuzio,³² with whom Cervini was in correspondence about his project, there is the information that the Cardinal had chosen the well-known

Roman printer, Antonio Blado (1490-1567),³³ to be in charge of the Greek books projected for publication and that Antonio Blado had been sent to Venice to consult with Paolo Manuzio in order to purchase type and procure all of the other necessary equipment for the press. It was most probably in Venice that Antonio Blado came into contact with Nikolaos Sophianos, who at the time, as far as can be ascertained, was copying manuscripts there. Also, it must have been during this visit to Venice that Blado arranged to have the services of a very experienced printer of Greek who was also a punch-cutter, Stefano Nicolini da Sabbio. Nicolini da Sabbio himself says that it was Nikolaos Sophianos who introduced him to Blado.³⁴ Although Paolo Manuzio's letter to Cervini mentioned above, does not mention where the first Greek font was designed and cut, for the Cervini project, scholars now believe that this was probably done in Venice by Stefano Nicolini da Sabbio.³⁵

The only other contemporary reference to the Greek type for the Cervini project comes from a letter of Donato Giannotti (1492-1573), a Florentine scholar at that time residing in Rome and belonging to the circle of Cardinal Ridolfi. Giannotti's letter is addressed to Pietro Vettori (1499-1585), a classical scholar in Florence, and is dated 4 December 1540. It gives further particulars about Cardinal Cervini's plans: "Il detto Cardinale [Cervini] mette ordine di fare una stamperia greca per stampare tutta la scrittura sacra, et di quella gli autori più reconditi. Sequiteranno poi i philosophi, gli oratori e poeti, et finalmente stamperanno libri latini; che sarà bella cosa."³⁶ In another letter to Vettori, dated 22 January 1542, Giannotti reported on the progress of the Cardinal's project: "The Greeks have fashioned a Greek type similar to that of Aldus, with which were printed the lives of Plutarch, the *Moralia* and so many other works as you know, but somewhat larger. With it they began printing the *Theophylaktos*, but they have left it and begun to work on the Eustathios commentary on Homer, the one corrected by Lascaris which was in the possession of Cardinal Ridolfi. They are also preparing a larger type similar to that of the Aristotle of Aldus, but much more beautiful. Many consider it so. And once the type is finished they will be printing non-stop, not only the sacred works but also whatever will be placed into their hands."³⁷

D. Giannotti's letter mentions that "the Greeks" had fashioned the type. A. Tinto was quite correct to surmise that the Greek scholars in question must be those in Cardinal Ridolfi's circle. Giannotti, who also resided with the Cardinal in Rome, was well-placed to provide information about the progress of the work. Unfortunately, Giannotti does not refer to the said Greeks by name. It is known from other sources that Matthaïos Devaris was definitely one of them. Devaris also prepared the index of the Eustathios. And, of course, the manuscript used for the Eustathios was the one in Cardinal Ridolfi's possession.³⁸

A series of documents published in recent years show Nikolaos Sophianos's involvement in the Cervini project. Until a few years ago, all that was known was that Sophianos had used the Greek type (Cervini no. 1) with which the *Theophylaktos*³⁹ and the first volume of the Eustathios⁴⁰ were printed when he brought out some books in Venice. In the preface of another work, an undated *Astrolabe* (BH I no. 111; LAYTON no. 44), in the dedication to Pope Paul III, Sophianos speaks of the type newly cut by order of the Pope and Cardinal Cervini.⁴¹ Later, in 1544 and 1545, Sophianos used this same font, Cervini no. 1, to print in Venice two liturgical books. From the documents mentioned above, it becomes clear that Nikolaos Sophianos perhaps was the one who designed Cervini no. 1 (fig. 34) and owned the punches and type of this font rather than Cardinal Cervini. The printing of the Eustathios was interrupted after the publication of the first volume some time in the spring of 1542. All agree that the reason for this interruption was most likely due to the large size of the type and the ample margins used for the first volume,

which rendered the whole operation very costly. It was decided to fashion smaller type before printing the remaining volumes of the work. Giovanni Onorio, the "scriptor graecus" of the Vatican, was charged with the task of designing a new, smaller Greek type, Cervini no. 2 (fig. 35).⁴² It appears that the official involvement of Sophianos with Cervini's project ended when Cervini no. 1 was discontinued. By May 1542, Nikolaos Sophianos was back in Venice. That he was definitely involved in the printing of the two works in Rome is made quite clear by a document published by Alberto Tinto. It is dated 7 April 1551 and states clearly that the works were printed "parte per mano de messer Benedetto Giunti et Nicolo Soffiano et parte per detto messer Benedetto et mastro Antonio Blado."⁴³

Besides designing the type, Sophianos must have also been involved in the printing of the Theophylaktos and the first volume of the Eustathios in some other capacity as well. Perhaps he was also involved as editor of the two works, for when in February 1545 the printing of the remainder of the volumes of the Eustathios was resumed, Niccolò Maiorano had entered the picture as the new editor of the work. Cardinal Cervini signed a new contract with Antonio Blado, his partner Benedetto Giunta, and Niccolò Maiorano to complete the printing of the Eustathios with the new type (Cervini no. 2 and 2a) designed by Giovanni Onorio.⁴⁴ Before Cardinal Cervini signed this new agreement with Antonio Blado, Benedetto Giunta, and Niccolò Maiorano in 1545, he had received a letter from Antonios Eparchos dated Venice, 30 August 1544, in which Eparchos, who knew the Cardinal and had provided him with Greek manuscripts in the past, proposed that he and Nikolaos Sophianos were ready and willing to publish as many Greek books as they could find. This letter of Eparchos was in response to a letter from Cervini, who had suggested that perhaps the Cardinal could help Eparchos, under certain conditions, to publish some Greek books.⁴⁵ As will be seen below, Sophianos by then must have been back from his trip to Greece on behalf of Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza and preparing to set up his own press in Venice. The proposal of A. Eparchos to Cardinal Cervini was not accepted by the latter. Perhaps because, as P. Paschini⁴⁶ has suggested, the Cardinal was only interested in establishing a press specializing in the printing of Greek in Rome, under his aegis, and not in Venice.

Soon after his arrival in Venice from Rome, Sophianos began a series of legal actions against Benedetto Giunta and Giunta's Roman lawyer, Jacopo Apocello, in order to be reimbursed for the work he had done in the printing of Cardinal Cervini's project and also in order to have his Greek type and punches returned to him. In the first of these documents, dated Venice, 7 September 1542, Sophianos gave power of attorney to Michael Rosetos of Koroni and to his friend Matthaios Devaris, who was still in Cardinal Ridolfi's employ, to act on his behalf. Besides the money owed him, Sophianos was demanding the return of his punches and type from Benedetto Giunta, who had kept them after Sophianos left Rome for Venice. Benedetto Giunta was in possession of the type while Apocello was holding the punches, as had been originally agreed between Sophianos and Giunta.⁴⁷ On 31 January 1543, Sophianos made a second attempt to recover his type. This time he gave power of attorney to Kantinos Trivolis from Corfu, the son of the writer Iakovos Trivolis. In a subsequent document, dated Venice 19 September 1543, Sophianos gave power of attorney to Francesco Tramezzino, the well-known Venetian bookseller in Rome, whose shop was at the sign of the Sibyl, to act on his behalf in order to implement the agreement between Nikolaos Sophianos and Benedetto Giunta. Sophianos's request again was to be reimbursed for the work he had done for Giunta and also to take possession of his type and punches that were still in the hands of Benedetto Giunta and Jacopo Apocello.⁴⁸ Despite his repeated attempts to recover his type and punches, it was not until much later, in 1551, that this was accomplished.



ΓΛΟΥΤΑΡΧΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΟΥ

παιδαγωγός.



Φέλιμον νομίζω καὶ δὺλογον εἶναι ναύσκοπίσμον καλὰ ὅ-
σον εἶναι διωκτὸν καὶ ναεῖ ποῦ μιν ὅσα ἀρμόζει εἰς τὴν ἀνατρο-
φὴν καὶ τὴν παιδείαν τῶν δὺγενῶν ἀνθρώπων· καὶ ἔτι ναεῖ-
φρηθοῦμεν ἐκείνα ὅπου δὴ τὰ χρεαδοῦν οἱ νέοι, θελοῦσι
ἀρκάτωσθαι φρόνιμοι καὶ γενναῖοι καὶ εὐαρέστοι ὅτι πρόποιοι.
καὶ ἴσως κάλλιον εἶναι ναρχίσωμεν πρῶτον ἀπ' αὐτῶν τὴν γένεσιν
τῶ ἀνθρώπου. Ὅσοι λοιπὸν ἐπιθυμοῦσι ναρχεῖν πατέρες εἰ
δόξων καὶ λαμπρῶν παιδίων, συμβουλεύσει τις ἡθελα ναμὴ συμμέ-
ξουν μὲ ὅποιαν τύχην γυναικα· πόρῳ λέγω πολιτικῶν, ἢ παλα-
κῶν· διότι ὅσοι οὐδὲν εἶναι ἀπὸ καλὸν πατέρα καὶ μητέρα, εἰς ὅλην
τοῖς τὴν ζωὴν ἔχουσιν πολλοὺς ὀνειδισμοὺς καὶ λόγους, καὶ καθὲς ὅ-
που να θέλει, δύκολα καὶ ἐλέγχει καὶ ὑβρίζει· καὶ ὅτι ὅτι ἀρ-
φρόνιμος ἦτον ὁ δὲ ἐπιδόκῃς ὁ ποιητής, ὁ ποῖος λέγει· ὅταν ἡ ἀρχὴ
καὶ ἡ ῥίζα τῶ γένους οὐδὲν εἶναι καλὴ, ἀνάγκη ναδυσχεῖν τὰ παι-
διά· εἶναι λοιπὸν εἰς τὸν ἀνθρώπον καλὸς θησαυρὸς παρρησίας
ἢ δὺγένεια· καὶ ὅσοι ἐπιθυμοῦσι ναρχεῖν παιδιά γνήσια, καὶ ἔχουσιν
ποῦ πολλοῦ αὐτῶν τὴν δὺγένειαν· καὶ κατὰ ἀλήθειαν ὅσοι ἀνθρώ-
ποι ἔχουσιν δὲ γένους τις νενοθυμῶν καὶ μὴ γνήσιον, καὶ τὰ φρονήμα-
τά τις καὶ τὰ διανοήματα σχεδὸν αἰεὶ ποτε σφάλλουσιν καὶ ταπει-
νοῦνται· καὶ μάλιστα ὀρθῶς καὶ ἀληθῶς λέγει ὁ ποιητής ἐκείνος ὁ
ποῖος εἶπεν· δουλῶνται ἐκείνος ὅπου εἶναι ὅτι εἶχε ἄτυχον πα-
τέρα ἢ μητέρα καλὰ καὶ δὴ εἶναι μεγαλόψυχος ἀνθρώπος· ὡς πρὸς
παλιν τὸ εὐαντίον, ὅσοι ἔχουσιν εὐδόξους καὶ λαμπροὺς γονεῖς, γίμνοισιν
ἐπιδρηφανίας καὶ μεγαλαυχίας· καὶ λέγουσιν τὸν διόφαντον τὸν υἱὸν θε-
μιστοκλέους τῶ στρατηγοῦ τῶν ἀθηναίων, ὡς πολλάκις εἶπεν εἰς πολ-
λοῖς, ὅτι ἔτι αὐτὸς βούλεται, ἐκείνο θέλει καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀθη-
6

fig. 222

As already learned from Antonios Eparchos's letter to Cardinal Cervini dated 30 August 1544, Nikolaos Sophianos must have returned by 1544 from his trip to Greece and begun making arrangements to operate a Greek press in Venice. We know that he had in his possession a set of types of Cervini no. 1, because shortly after a book was published in Venice with this type. The first work to appear is a long poem composed by Antonios Eparchos, a lament on the destruction of Greece, *Eἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδος καταστροφήν, θρήνος* (BH I no. 108), which came out on 5 September 1544. The work does not give any information about the printer, only the date of publication, and is dedicated to Pope Paul III. The Roman type of the dedication seems to be the same as that used by the printer Batolomeo Zanetti. It must be mentioned here that Bartolomeo Zanetti had closed his printing shop about this time and tried to earn a living as a scribe. However, as it



fig. 223

καθεστηκόσιν."⁵¹ Sophianos's involvement with Cardinal Cervini's project came to an end some time in 1542 and he was back in Venice after May 1542.

In Venice, the printing of Antonios Eparchos's work was followed by N. Sophianos's translation into modern Greek of pseudo-Plutarch's *Περὶ παίδων ἀγωγῆς*, which appeared on 2 January 1544 (Venetian year) under the title *Παιδαγωγός* (BH I no. 107; fig. 222). This time, the printer is given as "Βαρθολομαῖος ὁ καλλιγράφος," who is, of course, none other than Bartolomeo Zanetti. It was followed by an *Horologion*, 5 May 1545 (BH I no. 115), the colophon of which only says "at the house of Nikolaos Sophianos and his partners." On the title page of the *Horologion*, there is a woodcut of a lion standing upright holding an unsheathed sword (fig. 223).⁵² This mark has been also used by two printers active in Padua, Giacomo Fabriano (fl.1541-1621),⁵³ and Lorenzo Pasquati (fl. 1561-1623).⁵⁴ The *Horologion* was followed by the printing of an *Euchologion*, 12 December 1545 (BH I no. 116; fig. 224). The same mark as in the *Horologion* appears again on the title page. The colophon in this book gives the names of Sophianos's partners, who provided the financial backing for the printing enterprise. They were Markos Samariaris⁵⁵ and Nikolaos Eparchos.⁵⁶

There is one other, unusual imprint, an *Εἰλητάριον*, containing the liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom, attributed to the Venetian press of Nikolaos Sophianos. The copy discovered by Linos Politis at the church of the Virgin of Lindos in 1969 was printed on vellum but was mutilated and incomplete, lacking both the beginning and the colophon. On the basis of the type, which is the same as that of the other books brought out in Venice by Nikolaos Sophianos, Linos Politis attributed it to the press of Nikolaos Sophianos.⁵⁷ In the summer of 1982, Professor Politis told this writer that he had discovered another copy of the *Εἰλητάριον* at the library of the monastery of Saint Catharine on Mount Sinai and that the work was dated Venice, 1545. There was, however, no mention of printer or publisher. As Linos Politis points out,⁵⁸ manuscripts of liturgical *εἰλητάρια* are not uncommon, but this is the only printed specimen found thus far. Perhaps, he goes on to

will be seen, he did not altogether cease printing the occasional book on behalf of others.⁴⁹

Emile Legrand considered Sophianos's *Περὶ κατασκευῆς καὶ χρήσεως κρικωτοῦ ἀστρολάβου* (BH I no. 111; LAYTON no. 44) to be the first work to come out of Sophianos's press in Venice. The *Astrolabe* is undated and without indication of place of publication or printer. Legrand dated it c. 1544. A. Tinto, on the other hand, considers this work to have been printed in Rome c. 1542 while Sophianos was still working there.⁵⁰ This seems a reasonable assumption, as this short work consisting of only one quire of eight unnumbered leaves was the very first work to be printed with Cervini no. 1, as a trial run perhaps, in order to display the new type. Fittingly, the work is dedicated to Pope Paul III, who had officially ordered the type to be cut. The type is mentioned in the dedicatory epistle as being newly cut: "ἐκδέδοται τοῖς νεοχαράκτοις τουτοισὶ χαρακτῆρσι, τοῖς ὑπὸ τῆς σῆς ἀγιότητος ἐς μεγίστην τοῖς φιλολόγοις ὠφέλειαν

say, Sophianos had seen and admired some of the splendid Byzantine liturgical *eiletaria* on his visit to Mount Athos and was inspired to print one.

After the cessation of operations of the Sophianos press in Venice, the Sophianos type was used by the brothers Vasileios and Hippolitos Valeris of Corfu, long resident



fig. 224

in Venice and active in the Greek Brotherhood. Vasileios Valeris, a priest of Saint George of the Greeks, was also a scribe and an editor of liturgical books. He and his partners were the first to use the Sophianos type, to print a group of books beginning in 1548.⁵⁹ Hippolitos Valeris, a prosperous businessman, also used the Sophianos type when, between 1564 and 1571, he published a number of liturgical books.⁶⁰ There is an important document that links the Valeris brothers with the *Eiletarion* of 1545, although the date of the work is not mentioned in the document. The notarial document is dated Venice, 30 November 1558, and states that the brothers Valeri had sent, among other books, fifty copies of *eiletaria* (misse in rotulis) to Crete to be sold.⁶¹ The date when the books were sent is not given in the document. Thus we must also consider the possibility that one of the Valeris brothers could have been responsible for the printing of the *Eiletarion* of 1545 or that the brothers might have financed its printing in conjunction with Nikolaos Sophianos. The last appearance of Cervini no. 1 in Venice was in 1581 in an *Horologion*, 1581 (BH II no. 165), and an undated edition of Z. Skordylis, *Περὶ τῶν τῆς συγγενείας βαθμῶν* c. 1581 (BH II no. 199).⁶²

After 1545, there is scant information about Nikolaos Sophianos and his activities. No other publications survive from his Venetian press. He probably stayed in Venice and continued to copy manuscripts, as well as working on his grammar of modern Greek mentioned earlier. He may have undertaken a second trip to Greece to buy manuscripts. The only evidence that he was still in Venice comes from an entry in the books of the Greek Brotherhood, which states that on 23 April 1547, Sophianos made a small contribution to the Brotherhood.⁶³

As we have already noted, Sophianos had made repeated attempts to recover the type and punches of Cervini no. 1 that were legally his but had remained in Rome in the hands of Benedetto Giunta and his lawyer Jacopo Apocello. It appears also that he had not yet even received payment for the work he did on the publication of the first volume of the Eustathios Commentary on Homer and for the Theophylaktos. Finally, a notarial act dated Rome, 1 June 1551, brought the long negotiations to their conclusion, as N. Sophianos and B. Giunta reached a final agreement settling their differences once and for all. For his contribution, Nikolaos Sophianos received 125 ducats in gold. In addition, he also received two volumes of the Eustathios Commentary on Homer as his salary and for the loan of his type. A case containing Greek letters, punches, and lead was being returned to him through the notary, Sophianos being absent from Rome at the time. Benedetto Giunta was further charged 31 ducats to cover the court expenses of this transaction. Both parties agreed that this action was final and binding and that Sophianos was to take no further action against Benedetto Giunta or Antonio Blado.⁶⁴ The last date on which Sophianos's name appears in the sources is 1552, the year in which he signed the preface to the second edition of his map, *Totivs graeciae descriptio* (BH II no. 246).

As mentioned previously, Cervini no. 1 (20 lines-97-98 mm), the type that belonged to Nikolaos Sophianos, was used to print the Theophylaktos and the first volume of the Eustathios in Rome for the project sponsored by Cardinal Cervini. However, Cervini no. 1 had a long career and was used to print many Greek books, especially in Florence but elsewhere in Italy as well. The type was used in Florence by Bernardo Giunta, who received the matrices of Cervini no. 1 from Cardinal Cervini himself. He had the moulds modified and obtained a type measuring 20 lines=100 mm. The Giunti of Florence used Cervini no. 1 beginning in 1551 and were still using it as late as 1594, perhaps even later.⁶⁵ Another printer who used Cervini no. 1 in Florence was Lorenzo Torrentino,⁶⁶ the arch-rival of the Giunti, who printed several works with it:⁶⁷ Aristotle, *De coloribus libellus*, 1548 (BH III no. 492); Fr. Robortello's *De historica facultate disputatio*, 1548 (STC, 557); and Clement of Alexandria, *Tὰ εύρισκόμενα ἅπαντα*, 1550 (STC, 186). A. Tinto thinks that it was Sophianos himself who loaned the type to Torrentino. He bases this assumption on the fact that the Torrentino type included the raised full stop that appears in Sophianos's Venice imprints but not in the Eustathios or the Theophylaktos. Torrentino had asked Cervini for the loan of the matrices of Cervini no. 1, but Cervini had refused him because he had already loaned them to Bernardo Giunta.⁶⁸ W. A. Pettas has pointed out that, since the punches of Cervini no. 1 remained in the hands of Benedetto Giunta until 1551, it was possible that several sets of matrices had been made.⁶⁹ At any rate, Sophianos could not have loaned him his own set of types because we have evidence that the type passed to the hands of Vasileios Valeris who used it in Venice between 1548 and 1555.⁷⁰ Cervini no. 1 was also used briefly in 1555 in Bologna in a work by Achille Bocchi, *Symbolicarum quaestionum de uniuerso genere libri quinque* (STC, 112).⁷¹

Listed below are the books printed with the Sophianos type or with the participation of Nikolaos Sophianos.

Rome, 1542:

- c. 1542 N. Σοφιανός, *Περὶ...ἀστρολάβου* (BH I no. 111=[Venice, 1544]; LAYTON no. 44=[Rome c. 1542])⁷²
No colophon. Dedication to Pope Paul III
- 1542 Eustathios, abp. of Thessalonica, *Παρεκβολαί* (BH I no. 101; BLADO no. 107) v. 1 only
"Apvd Antonium Bladum Impressorem Cameralem"
- 1542 Theophylaktos, abp. of Achrida, *Ἑρμηνεία* (BLADO no. 67; STC, 668)
"Romae, M.D.XLII." Blado eagle device on title page
There is no mention of Nikolaos Sophianos

Venice, 1544-1545:

- c. 1544 N. Sophianos, *Nomina antiqva et recentia vrbivm Graeciae descriptionis* (BH III no. 106) Broadside
No indication of place or date⁷³
- 1544 A. "Ἐπαρχος, Εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδος καταστροφὴν, Θρῆνος (BH I no. 108) 5 September, 1544. [Bartolomeo Zanetti]
"ἔτει τῷ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐνσάρκου οἰκονομίας, αῤῥμδ' μηνὶ σεπτεβρίῳ ε'"

- 1544/45 Πλούταρχος, Παιδαγωγός (BH I no. 107) 2 January, 1544
 "ἐν οἰκίᾳ βαρθολομαίου τοῦ καλλιγράφου [i.e. Bartolomeo Zanetti]"
- 1545 Ὡρολόγιον (BH I no. 115) 5 May
 "ἐν οἰκίᾳ νικολάου σοφianoῦ καὶ τῶν ἐταίρων"
- 1545 Εὐχολόγιον (BH I no. 116) 12 December
 "ἐν οἰκίᾳ νικολάου σοφianoῦ, καὶ τῶν ἐταίρων μάρκου σαμαριάρου, καὶ
 νικολάου ἐπάρχου"
- 1545 Εἰλητάριον ⁷⁴
 [Venice, 1545]

Rome, 1552:

- 1552 N. Sophianos, *Totivs Graeciae descriptio* (BH II no. 246)
 "N. Sophianus studiosis S."
 Signed: "Romae, In Templo Boni Eventus, M.D. LII"

NOTES

- ¹ H. HODIUS, *De Graecis illustribus*, 309-11; I. ΒΕΛΟΥΔΗΣ, *Ἑλλήνων Ὁρθοδόξων*, 136; SATHAS, 141-43; BH I, clxxxvii-cxciv; A. ΜΟΥΣΤΟΞΥΔΗΣ, Νικόλαος Σοφιανός, *Ἑλληνομνήμων*, 4(1843)236-56; 5(1843)257-64; M. VITTI, *Nicola Sofianòs e la Commedia dei Tre tiranni di A. Ricchi*. Napoli, 1966, 16-26; B. KNÖS, *L'histoire*, 293-95; KONTOSOPOULOS, 297; Φ. ΜΑΥΡΟΕΙΔΗ, *Συμβολή*, 94-95; Δ. Γ. ΠΑΝΔΗΣ, Ὁ Νικόλαος Σοφιανός, 132-49; 323-49; Θ. Χ. ΠΑΠΑΔΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, Ὁ Νικόλαος Σοφιανός καὶ τὸ ἔργο του, Ν. ΣΟΦΙΑΝΟΣ, *Γραμματικὴ τῆς κοινῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων γλώσσης*. Ἀθήνα, 1977, 125-65; Π. ΖΙΩΓΑΣ, *Μιὰ κίνησις*, 268-303 and his *Προβλήματα παιδείας*, 137-54.
- ² Φ. Δ. ΜΑΥΡΟΕΙΔΗ, *Εἰδήσεις γιὰ τὰ ἑλληνικὰ τυπογραφεῖα*, 237 note 2.
- ³ According to A. ΜΟΥΣΤΟΞΥΔΗΣ, Νικόλαος Σοφιανός, 236 and note 1, the name of the Sophianoι was mentioned among the noble of Corfu as early as 1440; BH I, clxxxvii, on the other hand, gives the date as being 1480. For the coat of arms of the Sophianos family see BH I, [ccxxix].
- ⁴ Δ. Γ. ΠΑΝΔΗΣ, Ὁ Νικόλαος Σοφιανός καὶ ἡ πρώτη γλωσσοεκπαιδευτικὴ ἀναγέννησις τοῦ νέου Ἑλληνισμοῦ, 133.
- ⁵ BH I, clxxxvii; SATHAS, 141; A. ΜΟΥΣΤΟΞΥΔΗΣ, *Op. cit.*, 236.
- ⁶ Matthaeii Devarii, *Liber de Graecae linguae particulis*. Rome, 1588 (BH II no. 179). The dedicatory epistle is reproduced in BH II, 52-59.
- ⁷ M. I. ΜΑΝΟΥΣΑΚΑΣ, *Ἡ παρουσίαση*, 169.
- ⁸ BH I, clxxxvii says that Sophianos probably went to study in Rome in 1516 or 1517.
- ⁹ *Op. cit.*, 161-72.
- ¹⁰ BH I, clxxxvii; R. RIDOLFI, La biblioteca del cardinale Niccolò Ridolfi (1501-1550). Nuovo contributo di notizie e di documenti, *La bibliofilia*, 31(1929)173-93, especially 183 and note 2 where he states that Sophianos probably stayed with the Cardinal until at least 1543.
- ¹¹ BH I, clxxxvii-clxxxviii. For Bishop Zanettini see BH I, 249-51; see also M. I. ΜΑΝΟΥΣΑΚΑΣ, *Ἀνέκδοτα πατριαρχικὰ γράμματα*, 7 and note 3.
- ¹² For Nikolaos Sophianos and his activities as a scribe see VG, 356-57; CANART, 68; PATRINELIS, 109; GAMILLSCHEG-HARLFINGER, I no. 318 and II no. 437.
- ¹³ M. VITTI, *Nicola Sofianòs e la commedia dei Tre tiranni di A. Ricchi*, 49-62; see also his *Ἑλληνικὰ σὲ ἰταλικὴ κωμωδία τοῦ 1533*. Ἡ συνεργασία τοῦ Νικολάου Σοφianoῦ στοὺς "Τρεῖς τυράννους" τοῦ Ricchi, *Θέατρο*, 27-28(1966)22-28 and his *Ἐνα θεατρικὸ πείραμα τοῦ Νικολάου Σοφianoῦ*, *Πρακτικὰ τρίτου Πανιονίου Συνεδρίου* 23-29 Σεπτεμβρίου 1965. Ἐν Ἀθήναις, 1969, II, 254-55; P. CANART, Notes su l'écriture de Nicolas Sophianos, M. Vitti, *Nicola Sofianòs*, 43-47.

- ¹⁴ For a list of reproductions of the Zenos dialogue see B. Φ. ΤΩΜΑΔΑΚΗΣ, *Νεοελληνικαὶ μεταφράσεις*, 24-31. See also under D. Zenos in Part II.
- ¹⁵ Un apografo della Cronaca dei Tocco prodotto da Nicola Sofianòs, *Revue des études Sud-Est européennes*, 7(1969)209-19.
- ¹⁶ For the Greek scribes who worked for Mendoza see C. GRAUX, *Essai*, 189-92; J. IRIGOIN, *Les ambassadeurs*, 404-05.
- ¹⁷ C. GRAUX, *Op cit.*, 172-74; A. ΜΟΥΣΤΟΞΥΔΗΣ, Νικόλαος Σοφιανός, 244-45; BH I, cxc-cxi; A. GONZALEZ PALENCIA & E. MELE, *Vida y obras de Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza*. Madrid, 1941-43, I, 253-57.
- ¹⁸ BH I, cxc and note 3 where the letter of Amalteo is quoted; see also C. GRAUX, *Op cit.*, 174; A. GONZALEZ PALENCIA & E. MELE, *Op. cit.*, I, 254-57.
- ¹⁹ *Bibliotheca Vniuersalis*, 1545, I, 523^v (folio tt 1^v): "Nicolavs Sophianus Cercyraeus, quem ante sesquiannum Venetijs conueni, scripsit de astrolabio libellum Graecum. Aedidit etiam tabulas Graeciae elegantissime depictas cum nominib. locorum antiquis & recentiorib. quae primum Romae, & anno superiore Basileae apud Io. Oporinum excusae sunt, qui nuper etiam Nicolai Gerbelij doctissimam Isagogen in easdem impressit." BH I, clxxxix-cxc; A. DILLER, *The Tradition of the Minor Greek Geographers*. Lancaster, PA, 1952, 15-17, identified a manuscript containing mathematical and geographical treatises now at Cambridge University Library as being the one copied by Nikolaos Sophianos from a manuscript in the library of the monastery of Vatopedi on Mount Athos. This is one of the manuscripts Gesner consulted in Venice when he met Sophianos.
- ²⁰ For the complete text of the dedicatory epistle see BH I, 247-49; see also A. ΜΟΥΣΤΟΞΥΔΗΣ, *Op. cit.*, 252-54. It has also been reproduced in E. Legrand's edition, *Nicolas Sophianos, Grammaire du grec vulgaire*. Paris, 1874, 91-94; Δ. Γ. ΠΑΝΔΗΣ, *Op. cit.*, 327-28 and in Th. Ch. Papadopoulos's edition of N. ΣΟΦΙΑΝΟΣ, *Γραμματική τῆς κοινῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων γλώσσης*. Ἀθήνα, 1977, 259-62.
- ²¹ For the names of the people he consulted see BH I, 247-48.
- ²² M. VITTI, *Op. cit.*, 18; Π. Χ. ΖΙΩΓΑΣ, *Μιὰ κίνηση*, 268-303 and his *Προβλήματα*, 137-54. See also Σ. Α. ΚΑΒΒΑΔΙΑΣ, *Παρατηρήσεις στὴ μετάφραση καὶ γραμματικὴ τοῦ Ν. Σοφιανοῦ*, *Δελτίον Ἀναγνωστικῆς Ἑταιρείας Κερκύρας*, 18(1981)101-19.
- ²³ N. ΣΟΦΙΑΝΟΣ, *Γραμματικὴ τῆς κοινῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων γλώσσης*. Ἀθήνησιν, 1870 and N. SOPHIANOS, *Grammaire du grec vulgaire et traduction en grec vulgaire du traité de Plutarque Sur l'éducation des enfants*. 2. éd. Paris, 1874.
- ²⁴ The dedication to the Cardinal of Lorraine is reproduced in the two editions of the grammar published in 1870 and 1874 by E. Legrand, in Δ. Γ. ΠΑΝΔΗΣ, *Op. cit.*, 330-331 and in N. ΣΟΦΙΑΝΟΣ, *Γραμματικὴ τῆς κοινῆς*, 201-02.
- ²⁵ Γ. Ν. ΗΛΙΟΥΔΗΣ, Ἡ γραμματικὴ τοῦ Κωνσταντίνου Λασκάρεως πρότυπο τῆς γραμματικῆς τοῦ Νικολάου Σοφιανοῦ, *Ἑλληνικά*, 40(1989)413-17.
- ²⁶ L. BAGROW, *History of Cartography*. 2nd ed., enl. by R. A. Skelton. Chicago, 1985, 157-59, 272 without revealing his sources says that in 1536 Sophianos published a map of Greece. See also C. G. ZACHARAKIS, *A Catalogue of Printed Maps of Greece 1477-1800*. 2nd ed. no. 2242 note: "There are no known copies of the first (1536) and second (1544) woodcut editions of the map No. 2242."
- ²⁷ BH I, cxc taken from the letters of Antonio Augustin, *Epistolae*. Parma, 1804, 167.
- ²⁸ A. AVRAMEA, *The Cartography of the Coastlands, The Greek Merchant Marine (1453-1850)*. Athens, 1972, 177 and note 13 and her *Maps of the Aegean, Maps and Mapmakers of the Aegean*. Athens, 1985, 29, 106.
- ²⁹ For the introduction see BH II, 176-77; a Greek translation of the introduction is given in Δ. Γ. ΠΑΝΔΗΣ, *Op. cit.*, 146-47. See also Π. Χ. ΖΙΩΓΑΣ, *Προβλήματα*, 148-54. For a reproduction of Sophianos's 1552 map see C. G. ZACHARAKIS, *A Catalogue*, no. 2242. L. BAGROW, *History*, 272 speaks of three editions of the Sophianos map: "Map of Greece (engraved Rome, 1536, no copy known; edition 1549, 8 sheets; re-engraved 1552, 4 sheets)." For the influence of Sophianos's map on Ortelius and other cartographers see J. A. VAN HAMEL, *Hellas herleeft, Hermenevs*, 34 no. 4(1962)103-13.
- ³⁰ BH I, cxcii-cxciii. A. AVRAMEA, *The Cartography*, 177 note 13 says that in 1570 A. Lafreri published in Rome Sophianos's gazetteer of ancient and modern Greek place names under the title, *Nomina Antiqua et Recentia Urbium Graeciae*.
- ³¹ S. MORISON, Marcello Cervini, 301-19; P. PASCHINI, *Un cardinale editore*, 383-413.
- ³² P. MANUZIO, *Epistolarum libri XI*. Venice, 1573, letter no. 7 dated Venice, 1539, 25-29 (leaves C5^r-C7^r) also quoted in L. DOREZ, *Le cardinal Marcello Cervini*, 291-92; see also P. PASCHINI, *Un cardinale*, 385.
- ³³ For Antonio Blado see D. BERNONI, *Dei Torresani, Blado e Ragazzoni*, 191-255; G. FUMAGALLI, *Antonio Blado, tipografo romano del secolo XVI*. Milano, 1893; L. DOREZ, *Antonio Blado, imprimeur romain du XVI^e siècle*, *Revue des bibliothèques*, 3(1893)363-70; E. VACCARO-SOFIA, *I Blado tipografi a Roma nel secolo XVI*,

- La parola e il libro*, 3(1947)327-32 and her Documenti e precisazioni su Antonio Blado ed eredi, tipografi camerali del sec. XVI, *Bolletino dell' Istituto di patologia del libro*, 9, no. 1-4(1950)48-85; F. BARBERI, Blado, Antonio, *DBI*, 10(1968)753-57.
- 34 E. CASANOVA, *Le carte*, 32.
- 35 A. TINTO, *Il corsivo nella tipografia del Cinquecento*, 19.
- 36 D. GIANNOTTI, *Lettere a Piero Vettori*. Firenze, 1932, 82; P. PASCHINI, *Op. cit.*, 386; W. A. PETTAS, Nikolaos Sofianós, 207; R. RIDOLFI, *Nuovi contributi*, 183. While Antonio Blado was given the task of being in charge of the Greek publications, a Florentine scholar-printer residing in Rome, Francesco Priscianese, was selected to be responsible for the Latin authors to be published. For more information on Francesco Priscianese see D. REDIG de CAMPOS, Francesco Priscianese stampatore e umanista fiorentino del sec. XVI, *La bibliofilia*, 40(1938)161-83; ASCARELLI-MENATO, 110.
- 37 D. GIANNOTTI, *Op. cit.*, 105-06; R. RIDOLFI, *Nuovi contributi*, 185; A. TINTO, *Nuovo contributo*, 174; P. PASCHINI, *Un cardinale*, 391.
- 38 A. TINTO, *Nuovo contributo*, 174; P. PASCHINI, *Un cardinale*, 397-99.
- 39 Theophylaktos, abp. of Achrida, *Ἑρμηνεία εἰς τὰ τέσσερα Εὐαγγέλια*. Rome, 1542 (BLADO no. 67; STC, 668).
- 40 Eustathios, abp. of Thessalonica, *Παρεκβολαὶ εἰς τὴν Ὅμηρον Ἰλιάδα καὶ Ὀδύσσειαν*. Rome, Antonio Blado & socios, 1542. Volume 1 only (BH I no. 101; BLADO no. 107)
- 41 See text in BH I, 266.
- 42 A. TINTO, *The History*, 285-93; R. RIDOLFI, *Nuovi contributi*, 183-97 believes that all of the Greek type designed for the Cervini press was designed and cut by Onorio. For Giovanni Onorio as a scribe see GAMILLSCHEG-HARLFINGER, I no. 174 and II no. 232. See also B. RAINÒ, *Giovanni Onorio da Maglie*. Bari, 1972.
- 43 A. TINTO, *Nuovo contributo*, 172 and note 17.
- 44 For the particulars of the new contract signed on 20 February 1545 see L. DOREZ, Le cardinal Marcello Cervini, 289-313. The document is also given in full in W. A. PETTAS, *The Giunti of Florence*, 309-16 (Document 16); see also E. VACCARO-SOFIA E., Documenti e precisazioni, 61-62; P. PASCHINI, *Un cardinale*, 396-97.
- 45 The Eparchos letter to Cervini is quoted in L. DOREZ, Antoine 'Eparque. Recherches sur le commerce de mss. grecs en Italie au XVI^e siècle, *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, 13(1893)306-07; E. ΓΙΩΤΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ-ΣΙΣΙΛΙΑΝΟΥ, Ἀντώνιος ὁ Ἐπαρχος, 74 and note 3; see also A. TINTO, *Nuovo contributo*, 172 note 10.
- 46 *Un cardinale*, 400.
- 47 Φ. ΜΑΥΡΟΕΙΔΗ, Εἰδήσεις, 248-49. Σ. ΚΑΚΛΑΜΑΝΗΣ, Μιχαὴλ Ροσέτος: Κορωναῖος κωδικογράφος τοῦ 16ου αἰώνα, 53-86.
- 48 Φ. ΜΑΥΡΟΕΙΔΗ, *Op. cit.*, 249-51. See also A. HOBSON, *Jacobus Apocellus*, 280-81.
- 49 See also under Bartolomeo Zanetti in Part II.
- 50 A. TINTO, *The History*, 288. A. ΜΟΥΣΤΟΞΥΔΗΣ, Νικόλαος Σοφιανός, 240, also believes that Rome c. 1542 is the correct place and date of publication of the *Astrolabe*.
- 51 For the text of the Sophianos preface see BH I, 266. STC, 633 assigns the *Astrolabe* to the press of B. Zanetti [B. Zanetti: Venice, 1545?]
- 52 BH I, 271; ZAPPELLA no. 794.
- 53 ASCARELLI, 218; ASCARELLI-MENATO, 445-46; BORSA I, 134; STC, 820-21, 1548-1554; ZAPPELLA no. 792. The Fabriano mark has a logo surrounding it: Fortitudine/invidia/superatur.
- 54 ASCARELLI, 220 (1561-1600); ASCARELLI-MENATO, 449 (1561-1623); BORSA I, 248; STC, 907-08 (1562-1600); VACCARO no. 151; ZAPPELLA no. 793 (1561-1621).
- 55 Markos Samariaris of Zakynthos, was a wealthy ship-owner and businessman residing in Venice who was prominent in the affairs of the Greek Brotherhood. He died in December 1546. See Φ. ΜΑΥΡΟΕΙΔΗ, *Συμβολή*, 124-25.
- 56 Nikolaos Eparchos of Corfu was a physician and the son of Antonios Eparchos. He later returned to Corfu, where he practiced medicine and was active in the political life of the island. See E. ΓΙΩΤΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ-ΣΙΣΙΛΙΑΝΟΥ, Ἀντώνιος ὁ Ἐπαρχος, 74, 79-81; BH I, ccxxv, 272, confuses Nikolaos Eparchos, the partner of Sophianos, with his great uncle of the same name, who was also a physician and a scribe see E. ΓΙΩΤΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ-ΣΙΣΙΛΙΑΝΟΥ, *Op. cit.*, 18 note 4.
- 57 Α. ΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ, Ἐντυπο περγαμηνὸ εἰλητάριο, 227-36.
- 58 *Op. cit.*, 236.

- ⁵⁹ For further information see under Vasileios Valeris in Part II.
- ⁶⁰ See under Hippolitos Valeris in Part II.
- ⁶¹ Φ. ΜΑΥΡΟΕΙΔΗ, Ειδήσεις, 241-44, 251-52. For further details of this transaction see also under Vasileios and Hippolitos Valeris in Part II.
- ⁶² See also under Z. Skordylis and Z. B. Tauroceni in Part II.
- ⁶³ Φ. ΜΑΥΡΟΕΙΔΗ, Συμβολή, 94-95.
- ⁶⁴ W. A. PETTAS, Nikolaos Sophianós, 206-13.
- ⁶⁵ A. TINTO, The History, 293. See also W. A. PETTAS, *The Giunti*, 88-89 and note 75 who mentions a letter written by Cardinal Cervini to Pietro Vettori dated 22 August 1552, asking for the return of the matrices of the Greek type that he had lent to the Giunti.
- ⁶⁶ D. MORENI, *Annali della tipografia fiorentina di Lorenzo Torrentino, impressore ducale*. 2. ed., corretta e aumentata. Firenze, 1819; see also G. J. HOOGEWERFF, Laurentius Torrentinus (Laurens Leenaerts, van der Beke) boekdrukker en uitgever van den hertog van Toscane, 1547-1563, *Het Boek*, 15(1926)273-88; 369-81 and his L'editore del Vasari: Lorenzo Torrentino, *Studi vasariani. Atti del Convegno internazionale per il IV centenario della prima edizione delle "Vite" del Vasari*, Firenze - Palazzo Strozzi, 16-19 Settembre 1950. Firenze, 1952, 93-104. ASCARELLI-MENATO, 282-83; BORSA I, 315.
- ⁶⁷ For the rivalry between the Giunti and L. Torrentino see C. DI FILIPPO BAREGGI, Giunta, Doni, Torrentino: tre tipografie fiorentine fra Repubblica e Principato, *Nuova rivista storica*, 58(1974)318-48; see also B. MARACCHI BIAGIARELLI, Il privilegio di stampatore ducale nella Firenze Medicea, *Archivio storico italiano*, 123(1965)304-70.
- ⁶⁸ A. TINTO, The History, 293.
- ⁶⁹ W. A. PETTAS, Nikolaos Sophianós, 210.
- ⁷⁰ See under Vasileios Valeris in Part II.
- ⁷¹ A. TINTO, The History, 293.
- ⁷² A. TINTO, The History, 288.
- ⁷³ According to Legrand (BH III no. 106), this was printed probably in Rome but now that it is known that Sophianos was in Venice during this time, it is more likely that it was printed in Venice.
- ⁷⁴ See Α. Πολίτης, "Εντυπο, 227-36.

Loukas Sougdouris, fl. 1570-1593

LOUKAS SOUGDOURIS, originally from Ioannina in Epirus, was a businessman residing in Venice who, usually in association with others, financed the publication of a number of liturgical books. He was an active member in the affairs of the Greek Brotherhood and attended meetings between the years 1573 and 1591. His father, Ioannis Sougdouris, was also an active member of the Greek community and was a member of the Brotherhood between the years 1555 and 1564. Loukas Sougdouris was in Venice before 1573, because his name appears for the first time in 1570 in the colophon of an *Euchologion*, 1570-71 (BH IV no. 680), financed jointly by Hippolitos Valeris and Loukas Sougdouris.¹ There are indications that Loukas Sougdouris was perhaps involved in financing the publication of at least two liturgical books printed by Z. B. Tauroceni even before April 1584, when his name next appears in the sources. As mentioned elsewhere,² Loukas Sougdouris was most likely the person who financed and provided the type for the printing of an *Horologion*, 1581 (BH II no. 165), and an undated edition of Z. Skordylis, *Περὶ τῶν τῆς συγγενείας βαθμῶν* (BH II no. 199=[1593 sic]). These two books were not printed with the type that was used for all of the other books printed by Tauroceni (namely, the large type of Andrea Spinelli), but with Cervini no. 1, the type that was used for the imprints of Nikolaos Sophianos and which had been last used by Hippolitos Valeris (figs. 230, 231). The last work to be printed with this font in Venice was the *Euchologion*, 1570-71, financed by H. Valeris and L. Sougdouris. The type must have remained in the hands of L. Sougdouris after the cessation of the Valeris operations³ and was later used for the printing of these two books. After the death of Tauroceni in late 1584, Loukas Sougdouris was asked by the executors of Tauroceni's estate to prepare the accounts of the estate.⁴

In April 1584, Loukas Sougdouris joined a new publishing enterprise that included Giacomo Leoncini, the notary Antonio Gemelli, and the brothers Angelo and Giovanni Battista Zaguri. The company was formed in order to publish a specific number of Greek liturgical books, which are listed in the agreement along with the number of copies of each edition.⁵ Each partner had specific responsibilities to perform in the newly created company. Loukas Sougdouris, perhaps because he was the only Greek among the partners, was given the task of selecting appropriate editors and correctors among the Greeks residing in Venice, making the necessary arrangements for their hire, and deciding what their monthly stipend was to be. The stipend was to be paid out of the general funds of the company.⁶ The company was in operation less than the three years specified by the agreement and, as far as can be ascertained, not all of the books listed were ever printed. For unknown reasons, it disbanded before accomplishing all of the goals of the agreement.

On 5 February 1591, Loukas Sougdouris joined forces with Emmanouel Glyzounis, Antonio Gemelli, and Giovanni Aliprandi to forge yet a new agreement for the express purpose of publishing six *Menaia*. This "company" was also short-lived. It was dissolved shortly after March 1593, because of the death of one of its members, Antonio Gemelli.⁷ Thus, Loukas Sougdouris was often in partnership with other businessmen and publishers for the express purpose of publishing Greek books, especially liturgical books. The above transactions involving the publication of Greek books are all that is known about Sougdouris's activities. What his other business interests were are unknown.

Book financed in part by Loukas Sougdouris:

- 1570-1571 Εὐχολόγιον (BH IV no. 680; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 246) pub. jointly with H. Valeris.
 "ἐν οἰκίᾳ Κυρίου Ἰππολίτου τοῦ Βαλέριδος, ἀναλώμασι μὲν τοῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ Κυρίου Λουκᾶ τοῦ σουγδουρὶ τοῦ ἐξ Ἰωαννίνων"

Books printed by Z. B. Tauroceni, published in conjunction with L. Sougdouris?

- 1581 Ὁρολόγιον (BH II no. 165)
 "ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ τοῦ τιμιωτάτου, κυρίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ βαπτιστοῦ τοῦ ῥικενίου, τοῖς ἀναλώμασι τοῖς αὐτοῦ"
- c. 1581 Z. Σκορδύλης, Περὶ τῶν...βαθμῶν (BH II no. 199=[1593 sic]; STC, 752=[1580?])
 [Z. B. Tauroceni]

Books published by the partnership formed in 1584 of which L. Sougdouris was a member.⁸

- 1584 Εἰρμολόγιον (BH II no. 169; FINAZZI no. 97)
 "ἐκ τῶν τύπων τοῦ Κουνάδου"
- 1584 Ὁρολόγιον (BH II no. 277; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 275)
 As above
- 1584 Ψαλτήριον (BEES I no. 616; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 274^a)
 "Ἐτεῖ τῷ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν σάρκου οἰκονομίας"
- 1584 Θεῖαι Λειτουργίαι (BH II no. 276=IV no. 777)⁹
 As above
- 1585 Ἀπόστολος (PAPADOPOULOS A no. 28)
 "ἐκ τῶν τύπων τοῦ κουνάδου"
- 1585 Εὐχολόγιον (PHOSKOLOS A no. 9; ILIOU no. 19; LADAS no. 85; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 276^a)
 As above

Books printed at the expense of Giovanni Aliprandi, Manolis Glyzounis, Antonio Gemelli, and Loukas Sougdouris:

- 1592 [Μὴν Μάρτιος] (LADAS no. 95)¹⁰
- 1592 Μὴν Ἀπρίλιος (BH IV no. 833; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 295^a)¹¹
 "παρὰ ἰωάννου τοῦ Ἀλιπράνδου. ὅς ἐστιν ἐκ τοῦ χαρακτῆρος, τοῦ ἰδίου γράμμα-
 τος τῶν σπινέλων, ἀναλώμασι μὲν τοῖς αὐτοῦ"
- 1592 Μὴν Ἰούνιος (BH II no. 197)
 As above
- 1592 Μὴν Ἰούλιος (BH IV no. 834; EISS III no. 4013)
 As above

- 1592 Μὴν Αὐγούστος (BH IV no. 835)
As above
- 1593 Μὴν Μάϊος (BH II no. 198=IV no. 840)
As above

NOTES

¹ Κ. Δ. ΜΕΡΤΖΙΟΣ, Λουκᾶς Σουγδουρής, 1-3; C. LECUIR, *Les éditeurs Grecs*, 102-06.

² See under Z. B. Tauroceni in Part II.

³ See also under Hippolitos Valeris in Part II.

⁴ Κ. Δ. ΜΕΡΤΖΙΟΣ, *Op. cit.*, 10. See also under Z. B. Tauroceni in Part II.

⁵ For further details of this transaction, see under Giacomo Leoncini in Part II.

⁶ ΜΕΡΤΖΙΟΣ, *Op. cit.*, 3, 6-8; C. LECUIR, *Les éditeurs Grecs*, 243.

⁷ Κ. Δ. ΜΕΡΤΖΙΟΣ, *Θωμᾶς Φλαγγίνης*, 204-05; C. LECUIR, *Les éditeurs Grecs*, 256-58

⁸ The other partners were Giacomo Leoncini, Angelo and Giambattista Zaguri, and Antonio Gemelli.

⁹ LADAS no. 83 mentions an *Evangelion*, 1584, which may or may not belong to this group.

¹⁰ Not extant. Information in LADAS no. 95 taken from prologues of the *Menaia*, 1843 and 1852, edited by V. Koutlounousianos.

¹¹ The printer of these six *Menaia* was Francesco Giuliani.

Andrea and Giacomo Spinelli, fl. 1548-1564

The Spinelli, Andrea and Giacomo, were natives of Parma who lived and worked in Venice and specialized in printing Greek liturgical works.¹ However, publishing was probably a sideline as their most important occupation, especially Andrea's, was that of engraver in charge of designing and cutting the coins of the Venetian mint. This information and other details are given regularly in the colophons of Andrea's publications. Also, a document in the Archivio di Stato in Venice and another in the Museo Civico Correr display the designs of Venetian coins made by Andrea Spinelli and also give his place of operations: "Andrea Spinelli a l' insegna della Corona à San Zulian."² Information about his place of operations is also given in some of the colophons of the numerous *Menaia* he published, which state that Andrea Spinelli was the "χρηματοποιός" of the Venetian Republic, residing in San Giuliano near San Marco at the sign of a historiated crown, "ἔχων ἐν τῷ ἐργαστηρίῳ αὐτοῦ διὰ σημείου, στέμμα ἱστορημένον."³

In the dedicatory epistle of Antonios Eparchos to Patriarch Dionysios II of Constantinople at the beginning of the *Menaia* of 1548-1549, it says that a member of the Venetian Senate, Geronimo Cornelio, who had spent a number of years in Crete, had persuaded Andrea Spinelli to publish the *Menaia*.⁴ Andrea Spinelli obtained a license and a copyright for twenty years for the publication of the *Menaia*. On 29 February 1547/48, he applied for a privilege to print the six volumes of the Spring and Summer. Then on 10 July 1551, he obtained a twenty-year copyright to print the remaining six *Menaia*.⁵ At that time, he also received permission to print the work of Aelianus, *Περὶ στρατηγικῶν τάξεων ἐλληνικῶν* (EISS I no. 296/320; FINAZZI no. 85; STC, 7), and an unspecified musical work referred to only as "la musica greca." In the same application, mention is also made of the corrections and additions made to the *Menaia* by their editor, Nikolaos Malaxos, who at the time was in Candia, Crete. Apparently Malaxos had added "molte legende et orationi agionte che mancavano ritrovate in diversi testi scritti a mano."⁶ Spinelli had engaged the services of this learned Greek cleric when he was residing in Venice to prepare the manuscripts and edit the *Menaia*. Nikolaos Malaxos, Protopapas of Nauplia, had come to Venice after the fall of Nauplia to the Turks in 1540 as a refugee seeking employment.⁷

Although the *Menaia* and the Aelianus *Περὶ στρατηγικῶν τάξεων*, 1552 (EISS I no. 296/320; FINAZZI no. 85) were published, there is no trace of any work remotely connected with Greek music. As already mentioned, Andrea Spinelli was primarily a publisher, Giacomo's name appears in only a handful of books. The printer who worked for Andrea, at least during the printing of the first set of *Menaia* in 1547-1548, was one Bartolomeo Giannini, who must have been a journeyman printer. His name is given in the colophons of the *Menaia*. No printer's name is given in the later publications of the Spinelli. C. Lecuir⁸ says that the printer of the Spinelli publications was Zuan Battista Tauroceni who, after the death of Andrea Spinelli used the Spinelli type and equipment.

The majority of the Spinelli liturgical editions were printed with one type, Spinelli no. 1 (20 lines=114-115 mm; fig. 37) and its smaller equivalent, Spinelli no. 1a (20 lines=92 mm; fig. 225), used for the octavo editions. This type bears a strong resemblance to the type cut for Cristoforo Zanetti in 1548 by the French typefounder Guillaume I Le Bé, who was in Venice from 1545 on.⁹

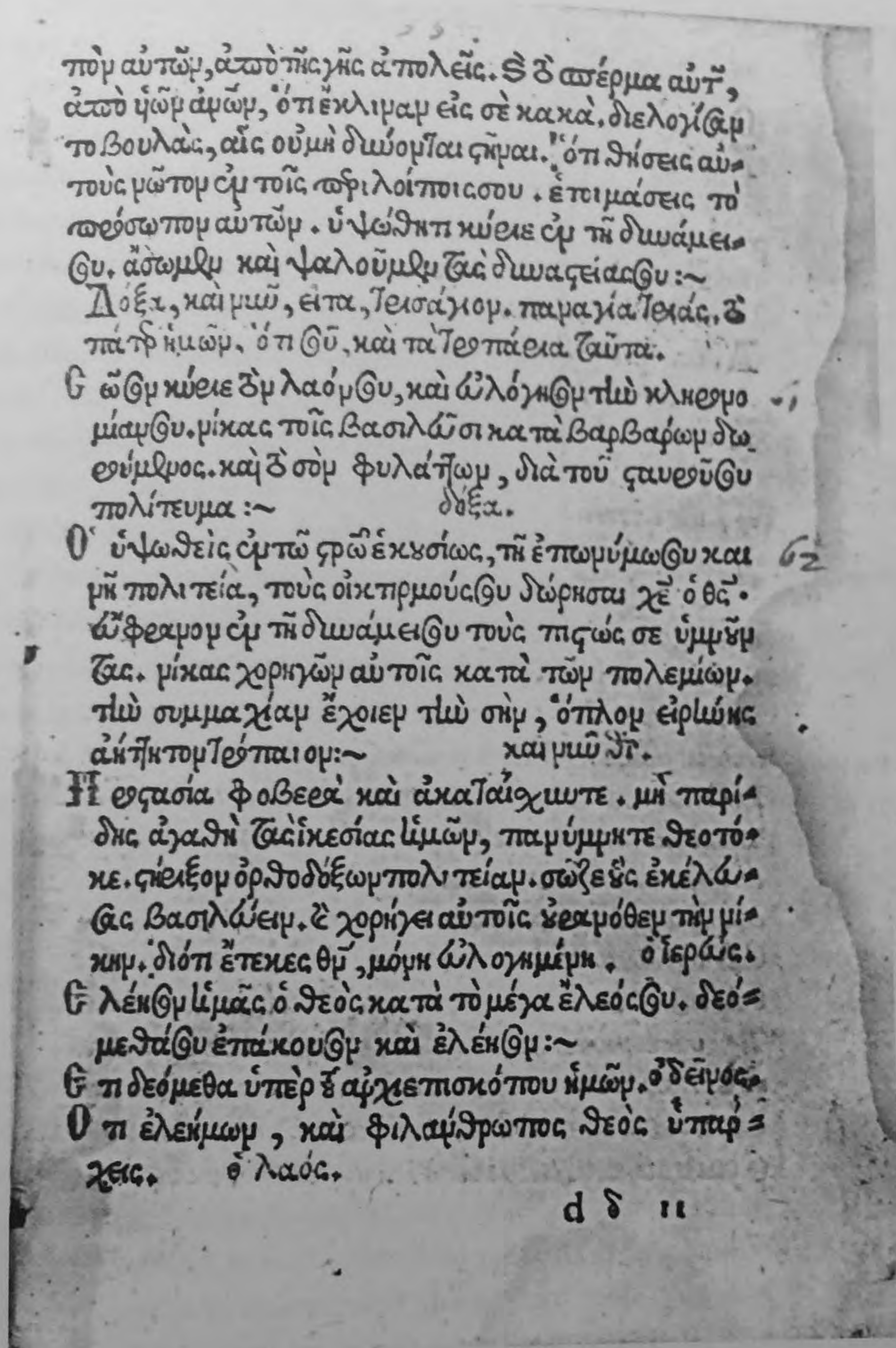


fig. 225

Spinelli also used another font, Spinelli no. 2 (20 lines=80 mm; fig. 38) to print two classical texts that were published under his name; this font was also used partially in two other works. The classical texts were the Aelianus, 1552 (EISS I no. 296/320; FINAZZI no. 85); and the Callimachus, *Ὑμνοί*, 1555 (EISS III no. 477; STC, 138). The font was also used in some sections of the *Horologion*, 1563 (BH I no. 141), and in the first edition of the Z. Skordylis, *Περὶ τῶν τῆς συγγενείας βαθμῶν*, 1564 (PAPADOPOULOS II no. 1005; fig. 38). Since Andrea Spinelli was a well-known engraver, he cut his own type, possibly modelling it on the handwriting of one of the Greek scribes connected with his publishing firm or copying the handwriting of a particular manuscript. Nikolaos Malaxos was a scribe, and so was another Spinelli editor, Vasileios Valeris.¹⁰ In the dedicatory epistle of Antonios Eparchos to the Patriarch Dionysios II that prefaces the *Menaia* of 1548, Antonios Eparchos speaks of the printing types, which were new and smoothly elegant as only



fig. 226

Spinelli could fashion them, since he had no equal as an engraver: "καινοῖς τισι τύποις καὶ γλαφυροῖς χαρακτηῇσι δεξιῶς εἰργασμένοις καὶ καλλίστοις ἰδεῖν. "Ὁς δὴ τὴν συμβουλίαν ἀσμένως δεξάμενος, οὐ μόνον τὴν χαλκουργίαν οἶαν οὐδεὶς ἄλλος τῶν πρότερον παρεσκεύασεν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τούτοις καὶ χάρτας ἐξεῦρε τῶν λευκοτάτων καὶ κατὰ τέχνην ἀκριβῇ πεποιημένων πρὸς ἐξαρκούσαν τῶν βιβλίων διαμονήν. "Ἐτι δὲ πόνων οὐκ ἐφείσατο, οὔτε δαπάνης, λαβὼν ἐπὶ πᾶσι συλλήπτορα καὶ τὸν εὐλαβῇ τοῦ Ναυπλίου πρωτοπαπᾶν Νικόλαον τὸν Μαλαξόν, ἄνδρα θεοσεβῆ καὶ τὰ θεῖα ἄκρως πεπαιδευμένον· ὅστις, διεφθορότων τῶν πρωτοτύπων, ἐπηνωρθώσατο πάντα καὶ εἰς τὸ ὑγιέστατον ἀποκατέστησε."¹¹ From the above information, it is clear that N. Malaxos played a very important role from the very beginning in the Spinelli plans.

Vasileios Valeris, also a cleric and a scribe, served as editor/corrector for Spinelli during N. Malaxos's frequent and long absences from Venice. After Vasileios Valeris's death sometime before 1556 and while Nikolaos Malaxos was still in Crete, his brother, Gregorios Malaxos, edited and corrected the last series of *Menaia* published by the Spinelli between 1558 and 1559. The last editor who worked for the Spinelli was Zacharias Skordylis, called Marapharas, a well-known scribe, who edited the last two works published by the Spinelli press in 1563 and 1564.¹²

The Spinelli publications introduced new features in the illustration of the Greek liturgical book, such as the architectural title page (figs. 64, 65) and other illustrations executed in the Italian High Renaissance style (figs. 62, 69). Some of these illustrations later passed into the hands of subsequent printers and publishers of Greek liturgical books in the late sixteenth century. It is obvious from the variety of the stock and the procurement of three sets of type that Andrea Spinelli had planned to publish a good number of books. This is also evident from the preface to the *Pentekostarion*, 1552 (BH IV no. 538), by Ioannis Mindonios of Chios, who mentions plans to publish the remainder of the liturgical books as well as other nomocanonical and synodical tomes, all under the editorship of Nikolaos Malaxos. However, as far as is known, these plans were not carried out beyond the reissue of some of the *Menaia* in 1558 (BH II nos. 252-257), a *Parakletike*, 1559/60 (BH I no. 137; LADAS no. 51), the *Horologion*, 1563 (BH I no. 141), and the first edition of the *Περὶ τῶν τῆς συγγενείας βαθμῶν*, 1564 (PAPADOPOULOS II no. 1005), compiled by Zacharias Skordylis. Perhaps the fact that Nikolaos Malaxos had decided to settle in Crete, the death of Vasileios Valeris, and the return of Zacharias Skordylis to Crete sometime soon after 1564 played a decisive role in the cessation of the Spinelli publishing activities.

The Spinelli used a monogram with the letters AEDIS (Andrea ed Iacobus Spinellus?) as their publisher's device (fig. 226). It appears in the colophons of almost all of their publications. Occasionally, a crown — the sign representing their shop — is placed within the title page border as can be seen on the title page of the *Parakletike*, 1559/1560 (fig. 65).¹³ The Spinelli monogram, some of the illustrations, and the large type, Spinelli no. 1, were acquired and used by Z. B. Tauroceni, who was active between 1580 and 1584. They were subsequently used by Tauroceni's partner, Giovanni Aliprandi, 1584-1593. They can also be found in a handful of books brought out

by Domenico de Poloni in 1599 and 1600. The Spinelli monogram was used as late as 1681 on the last page of a *Pentekostarion* (BH XVIIIs. V no. 178), and in Marinos Tzanes Bouniales, *Διήγησις διὰ στοίχων τοῦ δεινοῦ πολέμου τοῦ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ Κρήτης γενομένου*, 1681 (BH XVIIIs. II no. 565).¹⁴ Both works were brought out by Andrea Giuliani.

The majority of the books published by the Spinelli were in Greek. However, they did publish a few works in Latin as well. These were a *Missale secundum consuetudinem alme ecclesie Placentine*, Venetiis, apud Andream e Iacobum Spinellos, 1553,¹⁵ a *Missale secundum consuetudinem alme ecclesie Placentine*, 1554,¹⁶ and a *Missale Romanum ad usum sacrosancte romane ecclesiae*, Venetiis, Apud Andream & Iacobum Spinellos officine Ueneti Senatus monetarios, 1555-1556.¹⁷ To these should be added the Latin translation by Francesco Robortello of the Aelianus, *De militaribus ordinibus instituendis more graecorum*, 1552 (EISS I no. 295/319; STC, 7) and Origen's *In euangelium Ioannis explanationum*, 1551 (STC, 477).



fig. 227

Books published by Andrea and Giacomo Spinelli, 1548-1564:

- | | |
|------|---|
| 1548 | Στιχηρὰ...Μαρτίῳ (BH I no. 121; MANOUSAKAS no. 1; PHOSKOLOS B no. 2)
“Ἐτυπώθη τὸ παρὸν μηναῖον παρὰ βαρθολομαίῳ τῷ ἰαννίνῳ· ἀναλώμασι καὶ ἐπιμελείᾳ κυρίου ἀνδρέου τοῦ σπινέλλου ᾧ καὶ παρὰ τῆς ἐκλαμπροτάτης ἀρχῆς τῶν Ἑνετῶν συνεχωρήθη χάρις μέχρι κ’ ἐτῶν” |
| 1548 | Στιχηρὰ...Ἀπριλλίῳ (MANOUSAKAS no. 2; PHOSKOLOS B no. 3; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 128)
As above |
| 1548 | Στιχηρὰ...Μαΐῳ (BH III no. 484; LADAS no. 41)
As above |
| 1548 | Στιχηρὰ...Ἰουνίῳ (BH III no. 485)
As above |
| 1548 | Στιχηρὰ...Ἰουλίῳ (BH III no. 486)
As above |
| 1549 | Στιχηρὰ...Ἰουνίῳ (BH III no. 494)
As above |
| 1549 | Στιχηρὰ...Αὐγούστῳ (BH III no. 495)
As above |
| 1549 | Ὡρολόγιον (BH III no. 496)
Title page: “ἐν οἰκίᾳ Ἀνδρέου τοῦ Σπινέλλου”
Folio κκ7 ^r : “Πασχάλιον ἐτῶν τριάκοντα, ἀρχόμενον ἀπὸ Χριστοῦ, ἔτη χιλιοστῷ πεντακοσιοστῷ πεντηκοστῷ· ποίημα Βασιλείου ἱερέως τοῦ Βαλέριδος” |

- 1549 Ὁκτώηχος (BH I no. 124)
"παρὰ Ἀνδρέα τῷ σπινέλλῳ τῷ νομισματοτυπωτῇ τῆς ἐνδοξοτάτης τῶν ἐνετῶν
γερουσίας"
- 1550 Ἀπόστολος (BH I no. 125)
"ἐν οἰκίᾳ ἀνδρέου τοῦ σπινέλλου τῷ κομματοτυπωτῇ τῆς ἐνδοξοτάτης γε-
ρουσίας τῶν ἐνετῶν"
- 1550 Ἱερὸν Εὐαγγέλιον (BH I no. 127; EISS III no. 3998)
"ἐν οἰκίᾳ Ἀνδρέου τοῦ σπινέλλου, μονεταρίῳ τῆς γερουσίας τῶν ἐνετῶν,
ἐπιμελείᾳ δὲ βασιλείου ἱερέως τοῦ βαλέριδος"
- 1551 [Μὴν Μάρτιος] (PAPADOPOULOS I no. 3903)
"παρὰ Ἀνδρέα καὶ Ἰακώβῳ τοῖς Σπινέλλοις"
- 1551 Μὴν Σεπτέμβριος (BH IV no. 516)
"ἐν οἰκίᾳ Ἀνδρέου τοῦ σπινέλλου, μονεταρίου τῆς ἐκλαμπροτάτης ἀρχῆς τῶν
ἐνετῶν ἐπιμελείᾳ...Βασιλείου ἱερέως τοῦ βαλέριδος"
- 1551 Μὴν Ὀκτώβριος (BH IV no. 517)
As above
- 1551 Μὴν Νοοέμβριος (BH II no. 241; PAPADOPOULOS B no. 2)
As above
- 1551 Μὴν Δεκέμβριος (BH IV no. 518)
As above
- 1551-52 Μὴν Ἰαννουάριος (BH IV no. 535)
As above
- 1551-52 Μὴν Φεβρουάριος (BH II no. 242; PHOSKOLOS B no. 4; LADAS no. 42)
"ἐν οἰκίᾳ Ἀνδρέου καὶ Ἰακώβου τῶν σπινέλλων, μονεταρίων τῆς ἐκλαμπροτάτης
ἀρχῆς τῶν ἐνετῶν"
- 1552 Πεντηκοστάριον (BH II no. 244=IV no. 538)
As above
- 1552 Aelianus, Περὶ στρατηγικῶν τάξεων ἐλληνικῶν (EISS I no. 296/320; FINAZZI no.
85)
"Impressum Venetiis apud Andream & Iacobum Spinellos"
- 1555 Callimachus, Ὕμνοι (EISS III no. 477; STC, 138)¹⁸
"Cvm Gratia et Priuilegio. Venetiis. Anno MDLV"
- 1558 Βιβλίον τοῦ Μαρτίου (BH II no. 252)
"Ἐν οἰκίᾳ Ἀνδρέου σπινέλλου, μονεταρίου τῆς ἐκλαμπροτάτης ἀρχῆς τῶν ἐνετῶν.
Ὁς κατοικεῖ ἐν τῇ ἐνορίᾳ τοῦ ἀγίου μάρτυρος ἰουλιανοῦ, πλησίον τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ
ἀγίου ἀποστόλου καὶ εὐαγγελιστοῦ μάρκου. Ἐχων ἐν τῷ ἐργαστηρίῳ αὐτοῦ
διὰ σημεῖον, στέμμα ἱστορημένον. Ἐπιμελείᾳ δὲ Γρηγορίου τοῦ μαλαξοῦ."

- 1558 Βιβλίον τοῦ Ἀπριλλίου (BH II no. 253)
 "ἐν οἰκίᾳ Ἀνδρέου τοῦ σπινέλου, χρηματοποιοῦ τῆς ἐκλαμπροτάτης ...Γρηγορίου
 τοῦ μαλαξοῦ."
- 1558 Βιβλίον τοῦ Μαΐου (BH II no. 254)
 As above
- 1558 Αἱ ἀνίκουσαι...ἰουνίῳ (BH II no. 255)
 As above
- 1558 Βιβλίον περιέχον...ἰουλίῳ (BH II no. 256)
 As above
- 1558 Βιβλίον...αὐγούστῳ (BH II no. 257)
 As above
- 1559/60 Παρακλητική (BH I no. 137; LADAS no. 51)¹⁹
 "ὑπὸ Ἀνδρέου τοῦ Σπινέλου· δι' ἐξόδου κυροῦ, Νικολάου τοῦ κούβλη"
- 1563 Ὁρολόγιον (BH I no. 141)
 "ἐν οἰκίᾳ Ἀνδρέου τοῦ Σπινέλλου μονεταρίου τῆς ἐκλαμπροτάτης ἀρχῆς τῶν
 Ἑνετῶν. ἐπιμελεία τε καὶ ἐπιδιορθώσει Ζαχαρίου ἱερέως σκορδυλίου κρητὸς
 τοῦ ἐπιλεγομένου μαραφαῶ, καὶ ἐπιτρόπου τοῦ τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως
 οἰκουμενικοῦ πατριάρχου κυρίου Ἰωάσαφ."
- 1564 Ζ. Σκορδύλης, Περὶ τῶν τῆς συγγενείας βαθμῶν (PAPADOPOULOS II no. 1005)
 "ἐν οἰκίᾳ...σπινέλλου, ᾧ καὶ παρὰ τῆς ἐκλαμπροτάτης ἀρχῆς τῶν ἐνετῶν
 συνεχωρήθη προνόμοιον, δι' ἐτῶν ἰ', ἵνα μηδεὶς ταυτὶ τυπῶσαι τολμήσῃ. εἰ δὲ
 μή, μεγίστην δώσει δίκην. συλλογῇ καὶ ἐπιμελείᾳ Ζαχαρίου ἱερέως
 σκορδυλίου κρητὸς...Ἰωάσαφ."

NOTES

¹ ASCARELLI, 202 (1551-52); ASCARELLI-MENATO, 391 (1549-55); BORSA I, 304 (1549-55); PASTORELLO no. 412 (1551-52); KONTOSOPOULOS, 298 (1549-63); STC, 958 (1549-55). D. E. RHODES, *Some Cretan Scholars*, 217.

² N. PAPADOPOLI, *Altre tariffe con disegni di monete stampate a Venezia nel secolo XVI, Nuovo archivio veneto*, 20(1900)242 and 2 pls. of reproductions of designs of coins by Andrea Spinelli dated 1551-1554; see also G. MORO, *Insegne librerie e marche tipografiche in un registro veneziano del '500, La bibliofilia*, 91(1989)61 no. 9 and note 23.

³ BH II nos. 252-257.

⁴ See BH I, 277-81 where the Eparchos text is reproduced.

⁵ Archivio di Stato. Senato Terra. Registro, 28 February 1547 and Senato Terra. Filza 13 (March-August, 1551) and Senato Terra. Registro 37 (10 July 1551).

⁶ The request for the privilegio is transcribed in R. J. AGEE, *The Privilege and Venetian Music Printing in the Sixteenth Century*. PhD. Dissertation, Princeton, 1982, 226-28 nos. 32-33.

⁷ See also under Nikolaos Malaxos in Part II.

⁸ *Les éditeurs Grecs*, 103.

⁹ H. OMONT, *Spécimens de caractères*, 275, 282 and pl. III.

¹⁰ See GAMILLSCHEG-HARLFINGER I no. 34 for an example of the handwriting of Vasileios Valeris and I no. 312 for that of Nikolaos Malaxos.

¹¹ BH I, 281. For Andrea Spinelli as medallist and engraver see also A. TINTO, *Il corsivo*, 19.

¹² See also under Gregorios Malaxos and Zacharias Skordylis in Part II.

¹³ See also LADAS, 47.

¹⁴ See p. 447 (Ee8^r).

¹⁵ WEALE-BOHATTA, 137 no. 790.

¹⁶ WEALE-BOHATTA, 137 no. 791.

¹⁷ WEALE-BOHATTA, 194 no. 1127; V. ESSLING, *Les Missels*, no. 128.

¹⁸ No printer or publisher given but the type, Greek 80, is the same as that used in the Aelianus above.

¹⁹ See also Γ. ΛΑΔΑΣ, Προσθήκαι καὶ σημειώσεις εἰς τοὺς ἐκδοθέντας τόμους τῆς "Bibliographie hellénique" τοῦ Emile Legrand καὶ τῶν συνεχισάντων αὐτήν L. Petit καὶ H. Pernot, *Συλλέκτης, Παράρτημα*, 1(1947-51)6 no. 6. Kouvlis mark at end (fig. 227). Nikolaos Kouvlis, who financed the publication of the *Parakletike*, was a member of a wealthy family originally from Nauplia. The Kouvlis were prominent members of the Greek Brotherhood and played an important role in its governance beginning with Kanakis Kouvlis, the father of Nikolaos, who was elected *Guardian* in 1547. Nikolaos Kouvlis held various offices from 1553 and was elected *Gastaldo* in 1574. See Φ. ΜΑΥΡΟΕΙΔΗ, *Συμβολή*, 141-42; see also J. BALL, *The Greek Community in Venice*, 119, 149, 156.

Zuan Battista Tauroceni, fl. 1580-1584

UNTIL recently, this printer of Greek liturgical books was known as Giovanni Battista Richeni, or Rikenius, in Greek Ρικαῖνος, Ρικένιος, or Ρικένι. The confusion about his name arose because, in all of the books he printed, his name is given in a hellenized form: "παρὰ Ἰωάννου Βαπτιστοῦ Τοῦ Ῥικενίου" or "Τῷ Ῥικαινῷ."¹ Nowhere does his name appear in Latin or Italian, and his name is not included in any of the bibliographic sources dealing with Italian printers of the sixteenth century. Tauroceni must have therefore specialized in printing Greek books exclusively and, before establishing his own press, may have worked for one of the partnerships that produced Greek liturgical books.²

Until a few years ago, all of the available information about this obscure printer of Greek books was gleaned from the title pages and the colophons of the few books he printed, mainly that he had the use of the type and stock of Andrea Spinelli (fig. 228): "ὅπερ ἐστὶ, ἐκ τοῦ καθολικοῦ τύπου, τοῦ ποτὲ σπινέλου."³ The Spinelli stock he acquired included some of the distinct Spinelli headpieces and other decorations, such as the page borders associated with the Spinelli imprints,⁴ and even included the Spinelli monogram. Tauroceni made liberal use of all of these, especially the Spinelli monogram, which he used frequently even though he had one of his own. Tauroceni's monogram, which he used less frequently than the Spinelli, was even fashioned after the Spinelli monogram (fig. 229). In fact, Tauroceni never failed to mention his link with the Spinelli type, in his colophons or on his title pages as if its reputation would enhance his own publications. Tauroceni introduced small woodcuts representing Saints and other small cuts depicting the life of Christ and the Virgin, especially in the *Menaia* he printed. It appears that he had commissioned a Greek cleric to design these cuts (fig. 84).⁵

All of the Tauroceni books were printed with the Spinelli no. 1 type⁶ and the Spinelli decorations except for two books, which used a different font. It is quite possible, therefore, that these two books were specially financed, although there is no information available about this transaction. The books in question are an *Horologion*, 1581 (BH II no. 165), and an undated edition of Z. Skordylis, *Περὶ τῶν τῆς συγγενείας βαθμῶν* (BH II no. 199=[1593 sic]). Both books are printed with Cervini no. 1, that belonged to Nikolaos Sophianos⁷ and had passed into the hands of the brothers Vasileios and Hippolitos Valeris of Corfu.⁸ The last book to be printed in Venice with this font was an *Euchologion*, 1570-71 (BH IV no. 680; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 246), financed jointly by Hippolitos Valeris and Loukas Sougdouris. While the *Horologion*, 1581 gives the name of the printer, Z. B. Tauroceni, the Skordylis is without indication of either date or printer. On the very last page (Δ7^r), it displays the mark of Andrea Spinelli. Legrand (BH II no. 199) assigned this work to the press of Giovanni Aliprandi and the year 1593 because "il y a un monogramme absolument identique à celui des deux Μηναῖα décrits sous les numéros précédents. C'est ce qui m'a déterminé à assigner à ce livre la date de 1593, car il est impossible qu'il ait été imprimé vers 1550 par André Spinelli."⁹ However, as mentioned above, Z. B. Tauroceni had also used the Spinelli mark frequently, and since he had also printed the *Horologion* in 1581 with the same type, it is more logical to assign this work to the Tauroceni press.¹⁰ The *Horologion* is illustrated with headpieces that Tauroceni used in some of the other books he printed and that had also been used by the Valeri brothers previously (figs. 230, 231). For example, on folio φ4^v of the *Horologion* there is a headpiece that is identical to the one found on folio θ3^v of the *Heirmologion*, 1549

ξ θ

μοι, ἐδίετε· μηδὲν ἀμακρήνορες, διὰ τὴν σωείδνησιν· τῆ
 γὰρ κὺήγη καὶ ὁ πλήρωμα αὐτῆς· εἰδέντι καλεῖ ὑμᾶς τῶν
 ἀπίστων· ὅδελετε παράεσθαι, πᾶν ὁ παρατιθέμενον ὑμῖν,
 ἐδίετε, μηδὲν ἀμακρήνορες διὰ τὴν σωείδνησιν· ἐὰν δέ τις
 ὑμῖν εἴπῃ τὸ εἰδωλόθυτόν ἐστι ἐδίεμῃτε· δι' ἐκείνον ἢ μηρὺ
 σαμτα, ἐξ ἧς σωείδνησιν· τῆ γὰρ κὺήγη καὶ ὁ πλήρωμα αὐτῆς·



Κυριακή 15, ἐορταζόμεν· ἡγος βασις· Ἡερικεῖς μὲντοι· ἡγος
 βασις· ἡ ἐξ ἡγὸς τῶ λαφ αὐτῆς δώσεται· ἡ ἐμείλῃτε τῶ
 καὶ υἱοὶ θεοῦ· Ἡερικεῖς κοινῶς, ὁ·

Δελφοὶ σωδρῶν τῶν παρακαλῶ μεν, μὴ εἰς κενὸν τὴν· κα
 εἰν τῆ θεῶ δέξασθαι ὑμᾶς· λέγει γὰρ, καιρῶ δεκτῶ ἐπὶ κούσῃ
 σου· ἐς ἐμὴ μέρα σωτηρίας ἐβοήθησά σοι· ἰδοὺ νῦν καιρὸς ἀπὸς
 δεκτος· ἰδοὺ νῦν ἡ μέρα σείας· μηδεμίαν ἐμ μηδεμίαν δίδόντες·
 ἡεροσκοπήν, ἵνα μὴ μωμηθῇ ἡ διακομία· ἀλλ' ἐμ παντί σιω
 γῶντες ἑαυτοὺς, ὡς θεοῦ διάκομοι ἐμ ὑπομονὴ πολλῇ· ἐμ θλίψ
 ῃ· ἐμ ἀπάγκαις· ἐμ διωγμοῖς· ἐμ γεροχωρίαις· ἐμ πληγαῖς·
 ἐμ φυλακαῖς· ἐμ ἀκαταστασίαις· ἐμ κόποις· ἐμ ἀγρυπνίαις·
 ἐμ νηστείαις· ἐμ ἀγριότητι· ἐμ γλώσσει· ἐμ μακροθυμίᾳ· ἐμ χηρῶ
 τητι· ἐμ πρὶ ἀγῶ· ἐμ ἀγάπῃ ἀνυποκρίτω· ἐμ λόγῳ ἀληθείας·
 ἐμ διωάμει θεοῦ· διὰ τῶν ὀπλῶν τῆς δικαιοσύνης· τῶν δε
 ξιῶν καὶ ἀεισερῶν· διὰ δόξης· ὅς ἀτιμίας· διὰ δυσφημίας· ὅς
 εὐφημίας· ὡς πλάστοι, ἐς ἀληθείας· ὡς ἀγροῦ μὲντοι, ἐς ἐπιγνώ
 σκό μὲντοι· ὡς ἀποθήσκοντες, καὶ ἰδοὺ ζῶμεν, ὡς παιδευό
 μὲντοι, καὶ μὴ λυπατούμεντοι, ὡς λυπούμεντοι, ἀεὶ δὲ χαίρομε
 τάν· ὡς πτωχοί, πολλὰς δὲ πλετίζομετάν· ὡς μηδὲν ἔχοντάν,
 καὶ πάντα κατέχομετάν· ~ Ἡ ἀλλοτρία· ἡγος βασις·
 Ἡ πος· Ἡ γὰρ

(PAPADOPOULOS II no. 130^a), published by Vasileios Valeris and Demetrios Marmaretos. In the Skordylis edition, there is at least one headpiece (E5^r) that can also be found in a *Menaion* of April, 1568 (BH IV no. 651), published by Hippolitos Valeris. This headpiece was used in several *Menaia* printed by Z. B. Tauroceni and after him by G. Aliprandi. It is possible that these two works, the *Horologion*, 1581 and the undated Skordylis, were printed at the expense of Loukas Sougdouris. The Sophianos type, Cervini no. 1, might have remained in Sougdouris's hands after the publication of the *Euchologion* of 1570-71, which was the last work to appear under the Valeris name. Loukas Sougdouris appears to have known Tauroceni well, for, after the latter's death, he was asked by the Tauroceni trustees to prepare the accounts in order to settle the estate.¹¹ It is also entirely possible to speculate if Tauroceni was the printer of the Hippolitos Valeris books. Hippolitos Valeris was not a printer. Until more documents about Tauroceni come to light, there is no way of verifying these assumptions. In 1584, shortly after the death of Tauroceni, Loukas Sougdouris entered into partnership with Giacomo Leoncini and some others and formed a new agreement to publish a certain number of Greek liturgical books.¹²

Z. B. Tauroceni died at the end of 1584. Giacomo Leoncini, a well-known figure in Greek printing circles, is also mentioned in the same document that tells us of Sougdouris's involvement with Tauroceni. It appears that Tauroceni owed Leoncini 365 ducats for a debt incurred in March 1583. From the same source, we have learned that Tauroceni was in partnership with his brother-in-law, the bookseller Giovanni Aliprandi, who at the time of Tauroceni's death owed Tauroceni 353 ducats, one lira, and two soldi. It was decided by the executors of the Tauroceni



fig. 229

μήν
ὁλοκαύρωσιν· ομόνος γνώσκων τὰ ἐγκάρδια·
λ' ἡ σύναξις τῶν ἁγίων καὶ παρὰ φύσιν· ἀσκή-
σαι· ἀχρὸς ὅλων ἰχθύος κατὰ λυσιν· τροπάριον·
οἱ ἄχρὸς ὅλων· καὶ ταῖς καὶ ἡχος β'. τὰ ἀνωζήτ.
Η' πῶς ἄχρ', πῶς πῶς τῆς πίστεως, δόξα· ἄχρ'· Φαι-
δρῶς, τῶν μαθητῶν· ἐν προκρίτοις· καὶ σὺν παύ-
λιῳ ἅπασι δώδεκα ἰσχυροὺς· φάλαγγα σήμερον
ὡρτὶν μνημῶν τελοῦντες πῶς, τὸν τούτους
δοξάσαντα δοξάζομεν :-




καὶ ἰσχυροί.

Ἐχὼν ἡμέρας λ'· ἡ ἡμέρα ἔχει ὥρας ιε.
καὶ ἡ ἡμέρα ὥρας θ'.

α' εἰς πῶς πρῶτη, τῶν ἁγίων θαυματουργῶν ἀνα-
γύρων κοσμεῖ καὶ θεομαχοῦ τῶν ἐν ῥώμῃ μάρτυ-
ρα· καὶ ταῖς καὶ ἡχος β'. τὰ ἀνωζήτ.
καὶ καὶ ταῖς καὶ ἡχος β'. τὰ ἀνωζήτ.
β' ἡ κατέθεσις τῆς τιμῆς ἐδῆτος τῆς ὑποδραγίας· δι-
αποσῆς ἡμεῶν θεοῦ· ἐν βλαχέραις· κατὰ λυσιν
οἶνον καὶ ἐλαῖον· τροπάριον ἡχος πλαγίου δ'.
Θ. κ.

fig. 230


ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΤΗΣ ΓΥΓΓΕΝΕΙΑΣ
 βαθμῶν, σωσῶν, καὶ συλλογῆς, καὶ διαφορῶν, συρτεθῆσα
 παρὰ Ζαχαρίου ἱερέως, σκοροδύλιον κρητὸς τῶ
 πονομαχομῆλον μῆρα φάρᾶ, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶ
 πον τῶ τῆς κωμῆσαν πηρον πούλεως
 οἰκουμηνικοῦ π. εὐάρχου κυ
 ρίου ἰωάννα φ. σὺν τοῖς
 ἄλλοις ἐκα-
 περῶν.

ΜΑΡΟΝΗΛΟΝ ἱεροδιακόνον καὶ μεγάλου χαρτοφύ
 λακος τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας, ἐκθεσις ἁπλῶ
 σῆρα, τεκνῶν τομωτέρων, σὺν τεθείῃ παρ-
 ἡμῶν ἀρτίως καὶ ἐκδοθείῃ ὁρίσκει τὸ παλαιότατον
 ἡμῶν δεσπότην τοῦ οἰκουμηνικοῦ πατριαρχίου κυρίου
 ἱερεμίου, ἐγγεμετο δὲ κατὰ τὸν τῶν ἐπεδῆοι
 προῆμῶν πρὸ τῶν τοιούτων συγγραφοῦντες διὰ τὸ ἀμ-
 ωγνωμομαυτῶν ἀφ᾽ ἡ ταυτοῦτα κατέστρωσαν.
 τοῦ μὲν ἀλλήλοισ, τοῦ δὲ ἐαυτοῖς ἀντιλέγοντες. διό
 οὐδὲ ποικιλότητι φράσεως, ἀλλ' ἁπλότητι λέξεω καὶ
 ταύτων τε θήκαμεν, ὅθεν καὶ λέγομεν :-

Ἡ συγγένεια διαρρίπτει εἰς πέντε τάξεις. πρώτην,
 πλὴν ξαίρατος, δευτέραν, πλὴν ἐξ ἀρχιεπισκόπου, ἡγουν τῆς κοι
 νῶς λεγομένης συμπεριθερείας. ἡ τις ὑπάρχει ἀπὸ δύο
 Α II γινῶ

fig. 231

an *Horologion* that was in press at the time of Tauroceni's death. Finally, Aliprandi was to pay two and one half ducats per month for the support of Tauroceni's son Perin, a minor at the time of his father's death, and also pay the bills for any extraordinary needs that the child might have. The remainder of the debt was to be paid within seven years in two installments.¹³

Although Tauroceni and Aliprandi were partners, there is no mention of Aliprandi anywhere in the books printed under the Tauroceni name. Equally, there is no mention in the document of what kind of connection there was between Z. B. Tauroceni and Giacomo Leoncini or between Tauroceni and Loukas Sougdouris.

The books printed by Z. B. Tauroceni were edited and corrected by a series of Greek scholars such as Venediktos Episkopoulos, Dionysios Katelianos, Ioannes Vonapheus, or Bonafès, and Gregorios Malaxos. On some of the title pages of these books, the location of the shop is given: "εἰς τὸ σημεῖον τοῦ Εὐαγγελισμοῦ τῆς μακαρίας καὶ ἀειπαρθένου Θεοτόκου Μαρίας." Some of the title pages have a small cut of the Annunciation within the title page border as well (fig. 128).

estate that Aliprandi would pay Leoncini the amount he owed Tauroceni, and the remainder of the debt to Leoncini would be paid by the executors of the estate, who were Marco de Nastasia, Tauroceni's father-in-law, Laura Tauroceni, his widow, and Adriana Cibeli, Tauroceni's sister. Giovanni Aliprandi was also to receive from the estate books of all types in Greek and Latin, as indicated in the accounts prepared by Loukas Sougdouris. Moreover, Aliprandi was to receive from the estate the type and printing press as well as the stock that belonged to Z. B. Tauroceni. The cost of the press and the stock that was received by G. Aliprandi was valued at 1221 ducats and 21 grossi. Aliprandi was also to reimburse all creditors of Tauroceni, who included the supplier of paper to the printing shop, one Francesco de Crisostomo, at the sign of the two wheels (*doi ruode*) at the Rialto Bridge. There were two other creditors to be reimbursed, a Greek priest who had designed the small cuts for the Greek liturgical books, and the woodcutter who executed them (fig. 84). Aliprandi was also to undertake to finish the printing of

Books printed by Zuan Battista Tauroceni, 1580-84:

- 1580 Εὐχολόγιον (LADAS no. 74) V. Episkopoulos
 “ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ τοῦ τιμιωτάτου, τῷ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Βαπτιστοῦ τοῦ ρικενίου, ἀναλώμασι τοῖς αὐτοῦ. ὅπερ ἐστί, ἐκ τοῦ καθολικοῦ τύπου, τοῦ ποτὲ σπινέλου”
- 1580 Τριώδιον (BH IV no. 739) Dionysios Katelianos
 “ἐγγὺς Ἰωάννου βαπτιστοῦ τοῦ ρικαίνου· ἀναλώμασι μὲν τοῖς αὐτοῦ”
- 1581 Ὁρολόγιον (BH II no. 165)
 “ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ τοῦ τιμιωτάτου, κυρίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ βαπτιστοῦ τοῦ ρικενίου, τοῖς ἀναλώμασι τοῖς αὐτοῦ.”
- c. 1581 Z. Σκορδύλης, Περὶ τῶν τῆς συγγενείας βαθμῶν (BH II no. 199=[1593 sic]; STC, 752=[1580?])¹⁴
 No date or printer given. Spinelli monogram at end.
- 1581 Μὴν Σεπτέμβριος (BH II no. 274=IV no. 750) I. Vonapheus
 “παρὰ κυρίῳ Ἰωάννῃ Βαπτιστῇ τῷ ρικαινῷ, ἀναλώμασι μὲν τοῖς αὐτοῦ· ὅς ἐστιν ἐκ τοῦ καθολικοῦ τύπου τοῦ ποτὲ σπινέλου”
- 1581 Μὴν Ὀκτώβριος (BH IV no. 751; LADAS no. 76) Gr. Malaxos
 As above
- 1581 Μὴν Νοέμβριος (BH IV no. 752) Gr. Malaxos
 “παρὰ κυρίῳ Ἰωάννῃ Βαπτιστῇ τῷ ρικαινῷ ἀναλώμασι μὲν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ· ὅς ἐστιν ἐκ τοῦ καθολικοῦ τύπου τοῦ ποτὲ σπινέλου”
- 1581 Μὴν Δεκέμβριος (STOYANOV no. 56)
 “παρὰ κυρίῳ Ἰωάννῃ Βαπτιστῇ τῷ ρικαινῷ”
- 1581 Παρακλητική (BH IV no. 749) D. Katelianos
 “ἐγγὺς Ἰωάννου βαπτιστοῦ τοῦ ρικαίνου· ἀναλώμασι μὲν τοῖς αὐτοῦ, ἥτις ἐστὶν ἐκ τοῦ καθολικοῦ τύπου, τοῦ ποτὲ σπινέλου”
- 1582 Μὴν ὁ Δεκέμβριος (BH IV no. 759; LADAS no. 78; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 271)
 Gr. Malaxos
 “παρὰ κυρίῳ Ἰωάννῃ Βαπτιστῇ τῷ ρικαινῷ ἀναλώμασι μὲν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ· ὅς ἐστιν ἐκ τοῦ καθολικοῦ τύπου τοῦ ποτὲ σπινέλου”
- 1582 Μὴν Ἰαννουάριος (BH IV no. 757) Gr. Malaxos
 “παρὰ κυρίου Ἰωάννου βαπτιστοῦ, τοῦ ρικαινοῦ”
- 1582 Μὴν Φεβρουάριος (BH IV no. 758) Gr. Malaxos
 “παρὰ κυρίῳ Ἰωάννῃ βαπτιστῇ τῷ ρικαινῷ, ἀναλώμασι μὲν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ”
- 1584 Ἀπόστολος (BH IV no. 778) Gr. Malaxos
 “παρὰ κυρίου Ἰωάννου βαπτιστοῦ, τοῦ ρικαινοῦ, ὅς [sic] ἐστὶν ἐκ τοῦ χαρακτή-
 ρος, τοῦ ἰδίου γράμματος τῶν σπινέλων”
- 1584 Ὁρολόγιον (UNIVERSITÄTSBIBLIOTHEK TÜBINGEN) Gr. Malaxos
 “παρὰ κυρίου Ἰωάννου βαπτιστοῦ, τοῦ ρικαινοῦ. ὅς ἐστιν ἐκ τοῦ χαρακτήρος, τοῦ ἰδίου γράμματος τῶν σπινέλων”

- 1584 Μὴν Μάρτιος (BH IV no. 779; LADAS no. 82) Gr. Malaxos
As above
- 1584 Ὀκτώηχος (BH II no. 170) Gr. Malaxos
παρὰ κυρίου Ἰωάννου βαπτιστοῦ τοῦ ῥικαιοῦ[sic]"

NOTES

¹ In the index of BH II and IV he is listed under Rikenius, Jean-Baptiste; BORSA I, 276=Rikenios, Joannes Baptista; STC, 926=Rikenios, Joannes Baptista; LADAS, 262=Richeni Juan-Battista; ILIOU, 344=ῤικαῖνος; KONTOSOPOULOS, 301=ῤικένιος (ῤικαῖνος) Ἰωάννης-Βαπτιστής.

² According to C. LECUIR, *Les éditeurs Grecs*, 103, Tauroceni had worked for the Spinelli. This might explain his use of the Spinelli type and ornaments. Tauroceni became a member of the Guild of Printers and Booksellers in 1579.

³ *Euchologion*, 1580 (LADAS no. 74), 62.

⁴ Compare figs. 62 and 117 and figs. 65 and 128.

⁵ Κ. Δ. ΜΕΡΤΖΙΟΣ, *Λουκᾶς Σουγδουρής*, 12.

⁶ See under Andrea Spinelli in Part II.

⁷ See also under Nikolaos Sophianos in Part II.

⁸ See also under Vasileios and Hippolitos Valeris in Part II.

⁹ BH II, 88.

¹⁰ It is interesting to note that the copy from which Legrand described this work, that at the British Library was bound with the Tauroceni 1581 *Horologion* (BH II no. 165). Unfortunately, these works were destroyed during a bombing in World War II. The Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana has copies of both these works and they are also bound together, although the binding is from the seventeenth century. I wish to express my gratitude and thanks to Monsignor Paul Canart of the Vatican Library for supplying me with this information.

¹¹ C. LECUIR, *Les éditeurs Grecs*, 234.

¹² Κ. Δ. ΜΕΡΤΖΙΟΣ, *Λουκᾶς Σουγδουρής*, 10.

¹³ Κ. Δ. ΜΕΡΤΖΙΟΣ, *Λουκᾶς Σουγδουρής*, 9-12; C. LECUIR, *Les éditeurs Grecs*, 233-36. See also under Giovanni Aliprandi in Part II.

¹⁴ The Skordylis work is illustrated with a woodcut portrait of Zacharias Skordylis (fig. 90b).

Hippolitos Valeris, or Varelis, fl. 1553-1571

HIPPOLITOS VALERIS, or Varelis, was a member of a prominent family of Corfu that resided in Venice. He was one of several brothers, all of them active at one time or another in the life of the Greek Brotherhood. In the late 1520s, his father Matthaïos, a wealthy merchant, was elected president (gastaldo) of the Brotherhood twice. Matthaïos also played an important role in the negotiations for the purchase of a site in the district of San Antonin to build the church of San Giorgio dei Greci in 1526. The site was purchased from the Contarini family and was on the Rio di San Lorenzo, part of which was subsequently renamed the Rio dei Greci.¹ One of the brothers, Vasileios, was a scribe and editor of liturgical books and even an occasional publisher, as well as a priest of Saint George of the Greeks.² Another brother, Nikolaos, was also a scribe and provided manuscripts for the Spanish court.³ Georgios and Ioannis were also Hippolitos's brothers. Georgios was also active in the affairs of the Greek Brotherhood but beyond this very little is known about him.⁴ Ioannis was a Knight of Saint John of Malta and was active as an agent of Spain. He supplied information to the Spanish about the movements of the Turks in the Mediterranean between 1569 and 1574.⁵

Hippolitos,⁶ like his brother Vasileios, began as a scribe and also provided manuscripts and books to wealthy patrons. He was also a publisher of liturgical books in partnership with his brothers, especially Vasileios, and exported books for sale to Crete and other parts of the Greek world.⁷ Like his brothers, he lived in Venice and took an active part in the affairs of the Greek Brotherhood, where his name appears for the first time in 1553. From 1553 until 1571, he often held office in the organization. His name disappears from the archives of the Greek Brotherhood after 1571.⁸

Hippolitos and his brothers were in partnership in the late 1540s to supply and export books, as is evidenced both from his correspondence and from a recently published document regarding a shipment of books to Crete.⁹ Even after Vasileios's death some time after 1556, Hippolitos continued to supply books, as is shown in a letter he wrote to Emmanouel Provataris, the Greek scribe (*scriptor Graecus*) of the Vatican from 1556 until his death in 1571.¹⁰ In his letter to Provataris dated 11 May 1566, H. Valeris mentioned that the books requested by Provataris's friend were being sent to him. The books in question were an *Anthologion*, a *Parakletike*, and a *Triodion*. Apparently the buyer of the books wanted the *Triodion* and the *Parakletike* from the Spinelli press. Valeris was informing Provataris that, since Spinelli had not published a *Triodion*, the one sent was from the press of Kounadis, while the *Anthologion* came from his own press.¹¹ While the *Parakletike* and the *Anthologion* were easily identified, the identification of the *Triodion* presents problems. Valeris described the *Triodion* he sent as a good and well-corrected edition. However, it is very unlikely that this edition was actually an authentic Kounadis imprint. The first edition of the *Triodion* had been printed by the Nicolini da Sabbio for Andreas Kounadis in 1522 (BH I no. 66=III no. 242). It was reprinted in 1538 (BH I no. 96) by Damiano di Santa Maria, Kounadis's partner, who continued the publishing firm's activities after the death of Andreas Kounadis. After 1538, there were several editions of the *Triodion* printed by different printers of Greek liturgical books: 1551 by C. Zanetti (BH II no. 240); 1554, C. Zanetti (PAPADOPOULOS II

Τὸ παρὸν μηχαλὸν ἐτυπώθη ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ οἰκίας μετὰ κυρίου Ἰωαννολίτου βαλδρίδου, ἀμαρτωλὸν τὸ
αὐτὸ. διξιότητι δὲ καὶ ἐπαδιορθώσεται καὶ μετὰ Ἰωάννου ἱερέως τῷ μαθαγκήλου. ἔπειτα τῷ
ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας οἰκοδομίας τῷ κυνῆμων Ἰησοῦ ΧΥ, α ΦΞΗ. μαίον 15.
οἱ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἀμαρτωλοῖς σιωπῶντες, ἔρρωσθε, καὶ ἡμῶν
μέμνησθε. εἰδ' ὅτι σφαλερὸν εἶναι, ἐπαγορθώ-
(ατὴ χαλκογράφω γὰρ πάθος
τὸ ἀμαρτωλόν :-

fig. 232

no. 163^a); 1555 by Vasileios Valeris (KORDOSIS B no. 2); 1558 (ILIOU, 318 no. 16)¹²; 1559 by C. Zanetti (BH IV no. 594); 1561 by C. Zanetti (BH IV no. 605); and 1565 by G. Leoncini (BH II no. 144). It is obvious from the number of editions printed that the *Triodion* was a book greatly in demand, and it is therefore difficult to believe that there were still Kounadis editions left on the market in 1566. On the other hand, the publisher Giacomo Leoncini had purchased the Kounadis type and decorations, even the famous Kounadis mark, and perhaps also the rights to reprint the Kounadis publications. The 1565 Leoncini edition of the *Triodion* has the Kounadis marten on its title page, and under it the words "Τύπος Κουνάδου." It is undoubtedly this edition that was sent by Hippolitos Valeris, who describes the *Triodion* as being "στάνπα τοῦ Κουνάδι."¹³

In the same letter to Provataris, Hippolitos discussed various other projects and expressed his gratitude to Provataris for his suggestions about what to publish next. One such project under discussion was the possibility of publishing a *Portolanos*, a portulan, prepared by a Greek who was in Rome at the time. The idea of publishing a portulan had been originally advanced by Provataris, but Valeris was hesitant to adopt it at first. His objections were that it would not sell well, as there were not that many Greek ship captains — barely thirty — who would be needing it. In his letter, he also suggested that, since there already were two portulans in the Greek vernacular available in Venice, that it would be best to print a bilingual edition in modern Greek and Italian. It is not known if indeed such an edition was ever printed, because no copies have survived. The earliest edition of a printed Greek portulan is that of 1573 (BH II no. 152), printed by C. Zanetti at the expense of Augustin Gemelli.¹⁴ In the same letter of 11 May 1566 to Provataris, Valeris also said that he had two religious works ready for the press. However, unless he was reimbursed for the money owed to him by a monk, he would be unable to publish them.¹⁵

After two works published in 1564, there was a gap of four years before H. Valeris published an *Anthologion* (PAPADOPOULOS II no. 232^a) and a series of *Menaia* in 1568. Perhaps that is why other plans for publication discussed in the Provataris letter did not come to pass. These projects included a plan to publish the canons of the Oecumenical Synods. He asked Provataris to inform him if it was true that these canons, with exegesis by Zonaras,¹⁶ had already been published in France. He wanted to have them copied if the Vatican possessed copies of the work. He was also interested in obtaining a manuscript of an historical chronicle in modern Greek ready for publication. Finally, he mentioned a project to print in one volume the Acts of the Aposles, i.e., the *Apostolos*, the *Psalterion*, and the *Evangelion*. He also mentioned that the Acts of the Apostles had already been translated into modern Greek by Ioannikios Kartanos "ταῖς ἐπέξεψεν ὁ Καρτάνος." Since there is no trace of these works from the Valeris press, it is safe to assume that these projects too were never realized.¹⁷



fig. 233

Some have suggested that Hippolitos Valeris founded a printing establishment in Venice, but neither his activities nor his training suggest that this was actually so. Like many other Greek businessmen in Venice, he financed the publication of a certain number of books. From his letter to Provataris, it is also obvious that he bought and sold books. It is possible that he was a bookseller. From his correspondence, one can also see that he was not a man of extensive education and culture.¹⁸

Hippolitos Valeris had the use of the type known as Cervini no. 1 (fig. 232) that had been used previously by his brother Vasileios and that had belonged to a fellow Corfiote, Nikolaos Sophianos. It was used to print all of the books that were published under the name of Hippolitos Valeris.¹⁹

None of the books give the name of the person who printed them. The editors and correctors who worked for him were Zacharias

Skordylis, Leontios Monghistos, and Ioannes Nathanael.²⁰ An elaborate device or coat of arms is usually displayed on the title pages of his publications (figs. 127, 233).

Books published by Hippolitos Valeris, 1564-1571:²¹

- | | |
|------|---|
| 1564 | Ἀνθολόγιον (PAPADOPOULOS II no. 220 ^a) Z. Skordylis and L. Monghistos
"ἐν οἰκίᾳ Ἰπολίτου Βαλέριδος, ἀναλώμασι τοῖς αὐτοῦ" |
| 1564 | Εὐχολόγιον (BH IV no. 620; PHOSKOLOS B no. 5; LADAS no. 56) Leontios Monghistos
"ἐν οἰκίᾳ κυρίου Ἰπολίτου τοῦ Βαλέριδος, ἀναλώμασι μὲν τοῖς αὐτοῦ" |
| 1568 | Ἀνθολόγιον (PAPADOPOULOS II no. 232 ^a) Ioannes Nathanael
"ἐν οἰκίᾳ μὲν κῦ Ἰππεολίτου [sic] Βαλέριδος, ἀναλώμασι τοῖς αὐτοῦ" |
| 1568 | Βιβλίον τοῦ Μαρτίου (BH IV no. 650) Ioannes Nathanael
"ἐν οἰκίᾳ μὲν κυρίου Ἰπολίτου Βαλέριδος, ἀναλώμασι τοῖς αὐτοῦ" |

- 1568 Βιβλίον τοῦ Ἀπριλλίου (BH IV no. 651) Ioannes Nathanael
As above
- 1568 Βιβλίον τοῦ Μαΐου (BH IV no. 652) Ioannes Nathanael
As above
- 1568 Βιβλίον τοῦ Ἰουνίου (BH IV no. 653) Ioannes Nathanael
As above
- 1568 Βιβλίον τοῦ Ἰουλίου (BH IV no. 654) Ioannes Nathanael
As above
- 1568 Βιβλίον τοῦ Αὐγούστου (BH IV no. 655) Ioannes Nathanael
As above
- 1568 Βιβλίον τοῦ Σεπτεμβρίου (LADAS no. 59) Ioannes Nathanael
As above
- 1568 Βιβλίον τοῦ Ὀκτωβρίου (LADAS no. 60) Ioannes Nathanael
As above
- 1570-71 Εὐχολόγιον (BH IV no. 680; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 246) Ioannes Nathanael
"ἐν οἰκίᾳ Κυρίου Ἰππολίτου τοῦ Βαλέριδος, ἀναλώμασι μὲν τοῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ
Κυρίου Λουκᾶ τοῦ σουγδουρὶ τοῦ ἐξ Ἰωαννίνων"

NOTES

¹ J. BALL, *The Greek Community*, 115; Φ. ΜΑΥΡΟΕΙΔΗ, Οἱ πρῶτοι πρόεδροι τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Ἀδελφότητος Βενετίας (1498-1558), *Θησαυρίσματα*, 7(1970)177, see also her *Συμβολή*, 99, 121. Until recently Matthaios was thought to have been their eldest brother, however, see X. Γ. ΠΑΤΡΙΝΕΛΗΣ, Ἐπιστολὲς τοῦ Ἰππόλυτου Βάρελη, 283 note 3, 292-93 where he conclusively proves that he was the father.

² See also under Vasileios Valeris in Part II.

³ Φ. ΜΑΥΡΟΕΙΔΗ, *Συμβολή*, 99 and note 13; X. Γ. ΠΑΤΡΙΝΕΛΗΣ, Ἐπιστολὲς τοῦ Ἰππόλυτου Βάρελη, 291-92.

⁴ Φ. ΜΑΥΡΟΕΙΔΗ, *Συμβολή*, 296; X. Γ. ΠΑΤΡΙΝΕΛΗΣ, Ἐπιστολὲς τοῦ Ἰππόλυτου Βάρελη, 284 note 6.

⁵ I. K. ΧΑΣΙΩΤΗΣ, *Οἱ Ἑλληνες*, 48-76 and 50 note 2; Φ. ΜΑΥΡΟΕΙΔΗ, *Συμβολή*, 114.

⁶ In the sources the Valeris name appears as Varelis or Barelli. However, in all of the books financed by Hippolitos it is always given as Valeris. It also appears as Valeris (ΒΑΛΕΡΙΣ) on his publisher's device (fig. 233). See also BH IV, 139.

⁷ KONTOSOPOULOS, 300; CANART, 59 and his *Les manuscrits*, 191 and note 68.

⁸ Φ. ΜΑΥΡΟΕΙΔΗ, *Συμβολή*, 99.

⁹ For further details of this transaction, see under Vasileios Valeris in Part II.

¹⁰ For Emmanouel Provataris see P. CANART, *Un crétois scriptor de la Bibliothèque vaticane*, Emmanuel Provataris, *Κρητικά Χρονικά*, 15-16(1961-62)89, 91 and his *Les manuscrits copiés*, 191 and note 68.

¹¹ The *Parakletike* from the Spinelli press was that of 1559/60 (BH I no. 137; LADAS no. 51), and the H. Valeris *Anthologion* was that of 1564 (PAPADOPOULOS II no. 220^a).

¹² Edition not extant.

¹³ I wish to thank Professor Christos G. Patrinelis of the University of Thessaloniki for generously placing at my disposal his transcriptions of the letters of Hippolitos Valeris to Emmanouel Provataris contained in the Vaticanus Graecus 2124. The letter of H. Valeris is published in his 'Επιστολές τοῦ Ἰππόλυτου Βάρελη, 293-301.

¹⁴ See Σ. Ι. ΜΑΚΡΥΜΙΧΑΛΟΣ, 'Ο ἐκδότης τοῦ πορτολάνου τοῦ Τάγια τοῦ 1573, 'Ο Ἐρανιστής, 5(1967)75-85 and his 'Ελληνικοὶ πορτολάνοι, 'Ο Ἐρανιστής, 1(1963)128-37, 211-19.

¹⁵ This is not the first time that Hippolitos Valeris found himself in financial difficulties. In 1561, a notarial act between Hippolitos Valeris and Hieronymos Kouroumalis of Zakynthos revealed that Hippolitos owed Kouroumalis some 300 ducats and that the latter had to hold Hippolitos Valeris's printing types as collateral until the debt was paid. For more information about this episode, see Σ. Ε. ΚΑΚΛΑΜΑΝΗΣ, Τρεῖς πρῶτες ἐκδόσεις, 237 note 3, 248-52. See also Χ. Γ. ΠΑΤΡΙΝΕΛΗΣ, 'Επιστολές τοῦ Ἰππόλυτου, 283-319.

¹⁶ See Χ. Γ. ΠΑΤΡΙΝΕΛΗΣ, 'Επιστολές τοῦ Ἰππόλυτου, 295, 299.

¹⁷ On Ioannikios Kartanos, see Ε. ΚΑΚΟΥΛΙΔΗ-ΠΑΝΟΥ, Ἰωαννίκιος Καρτάνος, 218-56 and her edition of Ι. ΚΑΡΤΑΝΟΣ, Παλαιά τε καὶ Νέα Διαθήκη. Βενετία 1536. Ἀθήνα, 1988, 13-21.

¹⁸ See also Φ. ΜΑΥΡΟΕΙΔΗ, Συμβολή, 99, who observed that documents of the Brotherhood written in his hand are full of spelling errors.

¹⁹ For the history of this type, see under Nikolaos Sophianos in Part II.

²⁰ See also under their respective names in Part II.

²¹ An imperfect *Parakletike*, 1569 (PAPADOPOULOS II no. 239) attributed by Papadopoulos to the press of Hippolitos Valeris was actually published by Giacomo Leoncini whose device is given on the title page.

Vasileios Valeris, fl. 1537-1556

ORIGINALLY from Corfu, Vasileios Valeris or Varelis,¹ arrived in Venice in August 1537.² His name appears for the first time as a member of the Greek Brotherhood in 1538, when he paid his dues. He was one of several brothers who resided and worked in Venice and played an active role in the life of the Greek community. His father Matthaïos, a wealthy merchant, was President of the Brotherhood during the late 1520s at a time when the site for the building of the church of Saint George of the Greeks was bought, and Matthaïos played an important role in its acquisition. His brother, Hippolitos, a publisher of liturgical books, provided books and manuscripts to wealthy patrons and was also active in the affairs of the Greek Brotherhood in the 1550s and 1560s. There were also three other brothers. Nikolaos was also a scribe, like Vasileios, who was in contact with many Spanish scholars and collectors of Greek manuscripts. He too was an active member of the Greek Brotherhood.³ Another brother, Ioannis, was a Knight of Saint John of Malta and was also in the service of the Spanish King as an agent informing the Spanish court on the movements of the Turks in the Eastern Mediterranean.⁴ The last brother, Georgios, and his activities are less known.

In Venice, initially Vasileios earned a living as a scribe.⁵ He also served as secretary of the Greek Brotherhood and was a reader (ἀναγνώστης) of San Giorgio dei Greci. Some time between May 1548 and May 1549, he was ordained priest by the Metropolitan Metrophanes of Caesarea, the Exarch of the Ecumenical Patriarch Dionysios II. Metrophanes later became Patriarch of Constantinople as Metrophanes III (1565-1572). At the time, Metrophanes was visiting Venice on behalf of the Patriarch.⁶

Besides his activities as a scribe, Vasileios Valeris also worked as an editor and corrector for various publishers of Greek liturgical books. In 1545, he composed the sixty *Paschalia* found at the end of the *Typikon*, 1545 (BH I no. 114), published by Damiano di Santa Maria and edited by a fellow Corfiote, Andronikos Noukios. After this, he edited several liturgical works for Damiano di Santa Maria, Melchiorre Sessa, and especially Andrea Spinelli. In July of 1554, he was officially elected as one of the priests of the Greek church in Venice, which was under construction at the time. He was appointed to replace Nikolaos Malaxos, Protopapas of Nauplia, who had been given leave of absence to go to Crete to bring his family to Venice. V. Valeris had also taken over the editing duties of Nikolaos Malaxos with the publisher Andrea Spinelli.

A recent discovery of some documents in the Venetian archives by Stephanos Kaklamanis has revealed further activities of Vasileios Valeris in the field of publishing. On 18 May 1548, he entered into partnership with Demetrios Marmaretos⁷, Silvestro de Odino,⁸ and the Metropolitan of Caesarea, Metrophanes, for the express purpose of bringing out the first edition of the *Anthologion*. The imprimatur for its publication was obtained on 16 February 1548 on behalf of the partners by Demetrios Marmaretos.⁹ This first edition of the *Anthologion*, according to the terms of the agreement struck among the partners, was to be published in 800 copies. Among the books that belonged to Metrophanes and that were deposited at the library of the monastery of the Holy Trinity (Ἁγία Τριάς) in Halki is listed a printed *Anthologion*.¹⁰ Further evidence of its existence is found in a document of 30 November 1558 concerning the heirs of Vasileios Valeris and Nikolaos Malaxos.¹¹

Although in the terms stipulated in the original agreement signed by the partners on 18 May 1548 there is no mention of any other books that they intended to publish, nevertheless, at least

two more works were projected for publication by the partners. On 16 February 1549, again Demetrios Marmaretos "et compagni" obtained an imprimatur in order to publish a book that is described as "li canoni de Apostoli et Concilii generali et particolari, con certe espositioni di piu auttori, il qual libro è chiamato Nomimo."¹² No edition of this work, if it was ever published, has been found thus far. There is a strong possibility that the *Nomimon* was never printed. It is not included among the books in the Metrophanes collection in the monastery of the Holy Trinity while both the *Anthologion* and the *Heirmologion* are. Likewise, it is not included among the books sent by Vasileios and Hippolitos Valeris to Nikolaos Malaxos to sell in Crete. Also, the fact that Hippolitos Valeris was still searching for an appropriate manuscript of the *Nomimon* to print in 1567 proves conclusively that the *Nomimon* was not printed in 1549¹³. The third work projected by the partners

was the first edition of the *Heirmologion*, 1549 (PAPADOPOULOS II no. 130^a). The imprimatur again was obtained on behalf of the partners by Demetrios Marmaretos on 15 October 1549.¹⁴ The *Heirmologion* has survived in two imperfect copies (fig. 132).

Vasileios Valeris was the only member of the partnership who had any experience with printing,¹⁵ mostly as editor/corrector. According to the terms of the agreement, his duties and responsibilities were to be in charge of the printing operations. He was to provide the printing press and type and was also responsible for providing storage space in his house, which was located at the San Crucio section of Venice. The type used to print the *Heirmologion*, 1549 (PAPADOPOULOS II no. 130^a), was Cervini no. 1 (fig. 234), the font that belonged to Nikolaos Sophianos and that had been initially designed and cut for the use of Cardinal Marcello Cervini's publications in Rome in 1542.¹⁶ Sophianos had used Cervini no. 1, to print some works in Venice financed by fellow Ionian islanders.¹⁷ From this, one can deduce that Sophianos, before his departure from Venice soon after 1545, either left his type and other stock with Vasileios Valeris or sold it to him outright.¹⁸ One more liturgical book was printed under the name of Vasileios Valeris using the Sophianos type. This was a combined edition of a *Triodion-Pentekostarion*, 1555 (KORDOSIS B



fig. 234



fig. 235

no. 2). The only copy in existence today lacks the title page. A device similar to that of his brother Hippolitos, is displayed at the end of the *Triodion-Pentekostarion* (fig. 235).¹⁹ The Sophianos type was used later by Hippolitos Valeris to publish a number of liturgical books between 1564 and 1571. Vasileios Valeris died sometime after 1556.²⁰

A notarial document concerning the estate of Vasileios Valeris is of interest and sheds light on Vasileios Valeris's involvement with the printed book. The document in question, dated 30 November 1558, was drawn on behalf of Vasileios's surviving brothers, Hippolitos, Georgios, and Ioannis, in order to settle a difference with Nikolaos Malaxos, who was in Crete at the time. Apparently, Hippolitos and Vasileios Valeris had sent to Nikolaos Malaxos a box containing several books to sell on their behalf. According to the document, the box contained the following books: 60 *Anthologia*, 50 *Psalteria*, 50 *Heirmologia*, 50 liturgies in *rotulis*, i.e. *Eiletaria*, 50 *Spanoi*, 50 *Oktoechoi*, and

some *Calendaria* and *lunaria*.²¹ All of the books belonged to the Valeri brothers except for 20 *Anthologia*, which belonged to Nikolaos Malaxos. The brothers wanted to be reimbursed for the above books if they had been sold or, if not, they wanted the books and their box to be returned to them.

The document does not give the dates of publication of the books listed. However, it is known that Nikolaos Malaxos was in Crete between 1548 or 1549²² and 1552 and again between 1554 and 1574. The *Anthologion* in question is obviously the missing edition of 1548, and the fact that Nikolaos Malaxos was given 20 copies shows that he too must have been involved in some capacity in its publication. The *Psalterion* listed is undoubtedly the one printed in 1546 (LAYTON no. 17), which was edited by Vasileios Valeris for Damiano di Santa Maria, and not the edition suggested by Mavroidi.²³ The *Oktoechos* is correctly identified as that of 1549 (BH I no. 124) printed by Andrea Spinelli. Unfortunately, the only copy surviving today lacks the colophon, but it is safe to assume that it was edited by Vasileios Valeris, since he edited other books for Spinelli during this period. The *Heirmologion* mentioned in the document is, of course, the one published by the partners in 1549 (PAPADOPOULOS II no. 130^a). This earlier edition of the *Spanos* is not extant but is mentioned in the sources.²⁴ Thus far, no connection has been found between any edition of the *Spanos* and the Valeris brothers. The "misse in rotulis" mentioned in the document undoubtedly refer to the liturgy of Saint Chrysostom printed in the form of a scroll, an

Eīlētarion, and described in detail by Linos Politis.²⁵ The copy found and examined by Politis was imperfect and lacking both the title and the colophon. On the basis of the type, which he identified to be the type that belonged to Nikolaos Sophianos, i.e. Cervini no. 1, L. Politis attributed it to the Venetian press of Sophianos, c. 1545. Later, L. Politis discovered another copy of the *Eīlētarion* at the monastery of Saint Catharine on Mount Sinai. The work is dated 1545 but does not give the name of any person or persons involved in its printing. Since the Sophianos type passed first to Vasileios Valeris and then to Hippolitos,²⁶ it is possible either that the Valeris brothers had acquired copies of the *Eīlētarion* or that it was printed with their financial backing.²⁷

The most baffling of the imprints mentioned was the one described as "calendaria et lunaria."²⁸ No such type of book is known to have been printed in Greek during the sixteenth century. It is quite possible, of course, that these were not in Greek but in Italian. This type of calendar was very popular at the time and used widely. There were numerous editions printed during the sixteenth century.

The dates of these editions sent or given to Nikolaos Malaxos to sell in Crete suggest that the transaction took place during Malaxos's first trip to Crete and that it had taken place in 1549 or shortly after, since none of the *Menaia* of 1551-52 (BH II nos. 241-42; BH IV nos. 516-518, 535) or the *Pentekostarion*, 1552 (BH II no. 244=IV no. 538), in the printing of which both N. Malaxos and V. Valeris were involved, were included.

List of books corrected, edited, or published by Vasileios Valeris, 1545-1555:

- 1545 Τυπικὸν (BH I no. 114) Damiano di Santa Maria
 Vasileios Valeris prepared the sixty Paschalia appended at the end of the
 work: "Εἰσὶ δὲ τὰ πάντα Πασχάλια ἐξήκοντα, πονηθέντα παρὰ Βασιλείου
 Βαλέριδος, τοῦ Κερκυραίου"
- 1546 Ὁρολόγιον (BH I no. 118; EISS III no. 4004=1547 [sic]) Melchiorre Sessa
 "ἐπιμελεία δέ, βασιλείου τοῦ βαλέριδος"
- 1546 Ψαλτήριον (LAYTON no. 17) Damiano di Santa Maria
 As above
- 1548? Ἀνθολόγιον (EISS III no. 3991=155.)²⁹
 "Χάριτι τῆς ἐκλαμπροτάτης ἀρχῆς τῶν ἐνετῶν, συγχωρηθείση Βασιλείῳ ἱερεὶ τῷ
 Βαλέριδι"
- 1549 Νόμιμον³⁰
- 1549 Εἰρμολόγιον (PAPADOPOULOS II no. 130^a) Demetrios Marmaretos and
 Vasileios Valeris
 "ἐν οἰκίᾳ Βασιλείου ἱερέως τοῦ βάρελι, καὶ Δημητρίου τοῦ μαρμαρέτου"
- 1549 Ὁρολόγιον (BH III no. 496) Andrea Spinelli
 "Πασχάλιον ἐτῶν τριάκοντα, ἀρχόμενον ἀπὸ Χριστοῦ, ἔτη χιλιοστῷ πεντακο-
 σιοστῷ πεντηκοστῷ· ποίημα Βασιλείου ἱερέως τοῦ Βαλέριδος"
- 1550 Ἱερὸν Εὐαγγέλιον (BH I no. 127; EISS III no. 3998) Andrea Spinelli
 "ἐπιμελεία δὲ βασιλείου ἱερέως τοῦ βαλέριδος"

- 1551 Μὴν Σεπτέμβριος (BH IV no. 516) Andrea Spinelli
As above
- 1551 Μὴν Ὀκτώβριος (BH IV no. 517) Andrea Spinelli
As above
- 1551 Μὴν Νοουέμβριος (BH II no. 241) Andrea Spinelli
As above
- 1551 Μὴν Δεκέμβριος (BH IV no. 518) Andrea Spinelli
As above
- 1551-52 Μὴν Ἰαννουάριος (BH IV no. 535) Andrea Spinelli
As above
- 1551-52 Μὴν Φεβρουάριος (BH II no. 242; PHOSKOLOS B no. 4)³¹ Andrea Spinelli
As above
- 1552 Πεντηκοστάριον (BH II no. 244=IV no. 538; PLOUMIDES no. 1)³² Andrea and
Giacomo Spinelli
"ἐπιμελεία δὲ βασιλείου ἱερέως τοῦ βαλέριδος"
- 1555 [Τριώδιον-Πεντηκοστάριον] (KORDOSIS B no. 2) Vasileios Valeris
"ἐν οἰκίᾳ Βασιλείου ἱερέως τοῦ βαλέριδος"

NOTES

¹ The name is often given in the sources as Varelis, Barelli in Italian or Latin. However, in all but one of the books he edited, the name is always given as Valeris.

² BH I, 273-74; M. I. ΜΑΝΟΥΣΑΚΑΣ, *Ἀνέκδοτα πατριαρχικὰ γράμματα*, 14-15; Φ. ΜΑΥΡΟΕΙΔΗ, *Συμβολή*, 98; I. ΒΕΛΟΥΔΗΣ, *Ἑλλήνων ὀρθοδόξων*, 180; KONTOSOPOULOS, 313; E. ΛΙΑΤΑ, *Ἱερεῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων*, 100; Σ. Ε. ΚΑΚΛΑΜΑΝΗΣ, *Τρεῖς πρῶτες ἐκδόσεις*, 226-27. C. LECUIR, *Les éditeurs Grecs*, 99-102, 229-33.

³ Φ. ΜΑΥΡΟΕΙΔΗ, *Συμβολή*, 99, 121.

⁴ I. Κ. ΧΑΣΙΩΤΗΣ, *Οἱ Ἑλληνες*, 48-76 especially 50 and note 2.

⁵ BH I, 273-74; H. OMONT, *Fac-similés des manuscrits grecs des XV^e et XVI^e siècles*. Paris, 1887, 8; VG, 54; GAMILLSCHEG-HARLFINGER, I no. 34 and II no. 50.

⁶ M. I. ΜΑΝΟΥΣΑΚΑΣ, *Ἀνέκδοτα πατριαρχικὰ γράμματα*, 11-16; E. ΛΙΑΤΑ, *Ἱερεῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων*, 100; Π. ΠΕΤΡΗΣ, *Νικόλαος Μαλαξός*, 363-64; Φ. ΜΑΥΡΟΕΙΔΗ, *Συμβολή*, 98, 250-51; Σ. Ε. ΚΑΚΛΑΜΑΝΗΣ, *Τρεῖς πρῶτες ἐκδόσεις*, 218-22.

⁷ Demetrios Marmaretos, from Constantinople, came to Venice at the beginning of the 1530s as the representative of a merchant company of Constantinople of which his brother Iakovos was also a member. Because of his special knowledge of the economic life of the Ottoman world, in 1537 the Capi del Consiglio dei Dieci asked him to go to Constantinople on behalf of the Venetian government on an important mission. For this and other services rendered to the Venetian Republic, Demetrios Marmaretos was made a scrivani of the Zara for life. Marmaretos was an active member of the Greek Brotherhood. In 1548-49 he served as president of the organization. With his brother Iakovos, who resided in Constantinople, they provided manuscripts to many collectors among them the French ambassador to Venice, Guillaume Pellicier. In 1540 he sold Pellicier 60 to 80 manuscripts that had belonged to one of his uncles in Constantinople. See Φ. ΜΑΥΡΟΕΙΔΗ, *Συμβολή*, 127, 143-44; Σ. Ε. ΚΑΚΛΑΜΑΝΗΣ, *Τρεῖς πρῶτες ἐκδόσεις*, 222-26.

⁸ Silvestro de Odino was a businessman from Constantinople and was in Venice after 1545 for business purposes. See Σ. Ε. ΚΑΚΛΑΜΑΝΗΣ, *Τρεῖς πρῶτες ἐκδόσεις*, 226.

⁹ Σ. Ε. ΚΑΚΛΑΜΑΝΗΣ, *Τρεῖς πρῶτες ἐκδόσεις*, 243, document no. 2.

10 The list was composed in 1572 and was published by E. Legrand, *Notice biographique sur Jean et Theodose Zygomalas, Recueil de textes et de traductions publié par les professeurs de l' École des langues orientales vivantes*, Paris, 1889, II, 214. See also Σ. Ε. ΚΑΚΛΑΜΑΝΗΣ, Τρεῖς πρώτες ἐκδόσεις, 232. EISS III no. 3991 records an undated *Anthologion*, [Venezia, Basilio Valeris, 155.] that is probably a copy from this first edition of the *Anthologion*.

11 See below.

12 Σ. Ε. ΚΑΚΛΑΜΑΝΗΣ, Τρεῖς πρώτες ἐκδόσεις, 232-33, 244-45 document no. 3.

13 Χ. Γ. ΠΑΤΡΙΝΕΛΗΣ, Ἐπιστολὲς τοῦ Ἰππόλυτου Βάρελη, 299-300, 307-11.

14 Σ. Ε. ΚΑΚΛΑΜΑΝΗΣ, Τρεῖς πρώτες ἐκδόσεις, 234, 245-46, document no. 4.

15 For the terms of the partnership agreement and each partner's contribution, see Σ. Ε. ΚΑΚΛΑΜΑΝΗΣ, Τρεῖς πρώτες ἐκδόσεις, 227-30, 240-42 document no. 1.

16 For further information, see under Nikolaos Sophianos in Part II.

17 The works printed in Venice with Cervini no. 1 were: Antonios Eparchos, *Εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδος καταστροφήν, θρήνος*, 1544 (BH I no. 108); *Horologion*, 1545 (BH I no. 115); *Euchologion*, 1545 (BH I no. 116); *Eiletarion*, 1545. For the *Eiletarion*, see Λ. ΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ, Ἐντυπο περγαμηνὸ εἰλητάριο, 227-36.

18 On the title page of the *Heirmologion*, 1549 (fig. 132), there is a device that is a variation of the Sophianos device (fig. 223). Only the outer part of the device is used. Instead of the lion with a sword in the middle, there is a dove sitting on a column.

19 I wish to express my gratitude and many thanks to Mr. Euthymios Litsas of the Patriarchal Institute of Patristic Studies in Thessaloniki for providing me with microfilm and photocopies from the *Heirmologion*, 1549 and the *Triodion-Pentekostarion*, 1555 from the monastic libraries of Philotheou and Pantokratoros on Mount Athos.

20 Φ. ΜΑΥΡΟΕΙΔΗ, Συμβολή, 98 see also her Εἰδήσεις, 241-42.

21 Φ. ΜΑΥΡΟΕΙΔΗ, Εἰδήσεις, 241-47, 251-52 document no. 4; see also Σ. Ε. ΚΑΚΛΑΜΑΝΗΣ, Τρεῖς πρώτες ἐκδόσεις, 231-32, 246-48 document no. 5.

22 Both Φ. ΜΑΥΡΟΕΙΔΗ, Εἰδήσεις, 242 and Κ. Δ. ΜΕΡΤΖΙΟΣ, Περὶ Νικολάου Μαλαξοῦ, 70-72 give the date of his first stay in Crete as between 1548 and 1552. But see Π. ΠΕΤΡΗΣ, Νικόλαος Μαλαξός, 358-59, who states that his first trip to Greece was made in 1549.

23 Εἰδήσεις, 243.

24 The earliest edition of the *Spanos* we have is dated 1553 (BH III no. 105). There were, however, indications that a *Spanos* had been printed as early as 1542 or 1543. Pachomios Rousanos (1508-1553), a cleric from Zakynthos, in his attack against the printers of Venice, found the contents of the *Spanos*, a satire written in the form of a liturgy, offensive. Recently, a discovery of a license to print the *Spanos* confirms this even further. Dated 11 August 1542, the imprimatur gives permission to the printer Bartolomeo da Bressa (Bartolomeo Zanetti) to print the *Spanos*, see E. LAYTON, Notes on Some Printers, 136 and note 43 where the license is published.

25 Ἐντυπο περγαμηνὸ εἰλητάριο, 227-36.

26 All the books examined and published by Vasileios Valeris and later by Hippolitos Valeris were printed with Cervini no. 1.

27 Two other liturgical works printed in 1545 connected with Nikolaos Sophianos had been financed by Ionian islanders. The *Horologion* (BH I no. 115) merely says in the colophon "at the house of Nikolaos Sophianos and partners," but the *Euchologion* (BH I no. 116) gives their names, Markos Samariaris of Zakynthos, a shipowner, and Nikolaos Eparchos of Corfu, a physician, the son of Antonios Eparchos.

28 Φ. ΜΑΥΡΟΕΙΔΗ, Εἰδήσεις, 244-45, 252.

29 Information from an imperfect copy at the Biblioteca Universitaria, Bologna.

30 It was probably never printed. See Χ. Γ. ΠΑΤΡΙΝΕΛΗΣ, Ἐπιστολὲς τοῦ Ἰππόλυτου Βάρελη, 300 and his Ἀγνωστες ἐκδόσεις, 25 and note 28.

31 All of the above *Menaia* published between 1551 and 1552 were edited and corrected by V. Valeris from various manuscripts prepared for publication by Nikolaos Malaxos.

32 According to the preface written by I. Mindonios, Nikolaos Malaxos prepared the manuscript.

Antonios Verghis, fl. 1552-1578

ANTONIOS VERGHIS (Βεργής) was a member of a wealthy and powerful family from Corfu residing and working in Venice. The Verghis family made their fortune primarily as wheat merchants, but they were also in the shipping business. The brothers Demetrios and Alexandros Verghis supplied wheat to the Venetian navy. Demetrios was an active member of the Greek Brotherhood between 1533 and 1563. Ioannis Verghis, the son of Demetrios, and Matthaïos Verghis co-owned a ship. Of all the Verghis, Matthaïos seems to have been the most influential and active. He was a merchant and ship-owner. In 1519, the Republic of Venice used one of the Verghis ships to accompany the navy to Capo Malea. Another of their boats was used in 1522 to transport the Venetian consul to Damascus. Their activities in the export and import of wheat and cotton and other goods extended throughout the Mediterranean and even reached England, where in 1569 one of his cargo boats was attacked by pirates. Matthaïos Verghis was an active member of the Brotherhood and was elected its president in 1550 and again in 1561 and 1571. He is also listed among its benefactors.¹

There is much less information in the sources about Antonios Verghis. His name appears in the papers of the Brotherhood in 1577, when he paid for the execution of two paintings for the church of San Giorgio dei Greci. The paintings of the prophets Moses and Elijah were executed by the Cretan painter Michael Damaskenos.² F. Mavoidi³ mentions that perhaps Antonios Verghis founded and financed a printing establishment on behalf of the Oecumenical Patriarchate. However, this assumption seems vague and undocumented. What does appear to be a fact is that Antonios Verghis acquired type (20 lines=129-130 mm) and had at least three liturgical books printed at his own expense (fig. 46). Although the name of the printer who worked for him is not mentioned in these books, the editors/correctors are. The type used to print these three books is the type known as *parangon grec*, or double pica Greek, which was de-

signed and cut to order in 1565 by the French punch-cutter Robert Granjon for Christopher Plantin. The *parangon grec* was an imitation of the large-sized type of the *Greco du roi*.⁴ Matrices of the type were sold in fairs in Frankfurt. It was probably introduced to Italy through Lyons, as was the custom with type from France. The *parangon grec* of Robert Granjon was distributed widely throughout Europe. As late as 1672, John Fell bought matrices from the Plantin collection for the use of Oxford University Press that included this type.⁵

Besides the type, Antonios Verghis also fashioned a monogram (fig. 236), consisting of his initials in the style of the Spinelli mark (fig. 226). He also procured several woodcuts and other decorations to adorn his publications, although the



fig. 236



fig. 237



fig. 238

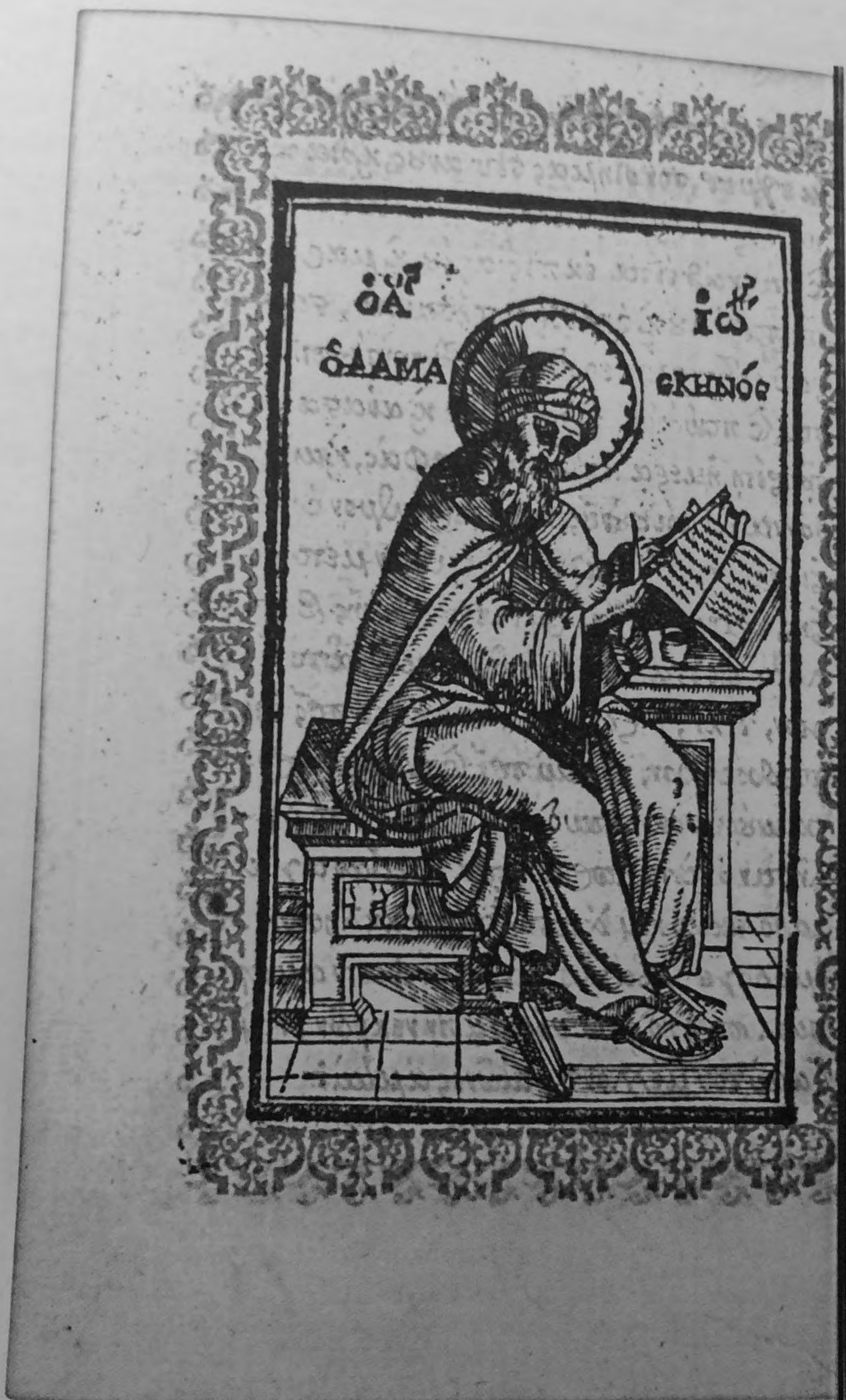


fig. 239

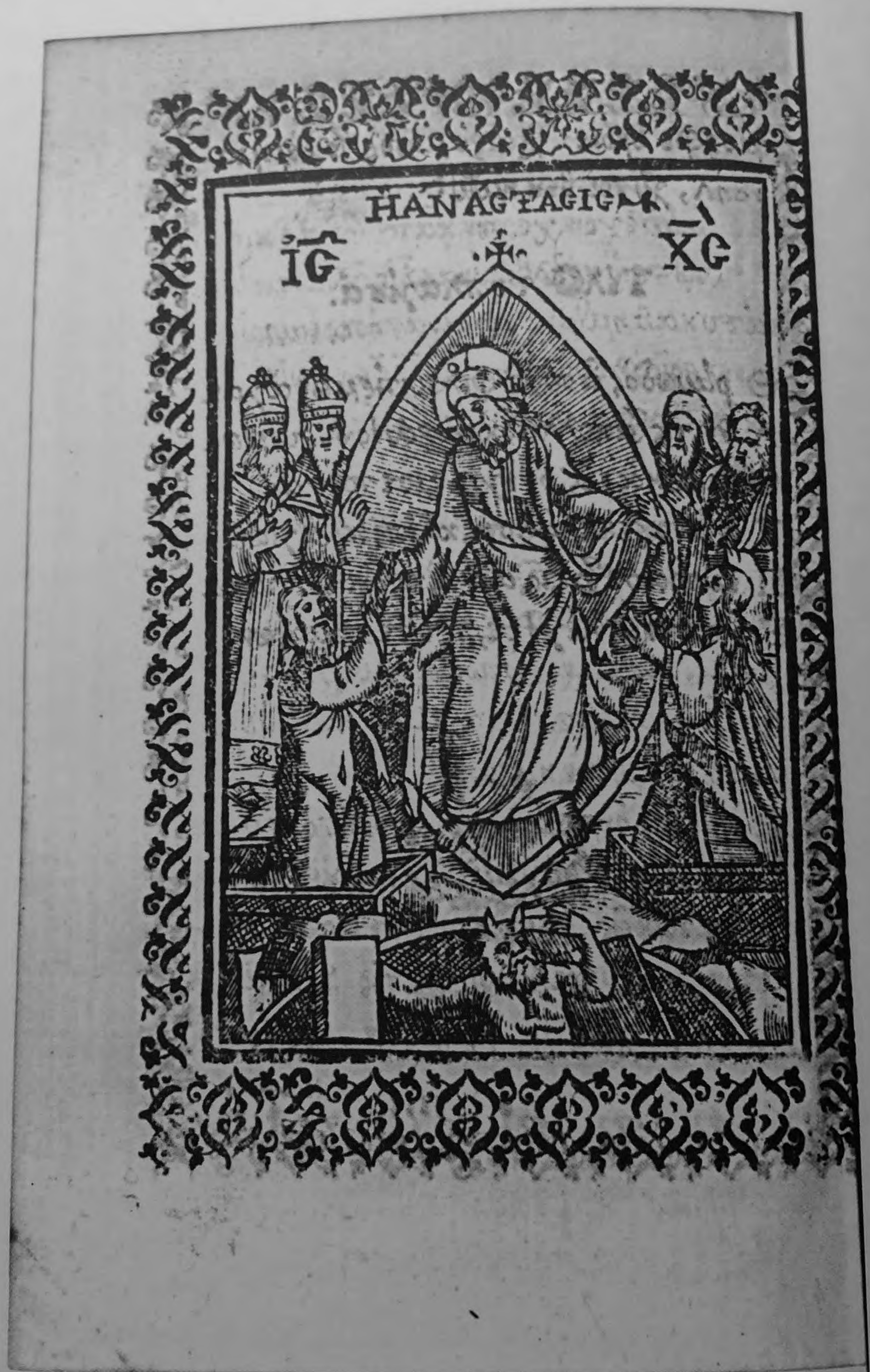


fig. 240

woodcuts were clearly either borrowed or bought from printers of Catholic liturgical works (figs. 237, 238). Among the woodcuts there were also two (figs. 239, 240) that were distant echoes of the woodcuts which first appeared in the *Oktoechos*, 1523 (fig. 59a,c). All three works financed by Antonios Verghis came out in 1578. The purchase of new type and other stock, possibly indicates that there were plans to print more books, but, for some unknown reason, these plans were never realized. On the other hand, it is also possible to assume that this was one of those transactions, common during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, in which one contracted to produce only a specific number of books. The type belonging to Antonios Verghis eventually passed into the hands of Domenico de Poloni, who used it to print at least three works in 1602 and 1603: an *Oktoechos*, 1602 (BH XVIIIs. I no. 6), and the *Menaia* of December, 1602-03 (BH XVIIIs. I no. 11), and January, 1603 (BH XVIIIs. I no. 12). All three works say "τύποις τῆς τοῦ Βεργῆ."⁶

Two of the works printed for Antonios Verghis were edited by Nikephoros Trikkas, i.e., Nikephoros Parasches, who was the representative (Ἐπίτροπος) in Venice and later the Vicar of Patriarch Hieremias II of Constantinople. Theophanes Logaras of Cyprus, who was one of the priests of San Giorgio dei Greci and had been active editing liturgical books for other publishers, edited the third work. The three liturgical works printed for Antonios Verghis were:

- 1578 Ὁκτώηχος (BH II no. 158)
 "ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ τοῦ εὐγενεστάτου βεργῆ, ἀναλώμασι μὲν τοῖς αὐτοῦ, ἐπιμελείᾳ δὲ καὶ ἀναγκαιοτάτῃ ἐπιδιορθώσει, Νικηφόρου τοῦ ἐκ τρίκκης τῆς θετταλίας, καὶ ἐπιτρόπου τοῦ τῆς κωνσταντινουπόλεως νέας ῥώμης οἰκουμενικοῦ πατριάρχου κυρίου Ἱερεμίου"
- 1578 Εὐχολόγιον (BH II no. 272; EISS III no. 3997)
 "ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ τοῦ εὐγενεστάτου κυρίου Ἀντωνίου τοῦ Βεργῆ, ἀναλώμασι μὲν τοῖς αὐτοῦ, ἐπιμελείᾳ δὲ καὶ ἀναγκαιοτάτῃ ἐπιδιορθώσει ἔν τε ταῖς ἱεραῖς λειτουργίαις καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις πολλοῖς Νικηφόρου τοῦ ἐκ τρίκκης τῆς θετταλίας,...Ιερεμίου"
- 1578 Ψαλτήριον (BH II no. 159; EISS III no. 4020=1576 [sic])
 "ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ τοῦ βεργῆ ἀναλώμασι μὲν, τοῖς αὐτοῦ ἐπιμελείᾳ δέ, καὶ ἐπιδιορθώσει, Θεοφάνους ἱερομονάχου λογαρᾶ, τοῦ κυπρίου"

NOTES

¹ KONTOSOPOULOS, 301; Φ. ΜΑΥΡΟΕΙΔΗ, *Συμβολή*, 130, 132, 138-40.

² I. ΒΕΛΟΥΔΗΣ, *Ἑλλήνων ὀρθοδόξων*, 44-45; M. I. ΜΑΝΟΥΣΑΚΑΣ, "Ἑλληνες ζωγράφοι, 220; J. BALL, *The Greek Community in Venice*, 166. For the painter Michael Damaskenos see M. ΧΑΤΖΗΔΑΚΗΣ, "Ἑλληνες ζωγράφοι μετὰ τὴν Ἀλωση (1450-1830). Ἀθήνα, 1978, I, 242-49.

³ *Συμβολή*. 119, 132 note 6.

⁴ H. CARTER, *The Types of Christopher Plantin*, 171 and note 1; M. PARKER, K. MELIS, H. D. L. VERVLIT, *Early Inventories of Punches, Matrices*, 28, MA 16, 17; C. PLANTIN, *Index sive specimen characterum*, A4^r.

⁵ S. MORISON, *John Fell*, 68, 98-101.

⁶ See also under Domenico de Poloni in Part II. The publisher Emmanouel Glyzounis also owned types of the *parangon grec* of Robert Granjon, but there is no mention anywhere in the sources that Glyzounis's type had been purchased from Verghis.

Symeon Verivelos, fl. 1560-1575?

THE only information available about Symeon Verivelos is gleaned from the colophons of the books he edited/corrected for Giacomo Leoncini, i.e., that he was a monk from Cyprus.¹ Although his name appears in the Leoncini imprints between 1560 and 1580, all publications after 1575 are composite editions of books he edited earlier with new title pages or colophons.

- | | |
|------|---|
| 1560 | <p>Ἱερὸν Εὐαγγέλιον (BH IV no. 599; LADAS no. 53)</p> <p>“ἀνεθεωρήθη δὲ ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ συμεὼν μοναχοῦ, κυπρίου τοῦ βεριβέλου ἐπιμελεία τε πολλῇ καὶ ἐπιδιορθώσει, ὡς τὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῶν ῥωμαίων ἔθος”</p> |
| 1565 | <p>Πεντηκοστάριον (STUDIENBIBLIOTHEK DILLINGEN)</p> <p>“ἐπιμελεία τε καὶ ἐπιδιορθώσει, συμεὼν μοναχοῦ κυπρίου τοῦ βεριβέλου”</p> |
| 1565 | <p>Ὁκτώηχος (BH II no. 143)</p> <p>“ἐπιμελεία δὲ καὶ ἐπιδιορθώσει, Συμεὼν μοναχοῦ κυπρίου, τοῦ βεριβέλου”</p> |
| 1565 | <p>Τριώδιον (BH II no. 144)</p> <p>“ἐπιμελεία τε καὶ ἐπιδιορθώσει, Συμεὼν μοναχοῦ κυπρίου, τοῦ βεριβέλου”</p> |
| 1566 | <p>Εὐχολόγιον (BH II no. 146=IV no. 632)</p> <p>“ἀνεθεωρήθη δὲ ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ συμεὼν μοναχοῦ, κυπρίου τοῦ βεριβέλου. ἐπιμελεία τε πολλῇ καὶ ἐπιδιορθώσει, ὡς τὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῶν ῥωμαίων ἔθος”</p> |
| 1569 | <p>Ὡρολόγιον (PAPADOPOULOS II no. 237; EISS III no. 4006)</p> <p>“ἐπιμελεία δὲ καὶ ἐπιδιορθώσει, συμεὼν μοναχοῦ κυπρίου τοῦ βεριβέλου”</p> |
| 1570 | <p>Εὐχολόγιον (PAPADOPOULOS B no. 6)</p> <p>“ἀνεθεωρήθη δὲ ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ συμεὼν μοναχοῦ, κυπρίου τοῦ βεριβέλου ἐπιμελεία τε πολλῇ καὶ ἐπιδιορθώσει, ὡς τὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῶν ῥωμαίων ἔθος”</p> |
| 1573 | <p>Τριώδιον (BH IV no. 689)</p> <p>Title page: “Ἐπιδιορθώσει κυρίου θύτου τοῦ Ναθαναήλου...1573”</p> <p>Colophon: “ἐπιμελεία δὲ καὶ ἐπιδιορθώσει, Συμεὼν μοναχοῦ κυπρίου, τοῦ βεριβέλου...1573”</p> |
| 1574 | <p>Τριώδιον (ILIOU no. 12)²</p> <p>“ἐπιμελεία δὲ καὶ ἐπιδιορθώσει, Συμεὼν μοναχοῦ κυπρίου, τοῦ βεριβέλου”</p> |
| 1575 | <p>Πεντηκοστάριον (MANOUSAKAS no. 3; LADAS no. 69)</p> <p>“ἐπιμελεία τε καὶ ἐπιδιορθώσει, συμεὼν μοναχοῦ κυπρίου τοῦ βεριβέλου”</p> |

- 1579 Πεντηκοστάριον (SKLAVENITES no. 5; BH II no. 162=VRETOS I no. 18)
 Title page: "ἐπιμελεία τὲ καὶ ἐπιδιορθώσει, συμεὼν μοναχοῦ κυπρίου τοῦ
 βεριβέλου...1565"
 Colophon: "Apud Iacobum Leoncinum 1579"
- 1580 Τριώδιον (ILIOU no. 15; LADAS no. 75; EISS III no. 4022)³
 Title page: "Ἐπιδιορθώσει κυρίου θύτου τοῦ Ναθαναήλου...1580"
 Colophon: "ἐπιμελεία δὲ καὶ ἐπιδιορθώσει, Συμεὼν μοναχοῦ κυπρίου, τοῦ
 βεριβέλου...1574"

NOTES

¹ KONTOSOPOULOS, 299; I. A. Γ. ΣΥΚΟΥΤΡΗΣ, *Ἐκθεσις*, 126; K. ΚΥΡΡΗΣ, *Κύπριοι λόγιοι*, 92 and his *Cypriot Scholars*, 220 no. 48, 267 no. 196; M. I. ΜΑΝΟΥΣΑΚΑΣ, *Προσθήκαι*, 48.

² Edition not extant. Known from composite edition of 1574-1580. See also under ILIOU no. 15.

³ LADAS, 63, believes that the 1574 edition is actually that of 1573.

Georgios Vlastos, surnamed Pounialetos, fl. 1558-1597

GEORGIOS VLASTOS POUNIALETOS was from Rethymnon, Crete. His father, Ioannis Vlastos, was the captain of a ship (καρaboκύρης). Between the years 1558 and 1578, Georgios Vlastos's name appears among the notaries practicing in Candia (Herakleion).¹ It is not known when he entered the priesthood, but the event certainly occurred while he was still on Crete. Shortly after 1578, he must have left Crete for Venice, for his name appears next in 1579, when he was personally chosen by the newly elected Archbishop of Philadelphia, Gabriel Severos, to replace the priest of San Giorgio dei Greci.² This was an unusual move, as the priests who served the Greek community in Venice were always elected to their posts by vote. This was one of only two times such an appointment occurred, the other being in 1588, when Gabriel Severos again personally chose Dionysios Katelianos to fill the post of priest.

There is not much information available about Georgios Vlastos during his years in Venice. On 27 October 1583, he was sent to Constantinople to deliver a letter and a petition on behalf of the members of the Greek community to the Patriarch. Georgios's son, Ioannis, served also as priest of San Giorgio dei Greci between 1584 and 1588. Ioannis, it appears, was also a painter, for he was commissioned by the Greek Brotherhood to paint two works for the church, one of Saint John and the other of the Virgin Mary.³ In 1599 he also was commissioned to work on the decorations of the church. Another document in the archives of the community, dated 9 March 1589, indicates that Georgios Vlastos Pounialetos and his son Ioannis received a stipend of 25 ducats per year each, to serve as chanters (ψάλται).⁴

Between the years 1586 and 1596, Georgios Vlastos Pounialetos supplemented his income by editing and correcting liturgical editions for the heirs of Cristoforo Zanetti and his son, Pietro Zanetti.⁵

- | | |
|-----------|--|
| 1586 | Πεντηκοστάριον (BH IV no. 795)
"ἐπιμελεία δὲ καὶ ἐπιδιορθώσει, Γεωργίου ἱερέως Βλαστοῦ κρητὸς τοῦ ἐπονομαζομένου πουνϊαλέτου" |
| 1586 | Τριώδιον (BH IV no. 796)
Title page: "ἐπιμελεία δὲ καὶ ἐπιδιορθώσει [sic], Γεωργίου ἱερέως τοῦ Βλαστοῦ"
Colophon: As in Pentekostarion above |
| 1587-1588 | Βιβλίον τοῦ Ἀπριλλίου (BH IV no. 808)
"Ἐπιμελεία δέ, διορθωθὲν παρὰ τοῦ ἐν ἱερεῦσιν Γεωργίου βλαστοῦ κρητὸς τοῦ ἐπονομαζομένου Πουνϊαλέτου" |
| 1588 | Βιβλίον τοῦ Μάϊος (BH II no. 177)
"Ἐπιμελεία δὲ καὶ ἐπιδιορθώσει, Γεωργίου ἱερέως Βλαστοῦ κρητὸς τοῦ ἐπονομαζομένου πουνιαλέτου" |
| 1588 | Ἱερὸν Εὐαγγέλιον (LOVERDOU no. 1)
As above |

- 1588 Πεντηκοστάριον⁶
As above
- 1588 Ψαλτήριον (ILIOU no. 22; LADAS no. 92)
“Ἐπιμελεία γεωργίου ἱερέως βλαστοῦ”
- 1588 Ζ. Σκορδύλης, Περὶ τῶν τῆς συγγενείας βαθμὸν [sic] (BH II no. 178;
PAPADOPOULOS II no. 1040)
“ἐπιμελεία, γεωργίου ἱερέως βλαστοῦ κρητὸς τοῦ ἐπονομαζομένου πουνιαλέτου”
- 1589 Δαμασκηνὸς Στουδίτης, Βιβλίον...Θησαυρός (BH IV no. 817)
“ἐπιμελεία δὲ καὶ ἐπιδιορθώσει Γεωργίου ἱερέως Βλαστοῦ κρητὸς τοῦ ἐπονομα-
ζομένου πουνιαλέτου”
- 1589 Εὐχολόγιον (BH IV no. 816; LADAS no. 50=1559[sic])
As above
- 1589 [Θεῖαι Λειτουργίαι] (LAZAROU no. 388)
As above
- 1590 Ἱερὸν Εὐαγγέλιον (BH IV no 822; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 289)
As above
- 1591 Βιβλίον τοῦ Μαΐου (LADAS no. 94)
As above
- 1591 Βιβλίον τοῦ Ἰούνιος (BH II no. 188)
As above
- 1591 Βιβλίον τοῦ Ἰούλιος (BH II no. 189)
As above
- 1591 Βιβλίον τοῦ Αὐγούστος (BH II no. 190)
As above
- 1591 Πεντηκοστάριον (LADAS no. 91)⁷
As above
- 1591-1592 Τριώδιον (PAPADOPOULOS II no. 298)
As above
- 1592 Μὴν Σεπτέμβριος (BH II no. 195)
As above
- 1592 Μὴν Ὀκτώβριος (BH II no. 196)
As above
- 1593 Μὴν Νοέμβριος (BH II no. 201)
As above
- 1593-1594 Ἀνθολόγιον (PAPADOPOULOS B no. 7; EISS III no. 3993)
As above

- 1595 Μὴν ὁ Δεκέμβριος (BH II no. 214)
As above
- 1595 Μὴν Ἰούνιος (LADAS no. 98)⁸
As above
- 1595-1596 Μὴν Ἰανουάριος (BH II no. 215)
As above
- 1596 Μὴν Φεβρουάριος (BH II no. 222)
As above

NOTES

¹ K. Δ. MEPTZIOS, Σταχυολογήματα ἀπὸ τὰ κατὰστιχα τοῦ νοταρίου Μιχ. Μαρά, *Πεπραγμένα τοῦ Α΄ Διεθνοῦς Κρητολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου=Κρητικὰ Χρονικά*, 16-17(1961-62)232, 236.

² M. I. MANOYSAKAS, Συλλογὴ ἀνεκδότων ἐγγράφων, 15-16; K. Δ. MEPTZIOS, *Θωμᾶς Φλαγγίνης*, 238.

³ K. Δ. MEPTZIOS, *Θωμᾶς Φλαγγίνης*, 238.

⁴ K. Δ. MEPTZIOS, *Θωμᾶς Φλαγγίνης*, 238-39.

⁵ PAPADOPOULOS I no. 3878 lists a *Menaion* of February 1597 printed by Francesco Giuliani and edited by Georgios Vlastos Pounialetos. The information for this citation is taken from the preface of the *Μηναιὸν τοῦ Σεπτεμβρίου*, edited by Vartholomaios Koutloumousianos. Athens, 1959, κ'. This, however, is highly unlikely since Francesco Giuliani died some time in 1596. Moreover, there are no indications that Georgios Vlastos Pounialetos was ever connected with the Giuliani press.

⁶ Edition not extant. Known only from composite edition. See LADAS no. 91.

⁷ Title page=1588, colophon=1591.

⁸ Edition not extant.

Ioannis Vonapheus, or Bonafès, c. 1546-1606

IOANNIS VONAPHEUS,¹ or Bonafès — his name appears as Bonafès in Venetian and other documents — was a native of Zakynthos and belonged to a prominent family of the island. After completing his studies at the University of Padua in Italy,² he returned to Zakynthos and took holy orders at the monastery of Strophades changing his name from Hieron to Ioannis. He was attached to the monastery of Papandrea, a dependency (μετόχι) of the monastery of Strophades. A friend and classmate of his who also belonged to a prominent family of the island, Sigouros Sigouros, became the Abbot of the monastery.

During his stay at the monastery of Papandrea, Ioannis Vonapheus was accused by some of the monks and by some of the laymen of scandalous and depraved behavior. Among the accusations against him was that he never worshipped the icons, never fasted, was a heretic and an atheist, and also that he was arrogant and tyrannical towards the other monks whom he treated with contempt. In May 1571, these grievances were formally brought before the Venetian authorities of the island and before the Protopapas of Zakynthos, Eustathios Kotronas.³ In the statements made during his cross-examination, Vonapheus gave some information about himself, mainly, that he was twenty-five years old at the time (1571), that before taking orders his name was Hieron, and that he had studied at the University of Padua. In July 1571, Vonapheus was accused of being a heretic and was sentenced to life in prison. After his appeal for a retrial was denied, Vonapheus escaped and went to Patras. He was in Patras in 1574, where he met the Patriarch of Constantinople Hieremias II, who was visiting the area at the time. He appealed to the Patriarch to intercede on his behalf with the Venetian authorities. Vonapheus then followed the Patriarch to Constantinople, where he resided for some time. There he also came into contact with the intellectuals of the patriarchal entourage, especially the Zygomalas brothers, Ioannis and Theodosios.⁴ During his stay in Constantinople, Vonapheus also met the Patriarch Silvestros of Alexandria, who was on an extended visit to Constantinople. Both Patriarchs wrote letters to the Venetian authorities on his behalf. The Council of Ten in Venice agreed to reopen and study his case and allowed him to travel to Venice in 1575 in order to prepare his defense. He was finally declared innocent of the charges against him. This episode of the life of Ioannis Vonapheus is described in detail in the documents concerning his trial published by Krista Panayotopoulou.⁵

Ioannis Vonapheus is best known for his role as the emissary of Pope Gregory XIII to Patriarch Hieremias II in 1582. It is not known when Vonapheus transferred his activities from Zakynthos and Venice to Rome. However, he must have been there some time before 1582 in order to have made so many contacts and to be entrusted with such an important mission by the Pope. Ioannis Vonapheus and Michael Eparchos, the son of the humanist Antonios Eparchos, were sent to Constantinople in 1582 ostensibly to collect manuscripts for the Vatican, but actually their mission was to try to persuade Patriarch Hieremias II to accept the reformed or Gregorian calendar instituted by the Catholic Church. Before leaving for Constantinople, Ioannis Vonapheus and Michael Eparchos spent some time in Venice waiting to be issued their passports. By February 1583 (1582 Venetian year), the two emissaries were in Constantinople, where they obtained an au-

dience with the patriarch. Hieremias asked for a delay of two years to think the matter over and then refused categorically to comply with the Pope's suggestion to change the calendar.⁶

Ioannis Vonapheus returned to Rome in 1583, where he remained. In 1584, he began teaching at the Pontificio Collegio Greco di San Atanasio. He also taught ancient Greek at the University of Rome.⁷ In 1589, Vonapheus was appointed by the Vatican to edit the Greek section of the *Acts of the Councils* published between 1608 and 1612. Vonapheus was also one of the editors and correctors used by the Vatican and its printing establishment for its Greek publications. He and another Greek scholar, Ioannis Matthaïos Kariophyllis, shared the position left vacant by Federico Mezio in 25 November 1592. Ioannis Vonapheus died in Rome on 5 January 1606⁸ and was buried at the Church of San Atanasio.⁹

Ioannis Vonapheus must have spent some time in Venice in 1581 for his name appears in one liturgical book, the *Menaion* of September, 1581 (BH II no. 274=IV no. 750), printed by Z. B. Tauroceni:

1581 Μὴν Σεπτέμβριος (BH II no. 274=IV no. 750)
 "συνεργία δὲ κυρίου Ἰωάννου Βοναφέος τοῦ σοφωτάτου"

NOTES

¹ K. N. ΣΑΘΑΣ, *Βιογραφικὸν σχεδιάσμα περὶ τοῦ πατριάρχου Ἱερεμίου Β' (1572-1594)*. Ἐν Ἀθήναις, 1870, ξξ'-ξθ'; N. ΚΑΤΡΑΜΗΣ, *Φιλολογικὰ ἀνάλεκτα*, 288-91; BH II, 210-13; Z. N. ΤΣΙΡΠΑΝΛΗΣ, *Οἱ Μακεδόνες σπουδαστὲς τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Κολλεγίου Ρώμης καὶ ἡ δράση τους στὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ στὴν Ἰταλία (16ος αἰ. -1650)*. Θεσσαλονίκη, 1971, 48-49; K. ΠΑΝΑΓΙΩΤΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ, *Πατριαρχικὰ γράμματα καὶ ἄλλα ἔγγραφα (1571-1576) γὰρ τὸν Ἱέρωνα - Ἰωάννη Μποναφέ, Θησαυρίσματα*, 12(1975)309-55.

² Some have maintained that he had studied in Rome at the Collegio Greco di San Atanasio. However, this is not possible, as the Greek College in Rome did not begin operations before 1576. The information that Vonapheus had studied in Rome was first mentioned by Leo Allatius in his *De Ecclesiae Occidentalis atque Orientalis perpetua consensione*. Cologne, 1648, col. 996; N. ΚΑΤΡΑΜΗΣ, *Φιλολογικὰ ἀνάλεκτα*, 288.

³ K. ΠΑΝΑΓΙΩΤΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ, *Πατριαρχικὰ γράμματα*, 309-15.

⁴ A letter written by I. Vonapheus to Theodosios Zygomalas is reproduced in M. CRUSIUS, *Turcograeciae*, 270; see also N. ΚΑΤΡΑΜΗΣ, *Φιλολογικά*, 289-91; K. ΠΑΝΑΓΙΩΤΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ, *Πατριαρχικά*, 310 note 2.

⁵ *Πατριαρχικὰ γράμματα*, 309-55.

⁶ BH II, 377-78, where the letter of Hieremias II to Pope Gregory XIII is published. For further details of the mission of Ioannis Vonapheus and Michael Eparchos to Constantinople, see N. ΚΑΤΡΑΜΗΣ, *Φιλολογικά*, 288-91; K. N. ΣΑΘΑΣ, *Βιογραφικὸν σχεδιάσμα περὶ τοῦ πατριάρχου Ἱερεμίου*, ξξ'-ξθ'; BH II, 210-13; V. PERI, *Due date un' unica Pasqua*. Milano, 1967, 41-56.

⁷ Z. N. ΤΣΙΡΠΑΝΛΗΣ, *Οἱ Μακεδόνες σπουδαστὲς*, 49 and note 4 and his *Τὸ Ἑλληνικὸ Κολλέγιο τῆς Ρώμης*, 57 notes 2 and 3.

⁸ Z. N. ΤΣΙΡΠΑΝΛΗΣ, *Τὸ Ἑλληνικὸ Κολλέγιο*, 57 note 3 says that he died in 1607.

⁹ G. MERCATI, *Per la storia dei manoscritti greci di Genova, di varie badie basiliane d' Italia e di Patmo*. Città del Vaticano, 1935, 122-23 (*Studi e testi*, 68); see also J. BIGNAMI ODIER, *La Bibliothèque vaticane de Sixte IV à Pie XI*. Città del Vaticano, 1973, 74, 88 note 45, 91 note 62 (*Studi e testi*, 272).

Bartolomeo Zanetti, fl. 1514-1547

BARTOLOMEO ZANETTI¹ was also known as Bartholomaeus Brixianus, or Brixianensis (Βαρθολομαῖος ὁ Βρισιανεύς) Bartolomeo da Bressa, Bartholomeus de Zanettis à Casterzago, Bartolomeo Zanetti Casterzagensis (Βαρθολομαῖος ὁ Καστερζαγεύς) and also as Βαρθολομαῖος ὁ καλλιγράφος. Bartolomeo Zanetti was originally from Casterzago or Castrezzato near Brescia. The earliest mention of his name can be found in the colophons of two Giunti Greek grammatical treatises printed in 1514/15 (BH III nos. 168 & 171; ANNALI I nos. 59 & 68). From them one can surmise that Zanetti was working for the Giunti in Florence at this time, or even perhaps that he received his training there. NORTON² believes that it is possible that he was engaged by the Giunti to direct the printing of a series of texts. On the other hand, W. Pettas³ is of the opinion that the Giunti works that were printed by B. Zanetti were not printed on the Giunti press and that the Giunti had commissioned Zanetti to print them independently. However, this cannot be the case as the type and decorations used to print these books belonged to the Giunti. The type is none other than Greek 90, the font that was designed and cut by Zacharias Kallierges for his second Venetian press of 1509 while the decorations were those of the Kallierges-Vlastos press of 1499-50, all acquired by the Giunti some time before Kallierges left for Rome.⁴ The Kallierges type was used by the Giunti to print all of their Greek books from 1514/15 until 1542, long after Bartolomeo Zanetti left their employ and Florence to establish his own press in Venice. Although no other Greek books from the Giunti presses mention Bartolomeo Zanetti's name, it is highly likely that Bartolomeo Zanetti continued to print Greek books for the Giunti after 1515 even after his name ceased to appear in the colophons. All the subsequent Giunti Greek imprints dropped the Greek colophon from their books where it was customary to give the name of the printer and the editor. The Latin colophons gave only the publisher's name.

Several sources attributed to the press of Bartolomeo Zanetti a Greek book printed in Rome in 1516. This information was originally furnished by M. Maittaire.⁵ The book in question, Roberto Bellarmino's (1524-1624) *Dottrina christiana*, which was translated into modern Greek by Leonardos Philaras (c. 1590-1673), was printed in Rome, not in 1516, but in 1616 by a namesake and descendant of Bartolomeo Zanetti, *Διδασκαλία Χριστιανική...πρὸς τὴν τάξιν καὶ συνήθειαν τῆς ἀνατολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας*. Ἐν Ρώμῃ παρὰ Βαρθολομαίῳ τῷ Ζανέτῳ ἀχίς' (BH XVIIIs. I no. 87).⁶ Bartolomeo Zanetti was still active printing in Florence in 1517, as stated in a document from Brescia published by R. Cessi.⁷ The document also states that Zanetti was the son of Cristoforo and the brother of Comino, Francesco, and Battista, and that Bartolomeo was thirty years old. After a brief visit to Fontebuono, where he printed in August 1520 the Rules of the monks of Camaldoli,⁸ he returned to Florence, where he can be traced through a number of books in Italian and Latin that he printed at the expense of others.⁹

There is evidence that Bartolomeo Zanetti was in Venice by 28 January 1527/28, when he acted as a witness to a will.¹⁰ It was not until 1535, however, that Zanetti launched his own printing activities in Venice. At the beginning, the majority of his imprints were edited and financed by the Trincavelli. Vettore Trincavelli, the doctor and philosopher (1491-1563), edited a series of Greek classical texts that were financed by his son Giovanni Francesco or his brother Vincenzo, and all



fig. 241a



fig. 241b

printed by Bartolomeo Zanetti. Even the *Horologion*, 1535 (BH I no. 94), was financed by Vincenzo and Giovanni Francesco Trincavelli. In 1536, Bartolomeo Zanetti brought out the first edition of *Tò paròn biblíon énai í palaiá te kai néa diathíkē* (BH I no. 95), a controversial work consisting of a collection of stories from the Bible rendered into modern Greek by Ioannikios Kartanos. Although their name does not appear anywhere in the book, this first edition of the Kartanos work was also financed by the Trincavelli. The permission to print the work was obtained by Giovanni Francesco Trincavelli.¹¹ The Kartanos work was the most heavily illustrated of all Bartolomeo Zanetti's imprints. It is illustrated with eight woodcuts.¹²

During the first two years of his tenure as a printer in Venice, Bartolomeo Zanetti printed almost exclusively works in Greek, and the books were financed and edited by the Trincavelli.¹³ Beginning in 1537, the Greek imprints and his output in general diminished. Only three works appeared in Greek in 1537. One of the editions was again financed by the Trincavelli, a Hediod, *Érga kai hémérai* (FINAZZI no. 69; MARTINI no. 20). The second work, C. Lascaris's *Graecae institutiones* (BH III no. 359; MARTINI no. 19), was actually an edition made up of the unsold copies of a 1510 edition of Lascaris printed in Ferrara by Giovanni Mazzocchi (BH III no. 149). Only the title page and folios A2 and n8 were reset with Zanetti's own type.¹⁴ A third work is Th. Gaza's trans-



fig. 241c

lation of Cicero's *Cato* (PAPADOPOULOS II no. 70). During 1537, Zanetti printed several works in Italian.¹⁵ Usually, the Italian books printed by B. Zanetti were financed by other printers and publishers, such as Andrea Arrivabene, Antonio Brucioli, Giovanni Giolito de' Ferrari, Giovanni dalla Chiesa, Melchiorre Sessa, and Federico Torresano. Included among the works he printed in Italian were Brucioli's Italian translation of the Bible, commentaries on the Scriptures, and Brucioli's *Dialogi*. After his association with the Trincavelli came to an end, Zanetti printed a few books in Greek at the expense of such publishers as Melchiorre Sessa, Federico Torresano, as well as for individual authors such as Antonios Eparchos and Nikolaos Sophianos. It appears, however, that there was not enough work in printing to make ends meet, for, in 1539, he joined the scriptorium of Guillaume Pellicier who was the French ambassador to Venice between 1539 and 1542.¹⁶ During his sojourn in Venice, Guillaume Pellicier had a number of well-known scribes working for him, among them Nikolaos Malaxos.

According to E. Martini,¹⁷ Bartolomeo Zanetti sold his type in 1541 to the Giolito de'

Ferrari. However, this must refer to his Latin letter and not his Greek letter. His Greek type and some of his decorative initials and headpieces can be found in the imprints of Giovanni Farri who was one of the publishers who had commissioned Bartolomeo Zanetti to print Greek works for him earlier. One can find both the type and decorations in a number of classical texts, for the most part reprints of earlier Zanetti editions, and in an undated Greek alphabet book published by the Farri brothers.¹⁸ Between 1546 and 1548, the Zanetti type made a brief appearance in the Greek editions of Giovanni Griffi and then disappeared altogether.¹⁹

That the Farri brothers bought out the Zanetti Greek stock is made even more evident if one examines the only edition brought out in 1537 by Bartolomeo Zanetti that is not printed with Zanetti's own type. It is the C. Lascaris, *Graecae institutiones* (BH III no. 359) mentioned earlier that is made up of the unsold copies of the 1510 edition printed in Ferrara by Giovanni Mazzocchi (BH III no. 149). It appears that the Farri brought out the remainder of the unsold copies of the Mazzocchi edition, which were in the hands of B. Zanetti and in 1542, they brought out their own edition, re-resetting the title page and folios A2 and n8, the remainder of the work consisting of the original 1510 edition.²⁰

After 1540, Bartolomeo Zanetti must have devoted the best part of his time to manuscript copying for Guillaume Pellicier. His printing activities were minimal. However, he did print the



fig. 242a

odd book when the opportunity arose. On 11 August 1542, Zanetti requested and received permission by the Council of Ten to print a new work, a *Spanos* in modern Greek, along with two other works in Greek.²¹ Although no copy of this first edition of the *Spanos* survives today, it was undoubtedly printed, for there is mention of a printed *Spanos* in the sources before its second edition appeared c. 1553.²² Although the name of the printer is not men-



fig. 242b

tioned and only the date of publication is given, it is certain that B. Zanetti was the printer of A. Eparchos's *Eἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδος καταστροφὴν θρῆνος*, 1544 (BH I no. 108). The Greek type used in the Eparchos work is the one belonging to Nikolaos Sophianos, Cervini no. 1. The type used in the Latin introduction, however, is identical to the one found in B. Zanetti's edition of Hesiod, *Ἔργα καὶ ἡμέραι*, 1537 (FINAZZI no. 69; MARTINI no. 20).

On 2 January 1544/45, B. Zanetti printed another work using the Sophianos type; Sophianos's own translation into modern Greek of Pseudo-Plutarch's *Παιδαγωγός* (BH I no. 107). This time, he signed his work as "Βαρθολομαῖος ὁ καλλιγράφος." The last work he printed in Venice was in Italian, a grammar by Francesco Priscianese, *Principi della lingua romana*, 1545 (SANDER no. 5882). It might not be a coincidence that the Greek books brought out under the Farri imprint also ceased to appear about the same time that Bartolomeo Zanetti left Venice for Florence. It is thus possible to surmise that, although B. Zanetti had sold his stock and equipment to the Farri and was mainly occupied as a scribe, he continued to print whenever possible.

Sometime in late 1545 or early 1546, Bartolomeo Zanetti left Venice for Florence, where he was to run the printing establishment of Anton Francesco Doni. Unfortunately, his stay in Florence was short, as he and Doni came to blows over the running of the operation. Zanetti was forced to leave Doni's employ sometime before September 1547, accompanied by Doni's bitter accusations of mismanagement preserved in a letter of Doni's published in 1547.²³ It is not known where he

went after his dismissal from Florence. It is said that Zanetti went to Rome with his son Camillo and that he was still alive in 1550.²⁴ E. Martini mentioned in passing that, in February 1547/48, B. Zanetti served as a witness in Venice to the signing of the will of Giacomo da Bergamo de Rovanigo, so there is also the possibility that he returned to Venice.²⁵

Bartolomeo Zanetti's Greek type is a cursive font (20 lines=87-88 mm; figs. 40, 136-137). Some of his decorative initials and headpieces are fashioned after motifs reminiscent of Greek manuscripts (fig. 56),²⁶ while others bear a marked resemblance to the initials and decorations of Zacharias Kallierges that Zanetti had used repeatedly while working at the Giunti establishment in his early years in Florence (figs. 137, 242a-b).²⁷ A third set of initials and decorations are purely Renaissance in style (fig. 136).²⁸ His device was a putto, which can be seen in two different



fig. 243



fig. 244

sizes — one is reverse in position and smaller than the other (figs. 243, 244). The larger putto's figure is said to be after Titian.²⁹ At times the mark is surrounded by the motto: "οὐ μετὰ πολὺ/ σὺν θεῷ/ ἀνὴρ ἐσόμενος/ ἀρχὴ τὸ ἡμῖν παντός."³⁰

Although most of Bartolomeo Zanetti's productions were classical texts, he was, nevertheless, one of the very few printers (the others were Zacharias Kallierges and the brothers Nicolini da Sabbio) whose name was associated with the printing of Greek liturgical and vernacular texts during the first half of the sixteenth century. The following list attempts to enumerate the Greek books printed by Bartolomeo Zanetti.

Florence, 1514-1524:

- 1514/1515 Ἐγχειρίδιον γραμματικῆς (BH III no. 168; ANNAL I no. 59) for Filippo Giunta
 "πόνῳ δὲ καὶ δεξιότητι Βαρθολομαίου βρισιανέως τῶν ἐλληνικῶν λόγων
 ἐφιεμένων χάριν"
- 1515 Θ. Γαζῆ, Γραμματικῆς εἰσαγωγῆς βιβλία δ' (BH III no. 171; ANNALI I no. 68) for F. Giunta
 As above

Venice, 1535-1545:

- 1535 Ἀρριανοῦ Ἐπίκτητος (MARTINI no. 4; STC, 235) for G. Fr. Trincavelli
 "In aedibus Bartholomaei Zanetti Casterzagensis"
- 1535 Ἀρριανοῦ, Περὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀναβάσεως (EISS I no. 2859/3082; MARTINI no. 5; STC, 57) for G. Fr. Trincavelli
 As above
- 1535 Ὡρολόγιον (BH I no. 94; MARTINI no. 7) for V. and G. Fr. Trincavelli
 "ἐτυπώσατο μὲν Βαρθολομαῖος ὁ καστερζαγεύς"
- 1535 Ἰωάννης Φιλόπονός, Ὑπόμνημα εἰς τὰ περὶ φυσικῆς... (MARTINI no. 8; STC, 51) for G. Fr. Trincavelli
 "In aedibus Bartholomaei Zanetti Casterzagensis"
- 1535 Ἰωάννης Φιλόπονός, Ὑπόμνημα εἰς τὰ περὶ ψυχῆς βιβλία... (MARTINI no. 6; STC, 44) for G. Fr. Trincavelli
 As above
- 1535 Ἰωάννης Φιλόπονός, Κατὰ Πρόκλου περὶ αἰδιότητος (MARTINI no. 3; STC, 359) for G. Fr. Trincavelli
 As Above
- 1535/1536 Ἰωάννου Στοβαίου, Ἐκλογαὶ ἀποφθεγμάτων (MARTINI nos. 2, 14; STC, 360) for Fr. Trincavelli
 As above
- 1536 Ἀλεξάνδρου Ἀφροδισιέως, Ζητήματα φυσικά (MARTINI no. 13; EISS I no. 923/1040; STC, 17) for V. Trincavelli
 Zanetti mark on the title page
- 1536 Ἀριστοτέλους, Τέχνης ρητορικῆς βιβλία γ' (MARTINI no. 11; EISS I no. 2646/2867; STC, 43) for G. Fr. Trincavelli
 "In aedibus Bartholomaei Zanetti Casterzagensis"
- 1536 Ἀριστοτέλους, Ὀργανον (FINAZZI no. 67; MARTINI no. 10; EISS I no. 2647/2868; STC, 48) for G. Fr. Trincavelli
 As above
- 1536 Ἰωάννης Φιλόπονός, Εἰς τὰ πρότερα ἀναλυτικὰ τοῦ Ἀριστοτέλους Ὑπόμνημα (MARTINI no. 12; STC, 49) for G. Fr. Trincavelli
 As above

- 1536 I. Καρτάνος, Τὸ παρὸν βιβλίον...παλαιά τε καὶ νέα διαθήκη ἤτοι τὸ ἄνθος (BH I no. 95; ADAMS K no. 5; MARTINI no. 15) for G. Fr. Trincavelli
As above
- 1537 Ἡσιόδου, Ἔργα καὶ ἡμέραι (FINAZZI no. 69; MARTINI no. 20; STC, 326) for G. Fr. Trincavelli
As above
- 1537 C. Lascaris, Graecae institutiones (BH III no. 359; MARTINI no. 19)
As above
- 1537 Μάρκου Τυλλίου Κικέρωνος, Κάτων, ἡ Περὶ γήρως (PAPADOPOULOS II no. 70)
"παρὰ βαρθολομαίῳ τῷ καστερζαγεῖ"
- 1538 Ἀριστοφάνους, Κωμωδίαι ἑνδεκα (EISS I no. 2602/2822; MARTINI no. 23; STC, 42) for M. Sessa
"in aedibus Bartholomaei Zanetti Casterzagensis"
- 1538 E. Chrysoloras, Graecae grammaticae institutiones (BH III no. 367; MARTINI no. 28; STC, 172) for M. Sessa
As above
- 1538 Alphabetum graecum (EISS I no. 1101/1227)
No colophon but B. Zanetti type
- 1538-39 Dionysios, Saint the Areopagites, Libri duo (ADAMS D no. 529)
"In aedibus Bartholomaei de Zanettis Casterzagensis"
- 1539 E. Chrysoloras, Graecae grammaticae institutiones (BH III no. 378; LADAS no. 27; MARTINI no. 32; STC, 172) For F. Torresano
"Per Bartholomaeum de Zanettis, à Casterzago"
- 1539 Θεοκρίτου, Εἰδύλλια (BH III no. 387; MARTINI no. 31; STC, 667) for G. Farri
Title page: "Apud Salamandram" with motto: "Sopra ogn' uso mortal/M' è dato albergo"
Colophon: "in aedibus Bartholomaei de Zanettis, à Casterzago"
- 1539 [Z. Καλλιέργη] Σχόλια παλαιὰ εἰς τὰ Θεοκρίτου εἰδύλλια (BH III no. 387; MARTINI no. 31; STC, 667)³¹ for G. Farri
Bound as issued with the above and with same mark and motto
- Pre-1540 I. Καρτάνος, Τὸ παρὸν βιβλίον...ἄνθος³²
- 1541 Alphabetvm graecvm (EISS I no. 1102/1228)³³ for M. Sessa
Sessa cat and mouse mark on title page. B. Zanetti type
- 1542 Σπανός³⁴
- 1544 A. Ἐπαρχος, Εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδος καταστροφὴν θρῆνος (BH I no. 108; STC, 234) for Antonios Eparchos
[In aedibus Bartholomaei Zanetti]
- 1544 Πλουτάρχου, Παιδαγωγός (BH I no. 107) for Nikolaos Sophianos
"Ἐν οἰκίᾳ βαρθολομαίου τοῦ καλλιγράφου"

NOTES

- ¹ ASCARELLI, 65, 140, 188, 191; ASCARELLI-MENATO, 278-79, 368; BORSA I, 351; PASTORELLO no. 473; KONTOSOPOULOS, 338-39. STC, 984; NORTON, 33-34; P. LUGANO, Del tipografo bresciano Bartolomeo de Zanettis al servizio di Camaldoli e della "Regula Vite Eremitice" stampata a Fontebuono nel 1520, *Bibliofilia*, 14(1912)177-83, 210-27, 285-94, 338-44; E. MARTINI, Chi era il copista Camillo Veneto?, *Bibliofilia*, 15(1913)41-51; R. CESSI, Bartolomeo e Camillo Zanetti, tipografi e calligrafi del '500, *Archivio Veneto-Tridentino*, 8(1925)174-82 and his [Camillo e Bartolomeo Zanetti], *Nuovo Archivio Veneto*, n.s., 31(1916)494-98; E. LAYTON, Notes on Some Printers, 136-44; D. E. RHODES, Notes on Early Florentine Printing *Bibliofilia*, 84(1982)154-55 and his L'attività tipografica di Bartolomeo Zanetti a Firenze 1514-1524, *Copyright 1984-1985. Miscellanea di studi in onore di Clementina Rotondi*. Roma, 1985, 25-32.; G. CASTELLANI, Da Tolomeo Ianiculo a Bartolomeo Zanetti via Giovangiorgio Trissino, *Bibliofilia*, 94(1992)171-85.
- ² xv, 33-354
- ³ *The Giunti of Florence*, 50. For the activities of Bartolomeo Zanetti in Florence see D. E. RHODES, L'attività tipografica di Bartolommeo Zanetti a Firenze, 25-32.
- ⁴ RENOUEAU, ix, xxxviii-xxxix nos. 58, 63; R. PROCTOR, *The Printing*, 118.
- ⁵ *Annales typographici*. Hagae, 1722, II, 282: Διδασκαλία Χριστιανική πρὸς τὴν τάξιν καὶ συνήθειαν τῆς Ἀνατολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας: apud Bartholomaeum Zanetum (b) 4^o Romae 1516 [sic, read 1616]. See also G. W. PANZER, *Annales typographici*. Nurenberg, 1800, VIII, 258, no. 110; NORTON, 104; ASCARELLI, 65; E. MARTINI, Chi era il copista Camillo veneto?, 44, 46 note 3; R. CESSI, Bartolomeo e Camillo Zanetti, 175.
- ⁶ E. LAYTON, Notes on Some Printers, 137 and note 46.
- ⁷ Bartolomeo e Camillo Zanetti, 175.
- ⁸ *In hoc volumine continentur. Proemialis epistola in qua de origine cenobitice & eremitice...* Industria Bartholomei de Zanettis brixienensis, 1520 see P. LUGANO, Del tipografo bresciano Bartolomeo de Zanettis, 77-83; 210-27; 285-94; 338-44.
- ⁹ For Bartolomeo Zanetti's Florentine imprints see D. E. RHODES, Notes on Early Florentine Printing, 154-55 and his L'attività tipografica di Bartolomeo Zanetti a Firenze, 25-32.
- ¹⁰ E. MARTINI, Chi era il copista, 42 no. 3. NORTON, 34, claims that Bartolomeo Zanetti was in Venice as early as 1525 but he does not reveal his source.
- ¹¹ For the application to obtain a copyright to print the Kartanos work, see E. LAYTON, Notes on Some Printers, 139-40 and note 50.
- ¹² E. LAYTON, Notes on Some Printers, 138-42.
- ¹³ During this period, E. MARTINI, Chi era, 46 note 3 lists only two works that were not in Greek. These were two works in Italian.
- ¹⁴ E. LAYTON, Notes, 142.
- ¹⁵ E. MARTINI, Chi era, nos. 18, 21-22, 24-27.
- ¹⁶ J. IRIGOIN, Les ambassadeurs, 403-04. For Bartolomeo Zanetti as a scribe see also E. MARTINI, Chi era, 41-51; Martini confuses Bartolomeo Zanetti with his son Camillo (Κάμιλλος Γιάνετος) who was also a scribe. See also R. CESSI, [Camillo e Bartolomeo Zanetti], 494-98; GAMILLSCHEG-HARLFINGER, I no. 31 and II no. 45.
- ¹⁷ Chi era, 48.
- ¹⁸ Books printed with B. Zanetti Greek type and decorations produced under the Farri imprint include: *Graecum alphabetum* [after 1540]; Aesopus, *Fabellae*, 1542 (EISS I no. 337/363; STC, 8); Aristophanes, *Κωμωδίαί*, 1542 (EISS I no. 2605/2825; FINAZZI no. 71); M. Chrysoloras, *Graecae grammaticae*, 1542 (BH III no. 428); Homer, *Ἰλιάς-Ὀδύσσεια*, 1542 (FINAZZI no. 73); Aesopus, *Fabellae*, 1543, 1542 (EISS I no. 340/366); Isocrates, *Λόγοι καὶ ἐπιστολαί*, 1542-1543 (FINAZZI no. 75); C. Lascaris, *Graecae institutiones*, 1542 (BH III no. 429; FINAZZI no. 72)=Mazzocchi edition with A2 and n8 re-reset; Hesiodus, *Opera et dies*, 1543 (FINAZZI no. 74); Theocritus, *Εἰδύλλια*, 1543 (FINAZZI no. 77); [Z. Kallierges] *Σχόλια...Θεοκρίτου εἰδύλλια*, 1543 (BH III no. 444) published as issued with the Theocritus. M. Chrysoloras, *Ἐρωτήματα*, 1544 (BH III no. 447).
- ¹⁹ Aristoteles, *Τέχνη ρητορικῆς*, 1546 (EISS I no. 2664/2884; FINAZZI no. 78); Aristophanes, *Κωμωδίαί*, 1548 (ADAMS A no. 1716; EISS I no. 2609/2829; STC, 42).
- ²⁰ BH III no. 429; FINAZZI no. 72.
- ²¹ Venice. Archivio di Stato. Capi del Consiglio dei Dieci. Notatorio no. 12. 11 August, 1542; E. LAYTON, Notes on Some Printers, 136 and note 43 where the text of the privilege is given.
- ²² E. LAYTON, Notes on Some Printers, 135-36.

- 23 The whole episode with Doni is recounted in P. LUGANO, *Del tipografo bresciano*, 339-43.
- 24 R. CESSI, *Bartolomeo*, 179.
- 25 Chi era, 42 note 3. See also G. CASTELLANI, *Da Tolomeo a Ianiculo Bartolomeo Zanetti*, 184-85.
- 26 See especially the initials and decorations used in the Ioannes Stobaeus, *Ἐκλογαὶ ἀποφθεγμάτων*, 1536 (STC, 360) and Hesiod, *Ἔργα καὶ ἡμέραι*, 1537 (STC, 326).
- 27 See Aristoteles, *Ὀργανον*, 1536 (FINAZZI no. 67) and table XVI; Ioannes Philoponos, *ὑπόμνημα εἰς τὰ περὶ ψυχῆς βιβλία*, 1535 (STC, 44).
- 28 See Ioannes Philoponos, *Κατὰ Πρόκλον*, 1535 (MARTINI no. 3; STC, 359) leaf B3^r and C4^v I. Kartanos, *Βιβλίον...παλαιά τε καὶ νέα διαθήκη*, 1549 (ADAMS K no. 6). This edition of the Kartanos work is made up of sheets of an earlier, missing edition of Kartanos printed by B. Zanetti before 1540. See E. LAYTON, *Notes on Some Printers*, 140-42.
- 29 ESSLING pt. III, 172 no. 651; MORTIMER no. 540; VACCARO no. 516; ZAPPELLA no. 987.
- 30 For the smaller putto see MORTIMER no. 233; ZAPPELLA no. 988.
- 31 The crowned salamander device has been used by various printers, among them G. Farri and Brothers "Apud I. Farreum & fratres, ad signum Salamandrae," see ZAPPELLA nos. 1019 and 1020. There was an edition of the Theokritos, *Scholia* with the salamander mark under the Farri name in 1543, "ex officina Farrea."
- 32 Edition not extant. See note 28 above and E. LAYTON, *Notes on Some Printers*, 140-42.
- 33 There is no mention of Bartolomeo Zanetti but the type is unmistakably his.
- 34 Edition not extant. See E. LAYTON, *Notes on Some Printers*, 135-36.

Cristoforo Zanetti, 1519 or 1520-1582

CRISTOFORO ZANETTI¹ was the eldest son of Bartolomeo Zanetti and the brother of the scribe Camillo Zanetti, known also as Camillus Venetus. Camillo signed his name in the Greek manuscripts he copied as Κάμιλλος Γιάνετος.² It is not known if Francesco Zanetti was also a brother. As will be seen later, he and Cristoforo Zanetti adopted the same printer's device.

Cristoforo was born in Florence in 1519 or 1520 while his father worked there but the family soon moved to Venice, where Cristoforo grew up and received his training as a printer. Most probably, like his father and brother, he also learned Greek and possibly some Hebrew. Nothing is known about Cristoforo's early training or if he ever worked with his father. Except for the odd decoration, one or two headpieces, the type and stock of Bartolomeo Zanetti passed to other printers and publishers. Not even the printer's devices of the father and son were the same or even similar. Thus the Zanetti, and there were several of them spanning several generations of printers, did not belong to an established, continuous firm like the Aldi, the Giunti, the Torresani, or the Sessa.

The first Greek book that bears Cristoforo's name is an *Horologion*, 1546 (BH III no. 468; fig. 245), followed by a *Psalterion*, 1547 (BH I no. 120; fig. 41). Legrand places an undated *Oktoechos* (BH III no. 109A) printed by Cristoforo Zanetti in the year 1543.³ This, however, is not possible since the type of this *Oktoechos* was cut for Cristoforo Zanetti by Guillaume I Le Bé in 1548, as Le Bé informs us himself.⁴ Both the *Horologion* of 1546 and the *Psalterion* of 1547, on the other hand, were printed with a different font than that of the *Oktoechos*. They were printed with a cursive type (20 lines=91-92 mm) that had previously been used by the Brucioli to publish two Greek books in 1543 and 1546. These were a Demosthenes, *Λόγοι*, 1543 (STC, 213),⁵ and A. Arlenius, *Lexicon graecolatinum*, 1545-1546 (FINAZZI no. 79; STC, 55).⁶ Thus, the first two books that appeared under C. Zanetti's name were printed with a font that was also associated with at least two works printed for the Brucioli. After this, Cristoforo did not use the type again. The type reappeared some twenty years later in the hands of Giacomo Leoncini who used it occasionally in the 1560s and 1570s (fig. 42).⁷

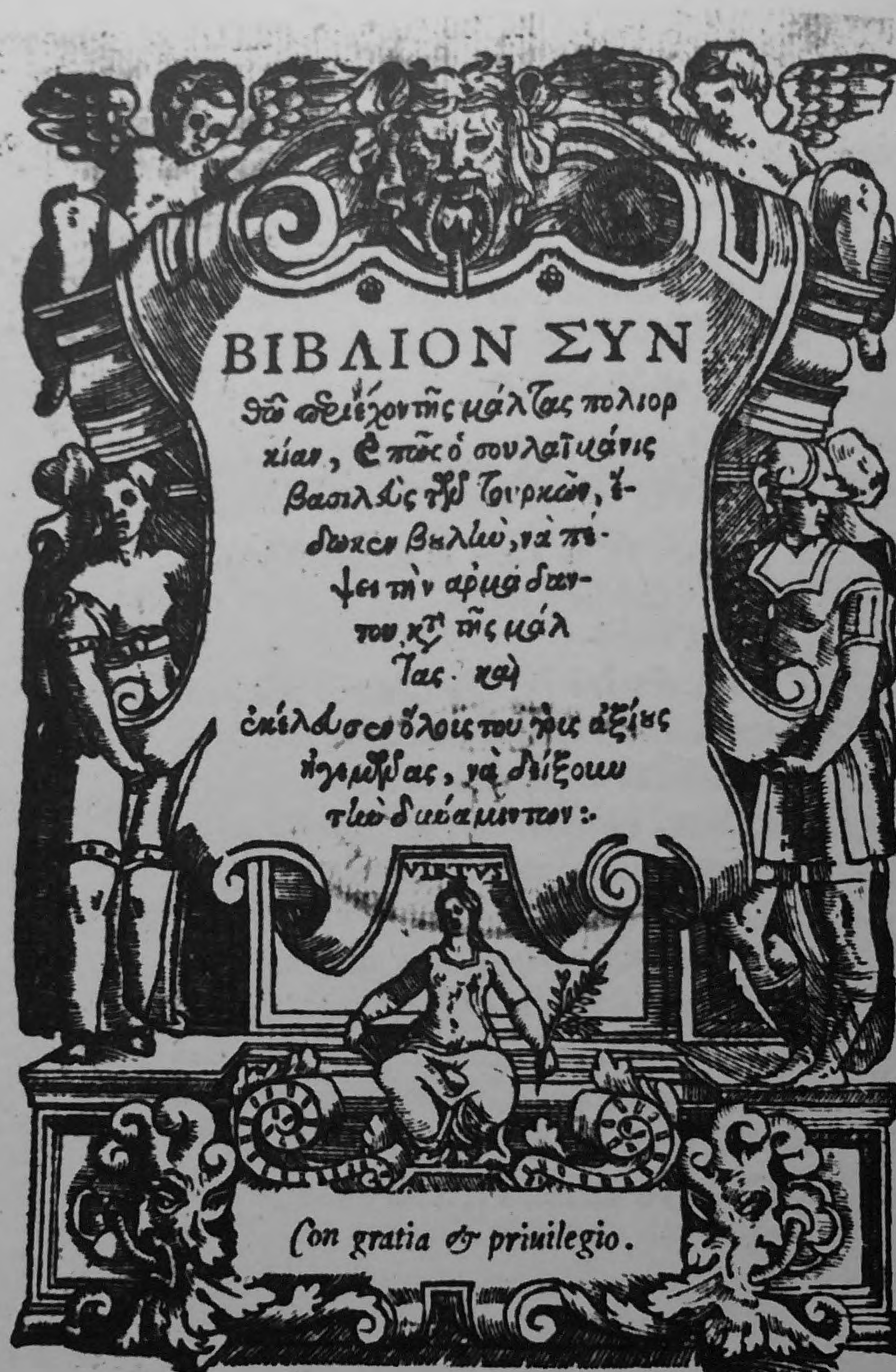
After the printing of the *Psalterion*, 1547, there is a gap of three years before Cristoforo Zanetti's name appears in print again. It was during this period that Zanetti commissioned Guillaume I Le Bé, who had been in Venice since 1545, to cut Greek type for him. As mentioned earlier, Le Bé himself refers to the order by Zanetti in a document published by H. Omont: "Espreuve d'un grec ecclesiastique, taillé à Venise, en l'an 1548, pour Christoffe Zaneti, pour imprimer des alphabetz, petites heures, qui' il nomme *Horologi*, et aultres fatras et histoyres en grec vulgaire, pour apprendre les enfans à lyre."⁸ Cristoforo Zanetti printed the greater part of his books, which consisted of liturgical works, using this ecclesiastical Greek type (20 lines=112-113 mm and 20 lines=94-95 mm). This Greek type cut by Le Bé bears a remarkable resemblance to the one cut by Andrea Spinelli (fig. 37) that made its first appearance in print in 1548. Besides the liturgical works printed with the Zanetti-Le Bé type (figs. 36, 160), some nonliturgical works were also printed with this type, such as the *Spaneas*, c. 1550 (BH I no. 128), the *Spanos* of 1562 (BH IV no. 613), and the *Portolanos*, 1573 (BH II no. 152). In general, however, for the printing of

δόξαν ὡς μονογενῆς πατέρα πατρὸς, πλήρης χάρι-
τος καὶ ἀληθείας. Ἰωάννης μαρτυρεῖ περὶ αὐτοῦ,
καὶ κέκραγε λέγων. οὗτος ὡς ὃν εἶπον, ὁ ὀπίσω
μεθ' ὃν ὁ ἄγγελος, ἐμπροσθέν μου γέγονεν, ὅτι πρῶ-
τος μου ὡς. καὶ ἐκ τῆς πληρώματος αὐτοῦ ἡμεῖς
πάντες ἀλάβομεν, καὶ χάριν ἀντὶ χάριτος ὅτι
ὁ νόμος διὰ Μωσέως ἐδόθη. ἡ χάρις καὶ ἡ ἀλή-
θεια, διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ ἐγένετο.



σταύρωσις τῆς κυνὸς ἡμῶν ἰου χυ. ἐκ τῆς κατὰ
ἰωάννου ἀγίου διαφιλίου.

Καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν ὁ ἰς, ἐξῆλθε σὺν τοῖς μαθη-
ταῖς αὐτοῦ πέραν τῆς χειμάρρος τῆς κέδρων,
ὅπου ὡς καὶ ποταμὸς, εἰς ὃν ἐσῆλθεν αὐτός, καὶ οἱ
μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ. ἦδεν δὲ καὶ ἰουδαῖοι ὁ πα-
ρὰ διδόντες αὐτὸν τὸν τόπον, ὅτι πολλάκις σωήσκει
καὶ ὁ ἰς ἐκεῖ μετὰ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ ὁ σὺν ἰου-
δαῖοι λαβὼν τὴν ἀσπίδα, καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀρχιδρέων
καὶ φαρισαίων ὑπερέτας, ὅς τε ἐκεῖ μετὰ φα-
ρισαίων καὶ λαμπάδων καὶ ὀπλῶν. ἰς σὺν εἰδὼς πάν-
τα ταῦτα ἐρχόμενα ἐπὶ αὐτὸν, ἐξελθὼν, εἶπεν αὐ-
τοῖς. τίνα ζητεῖτε. ἀπεκρίθησαν αὐτῷ. ἰνὸς τὸ να-
ζωραῖον. λέγει αὐτοῖς ὁ ἰς. ἐγὼ εἰμὶ εἰσῆκη δὲ



Εἰπήσει ὁ Ζανέτι Χριστόφορος τῆς Ζανέτι.
α φ ο α.



fig. 246

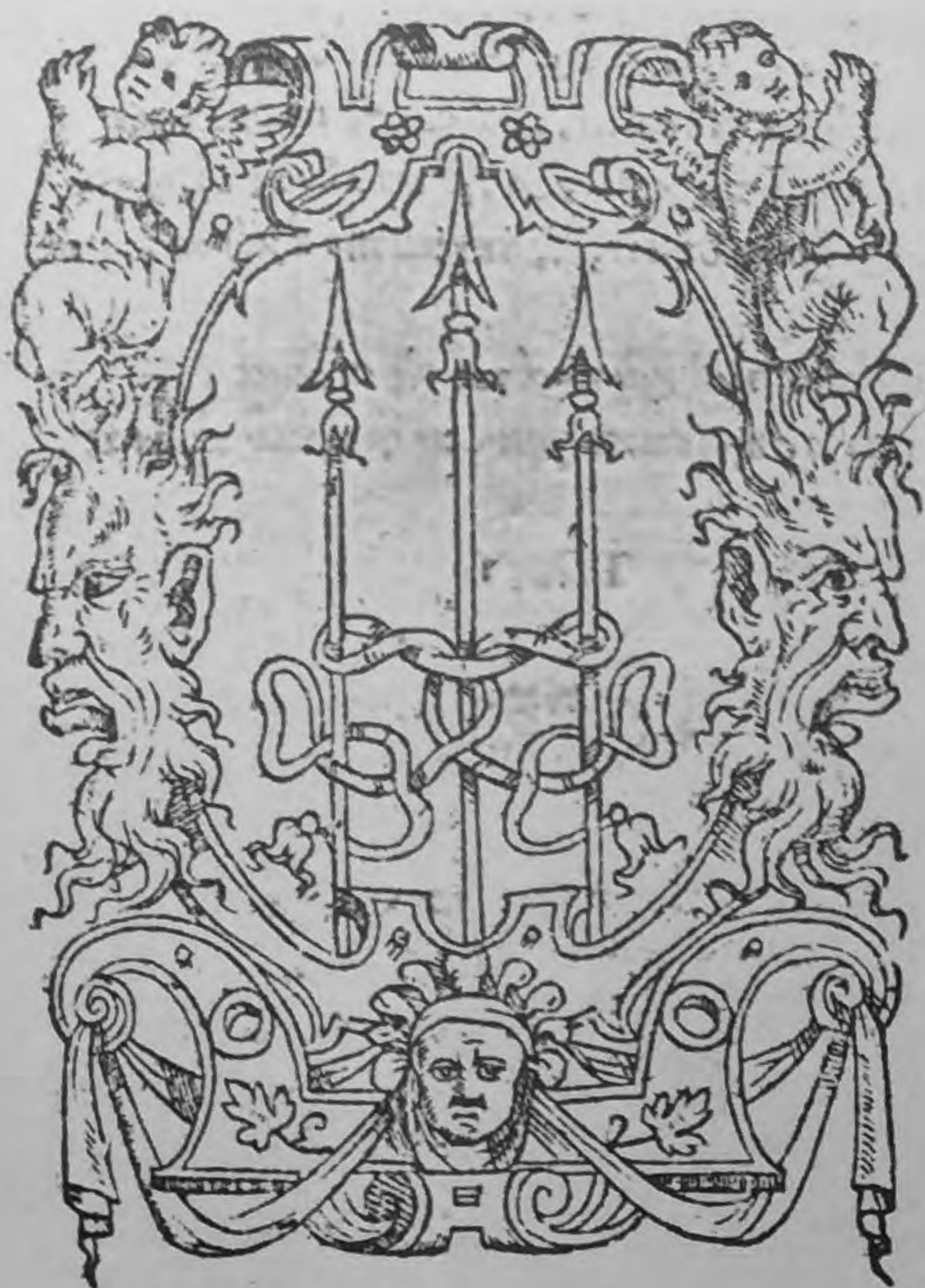


fig. 247

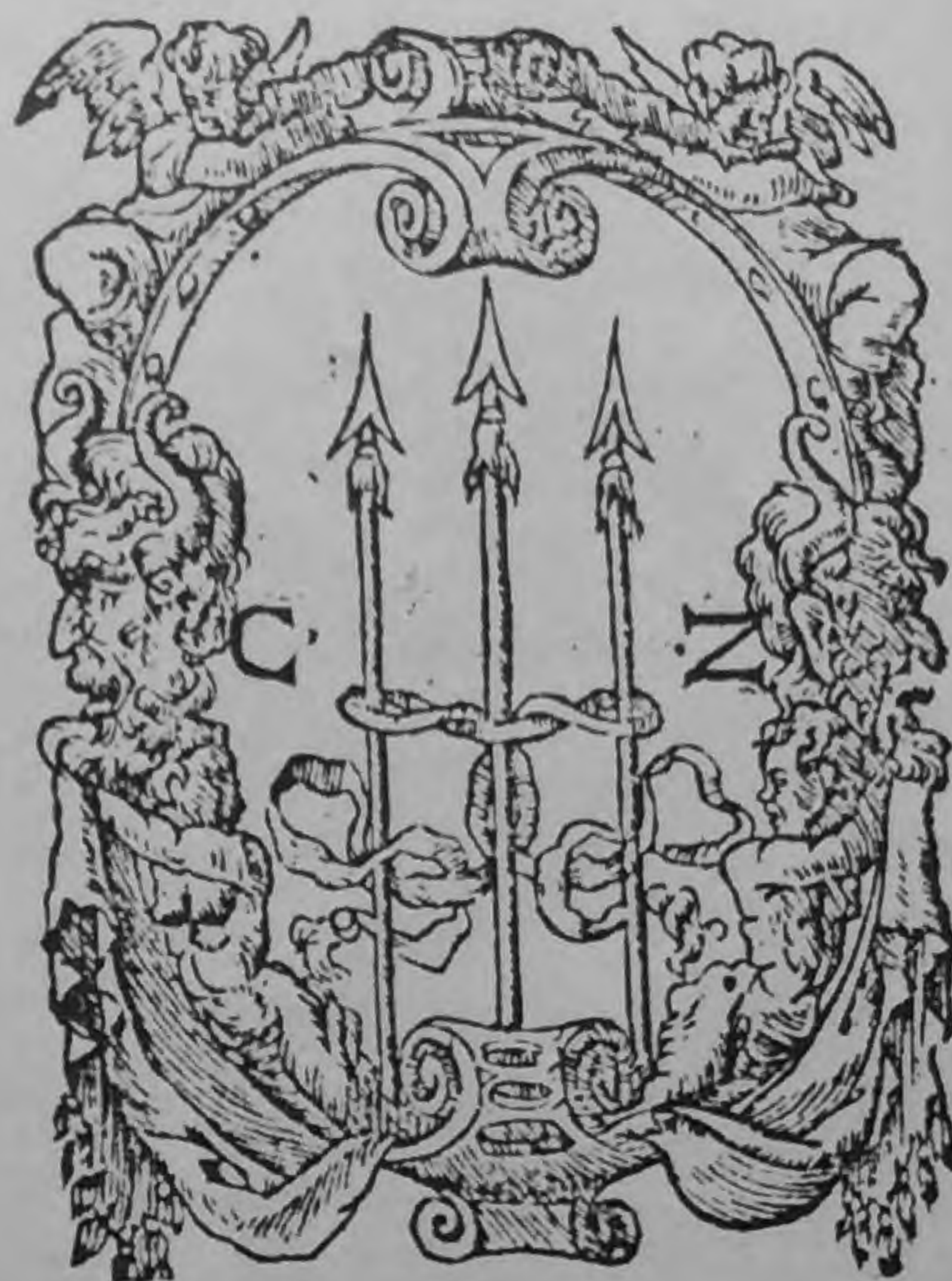


fig. 248

his nonliturgical editions, C. Zanetti used yet a third font, which had already been used by the Nicolini da Sabbio and Francesco Rampazetto and also had appeared in books printed for Melchiorre Sessa. This type, DS no. 3 (20 lines=88-89 mm), might very well have been acquired directly from the Nicolini da Sabbio, whose name no longer appears in Greek books after 1552. The earliest use of this type by C. Zanetti is found in books printed in 1553 that bear a remarkable resemblance to similar editions printed by the Nicolini da Sabbio in other respects as well, they use the same initials and headpieces (figs. 151, 157).⁹ That some of the Nicolini da Sabbio stock passed into the hands of Cristoforo Zanetti becomes even more evident when one examines the page borders of Zanetti's 1557-58, 1561 and 1562 editions of the *Θησαυρός* of Damaskenos Stoudites (PAPADOPOULOS II no. 209 and LADAS no. 54; fig. 106). This title page border belonged to the Nicolini da Sabbio and still displays their device, a cabbage, which can be seen in the middle of the lower part with "Io. Anto. et fratelli."¹⁰ Whether the type, DS no. 3, came from the stock of the Nicolini da Sabbio or not, Cristoforo Zanetti used it from 1553 through 1580 to print most of his nonliturgical editions and also used it for his pocket editions of some of the liturgical books that were used as instructional books during this period.¹¹

Although the types discussed above, i.e., the type cut by Guillaume I Le Bé and DS no. 3, were the fonts used most regularly by C. Zanetti, occasionally he also had the use of some other distinctive type not associated with his press. This is the case in two editions in 1561 and 1562 of the *Thesaurus* of Damaskenos Stoudites mentioned earlier. Besides the page border used in both editions, which comes from the stock of the Nicolini da Sabbio, two different fonts were used to print the 1561 edition (PAPADOPOULOS II no. 209). One of the fonts is definitely not associated with C. Zanetti, but the headpieces and the Crucifixion (verso of the title page) are definitely from his stock. The type not associated with C. Zanetti (20 lines=88 mm) is very similar to the type that



fig. 249

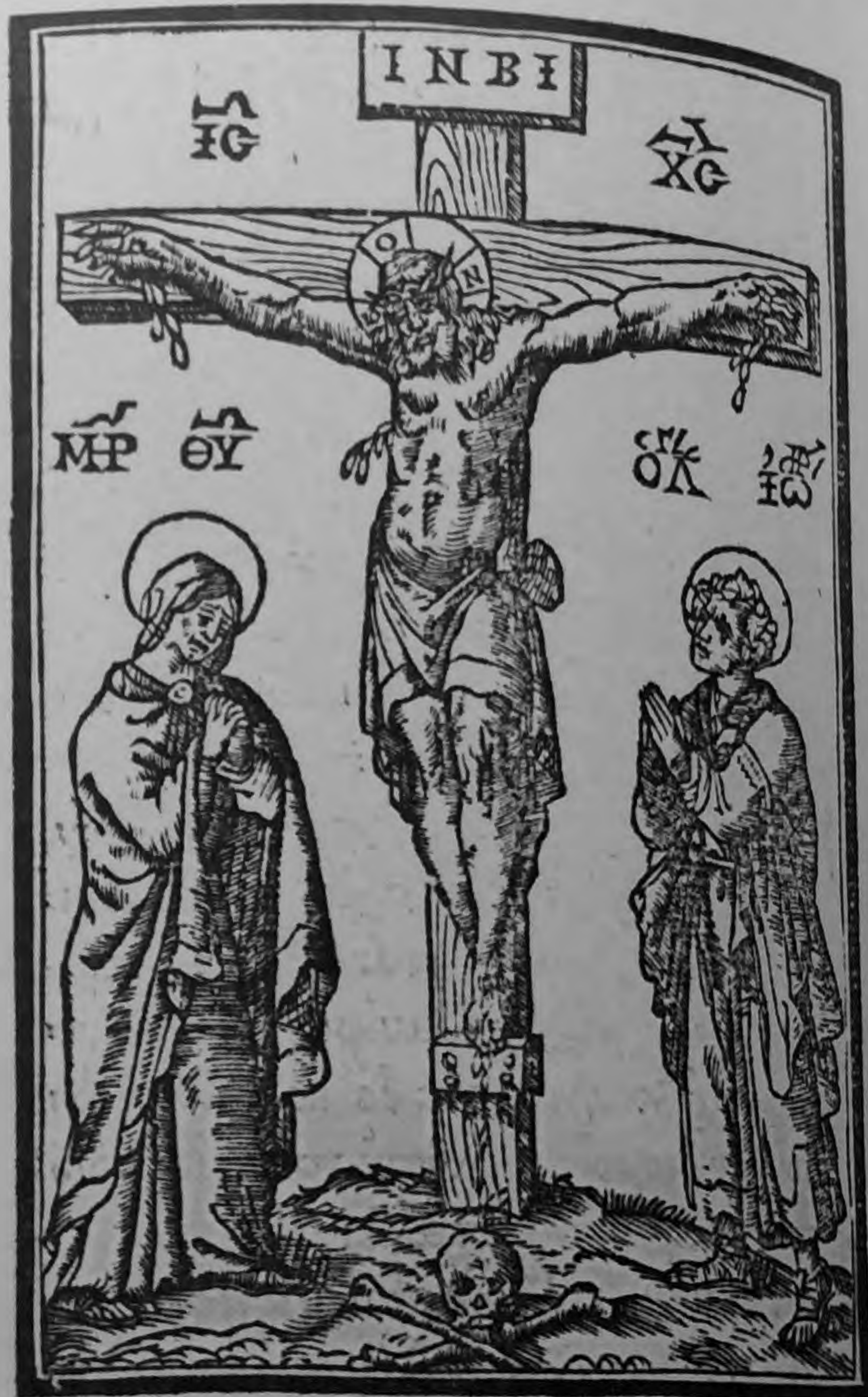


fig. 250

was used by Demetrios Doukas in 1526 in Rome to print the *Θεῖαι Λειτουργεῖαι* (BH I no. 76 fig. 27).¹² The preliminary leaves (+2-+4) were printed with DS no. 3 (fig. 138), the type used by the Nicolini da Sabbio and Francesco Rampazetto discussed above. The remainder of the work was printed with a type similar to that used by D. Doukas in Rome (fig. 139). The preliminary pages of the 1562 edition of the *Thesaurus* of Damaskenos Stoudites (LADAS no. 54) were printed with yet a different type, which made its first appearance here in the imprints of Cristoforo Zanetti, while the remainder of the book was again printed with the type resembling that of D. Doukas. The new type, (20 lines=91-92 mm), is the *augustine grecque* of Pierre Haultin.¹³ The Haultin *augustine grecque* was also used by C. Zanetti to print an *Horologion*, 1569 and Antonios Achelis, *Μάλτας πολιορκία*, 1571 (BH IV no. 683; figs. 45, 246). The *augustine grecque* of Pierre Haultin appeared among the stock of other Italian printers and publishers in Venice about this time.¹⁴

Another Zanetti, Francesco, used the *augustine grecque* of Pierre Haultin when he printed in Venice a single work, *Νικήτα φιλοσόφου τοῦ καὶ Δαβίδ, Ἑρμηνεία εἰς τὰ τετράστιχα Γρηγορίου τοῦ Ναζιανζηνοῦ*, 1563 (BH I no. 140 and BH IV no. 617). With the exception of this one book, Francesco Zanetti is associated with printing in Rome where he had a long and distinguished career. It is interesting to note that on the title page of this work the mark used — three darts held together by a ribbon with their tips pointing up and their stems touching the ground — is none



fig. 251

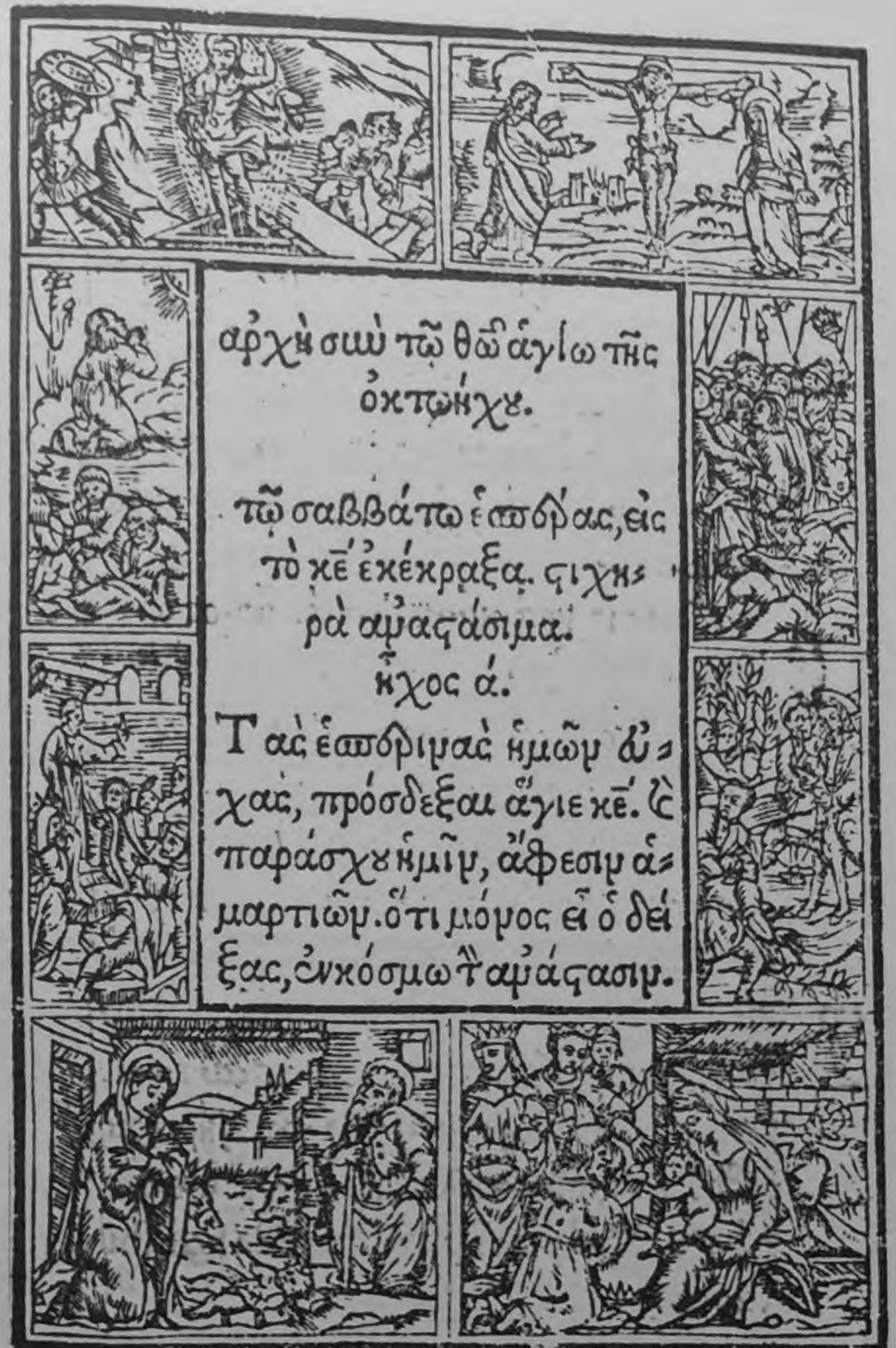


fig. 252

other than the one frequently used and associated with the imprints of Cristoforo Zanetti (fig. 247). It is found in a great number of the Greek works he printed.¹⁵ Thus, Francesco Zanetti must have been a close relative of Cristoforo, perhaps a younger brother or a son, and early in his training days in Venice was associated with him. When Francesco Zanetti began printing Greek in Rome, he used the Haultin *augustine grecque* to print all of his Greek books. He also adopted a close variation of the mark with the three darts as his own device (VACCARO no. 236; ZAPPELLA no. 434).

E. Vaccaro gives three different marks for Cristoforo Zanetti, none of them the ones described above.¹⁶ The marks are no. 334, also associated with Orazio de Gobbi, no. 513, also associated with Bolognino Zaltieri, and no. 517. As far as I know, none of these marks were used in the Zanetti Greek imprints, which used either one or the other version of the marks with the three darts (figs. 247, 248). The only exception was in the 1556 edition of I. Kartanos, *Τὸ παρὸν βιβλίον... Παλαιά τε καὶ Νέα Διαθήκη*, which uses Bartolomeo Zanetti's mark instead (fig. 243). It is possible that Zanetti printed the works cited in Vaccaro at the expense of others. The printer Orazio de Gobbi was C. Zanetti's son-in-law, the husband of his daughter Angelina.¹⁷

Cristoforo Zanetti was the first of the Zanetti to print Hebrew books. Venice was a very important center for the publication of Hebrew books, and as the demand for Hebrew books increased, a number of Italian printers entered this market in the 1560s. However, this period was unfavorable to Hebrew printing in Venice because there was an increasing hostility toward the Jews at this time. It was inevitable that Hebrew printing came under very close scrutiny. In 1568, the Esecutori sopra l'heresia confiscated thousands of recently published Hebrew books under the pretext that they were incorrect and unexpurgated and that they were published without obtaining the governmental *imprimatur* issued by the Council of Ten. The confiscated books, some 2,400 volumes were to be burned at the Piazza San Marco. Among the volumes confiscated were imprints of Cristoforo Zanetti's. The Esecutori ordered that 4,000 copies of one of C. Zanetti's Hebrew books be exported to the Levant. He was also fined fifty ducats. Thus Cristoforo Zanetti's activities as a printer of Hebrew books came to an early end. However, some other members of the Zanetti family, especially Daniele and Matteo Zanetti, resumed publication of Hebrew books later, Daniele between 1576 and 1608 and Matteo from 1593. What the relationship was between Cristoforo, Daniele, and Matteo is not known.¹⁸

Paul Grendler¹⁹ believes that most of the Zanetti relocated to Rome after 1576, probably driven from Venice by the plague, when Cristoforo ceased publishing. But, of course, Cristoforo

Zanetti continued to print Greek in Venice until the time of his death at the age of sixty-two, which occurred on 15 February 1582.²⁰ Cristoforo Zanetti's name appears for the last time in an *Anthologion*, 1582 (BH IV no. 756; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 268). Immediately after, the colophon in a 1583 *Apostolos* (KORDOSIS B no. 3) contains the words "παρὰ τῶν κληρονόμων Χριστοφόρου, τῷ ζανέτῳ." It is not known if Orazio de Gobbi was among the "heirs" who published several books between 1583 and 1596. The name of Cristoforo's son, Pietro, began to appear in Greek liturgical books in 1586 under the designation "παρὰ Πέτρου, υἱοῦ τοῦ ποταὶ χριστοφόρου, τοῦ τζανέτου."

The majority of Cristoforo Zanetti's books were printed without indication of editor or corrector except toward the end of his career, beginning with an *Evangelion*, 1575 (BH II no. 155; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 256), which gives the name of Theophanes Logaras as the editor. The *Anthologion*,



fig. 253

1582 (BH IV no. 756; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 268), which is the last book printed by him, was edited by the unknown Nikolaos, a priest from Cyprus. Like other printers specializing in the publication of Greek liturgical works, Cristoforo Zanetti acquired a set of woodcuts that were free copies of the woodcuts first seen in the *Oktoechos*, 1523 (ESSLING no. 2217; SANDER no. 5025; fig. 59a-c). These are the woodcuts of Saint John of Damaskos (fig. 249), the Crucifixion (fig. 250), and the Resurrection (fig. 251). However, for the most part, his illustrations both for his liturgical and vernacular editions were of Western provenance (figs. 252, 253).

Cristoforo Zanetti was the most prolific printer of Greek books for Greek readers in the second half of the sixteenth century. His Hebrew and Italian imprints were negligible compared to his Greek output. As far as can be ascertained, C. Zanetti, unlike his father Bartolomeo, did not print any editions of the Greek classics or grammars and lexicons of ancient Greek, as did most of the printers of Greek during the first half of the sixteenth century. Cristoforo was perhaps the first printer who did not combine the printing of classical texts with the occasional liturgical or vernacular text, as was the custom with the earlier printers, but was the first to concentrate exclusively on providing books for the new and growing number of Greeks in Venice and for export to those who lived in the Greek-speaking lands of the eastern Mediterranean.

Greek books printed by Cristoforo Zanetti:

- | | |
|--------|--|
| 1546 | Ὡρολόγιον (BH III no. 468) ²¹
"Stampato in Venetia per Christophano Zanetti" |
| 1547 | Ψαλτήριον (BH I no. 120; EISS III no. 4019)
"παρὰ χριστοφόρῳ τῷ ζανέτῳ νεωστὶ μετὰ πολλῆς ἐπιμελείας διορθωθὲν καὶ ἐντυπωθὲν" |
| [1550] | Διδασκαλία...σπανέα (BH I no. 128; FINAZZI no. 83)
As above |
| 1550 | Ἀπόστολος (BH I no. 126) for Damiano di Santa Maria
As above |
| 1550 | Παρακλητική (KORDOSIS B no. 1; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 141 ^a) for Damiano di Santa Maria
As above |
| 1551 | Τριώδιον (BH II no. 240) for Damiano di Santa Maria
"πόνῳ χριστοφόρου τοῦ ζανέτου μετὰ πλείστην ἀναγνώσεως καὶ κατορθώσεως" |
| 1552 | Εὐαγγέλιον (BH IV no. 537; PAPAZOTOS no. 1=1542 [sic])
"παρὰ χριστοφόρῳ τῷ ζανέτῳ ὡς οἶον τ' ἦν ἐπιμελέστατα διορθωθὲν, καὶ ἐξ ἀξιοπιστοτάτοις ἀντιγράφοις συμπαραθεωρηθὲν" |
| 1553 | Ἀπόκοπος (BH IV no. 557; EISS II no. 1618)
"per Christophoro di Zanetti" |
| 1553 | Ἀπολώνιος (BH I no. 130)
As above |
| 1553 | Ἐξήγησις...Ὑμβερίου [sic] (BH IV no. 558)
As above |

- [1553] Σπανός (BH III no. 105)
No printer but same type as the preceding four books
- 1553 Εὐχολόγιον (BH IV no. 548)
“παρὰ χριστοφόρῳ τῷ ζανέτῳ”
- 1554 Ἀπόστολος (UNIVERSITÄTSBIBLIOTHEK WÜRZBURG)
As above
- 1554 Ὁρολόγιον (PAPADOPOULOS II no. 161)
“παρὰ χριστοφώρου [sic] τοῦ Ζανέτου”
“apud Franciscum Rampazetum”
- 1554 Παρακλητική (BH IV no. 563)
“παρὰ χριστοφόρῳ τῷ ζανέτῳ”
- 1554 Τριώδιον (PAPADOPOULOS II no. 163^a; PAPADOPOULOS B no. 4)
“πόνῳ χριστοφόρου τοῦ ζανέττου μετὰ πλείστην ἀναγνώσεως καὶ κατορθώσεως”
- 1555 Πεντηκοστάριον (PAPADOPOULOS II no. 166)
“παρὰ χριστοφόρῳ τῷ ζανέτῳ νεωστὶ μετὰ πολλῆς ἐπιμελείας διορθωθέν, καὶ ἐντυπωθέν”
- 1555 Ψαλτήριον (FINAZZI no. 88; LADAS no. 47; EISS II no. 2003)
“παρὰ Χριστοφώρου [sic] τοῦ Ζανέτου”
- 1555 Σεπτέμβριος (BH II no. 248)
“παρὰ Χριστοφόρῳ τῷ ζανέτῳ”
- 1556 Ι. Καρτάνος, Τὸ παρὸν βιβλίον ἔναι ἡ Παλαιὰ τε καὶ Νέα Διαθήκη (WÜRTTEMBERGISCHE LANDESBIBLIOTHEK)
“Per Cristoforo Zanetti”
- 1557 Σεπτέμβριος (STOYANOV no. 31)
“παρὰ Χριστοφόρῳ τῷ Ζανέτῳ”
- 1557 Ὀκτώβριος (BH II no. 249; STOYANOV no. 32)
As above
- 1557 Νοέμβριος (BH II no. 250; STOYANOV no. 19=1547 [sic])
As above
- 1557 Δεκέμβριος (STOYANOV no. 20=1547 [sic])
As above
- 1557 Φεβρουάριος (BH II no. 251; STOYANOV no. 30=αφνέ/1551 [sic])
As above
- 1557-58 Δαμασκηνὸς Στουδίτης, Βιβλίον...Θησαυρός²²
Title page: “per Christofano di Zanetti”
Colophon: “παρὰ χριστοφόρῳ τῷ ζανέτῳ”

- 1558 Εὐχολόγιον (BH I no. 134; EISS III no. 3995)
“παρὰ Χριστοφόρῳ τῷ ζανέτῳ”
- 1558 Νοέμβριος (STOYANOV no. 37)
As above
- 1558 Δεκέμβριος (BH II no. 258; STOYANOV no. 38)
As above
- 1558 Ἰανουάριος (BH II no. 259)
As above
- [1558] Ὀκτώηχος (BH III no. 109A=1543 [sic]=BH I no. 135; EISS III no. 4016; LAYTON no. 45)
As above
- 1558 Παρακλητική (PAPADOPOULOS II no. 178)
As above
- 1559 Ἀπόστολος (PAPADOPOULOS II no. 179; LADAS no. 49)
As above
- 1559 Ὡρολόγιον (ILIOU no. 8; LADAS no. 52)
C. Z. printer's mark with his initials on the title page
- 1559 Παρακλητική (BH I no. 136; STOYANOV no. 39)
“παρὰ χριστοφόρῳ τῷ ζανέτῳ”
- 1559 Τριώδιον (BH IV no. 594; STOYANOV no. 40)
“πόνῳ χριστοφόρου τοῦ ζανέττου μετὰ πλείστης ἀναγνώσεως καὶ κατορθώσεως”
- 1560 Εὐχολόγιον (PAPADOPOULOS II no. 200; STOYANOV no. 41)²³
“παρὰ χριστοφόρῳ τῷ ζανέτῳ νεωστὶ μετὰ πολλῆς ἐπιμελείας διωρθωθὲν [sic] καὶ ἐντυπωθὲν”
- 1560 Εὐαγγέλιον (PAPADOPOULOS II no. 199)
As above
- [1560?] Ὀκτώηχος (PAPADOPOULOS II no. 200^a; STC, 379)²⁴
“παρὰ Χριστοφόρῳ τῷ ζανέτῳ”
- 1560 Πεντηκοστάριον (PAPADOPOULOS II no. 201)
As above
- 1561 Δαμασκηνὸς Στουδίτης, Βιβλίον...Θησαυρός (PAPADOPOULOS II no. 209)
“Per Christofano di Zanetti”
- 1561 Τριώδιον (BH IV no. 605)
“πόνῳ χριστοφόρου τοῦ ζανέττου μετὰ πλείστης ἀναγνώσεως καὶ κατορθώσεως”

- 1562 Ἀπόστολος (PAPADOPOULOS II no. 212^a)
 “παρὰ χριστοφόρῳ τῷ ζανέτο [sic] νεωστὶ μετὰ πολλῆς ἐπιμελείας διορθωθέν, καὶ ἐντυπωθέν”
- 1562 Δαμασκηνὸς Στουδίτης, Βιβλίον...Θησαυρός (LADAS no. 54)
 “Per Christofano di Zanetti”
- 1562 Εὐχολόγιον (SKLAVENITES no. 4; EISS III no. 3996)
 “παρὰ Χριστοφόρῳ τῷ ζανέτῳ. νεωστὶ μετὰ πολλῆς ἐπιμελείας διορθωθέν, καὶ ἐντυπωθέν”
- 1562 Σπανός (BH IV no. 613)
 “παρὰ χριστοφόρῳ τῷ ζανέτῳ”
- 1563 Εὐαγγέλιον (BH IV no. 615)
 As above
- 1566 Ὀκτώηχος (ILIOU no. 9; LADAS no. 57)²⁵
 “παρὰ Χριστοφόρῳ τῷ ζανέτῳ”
- 1567 Πεντηκοστάριον (BH IV no. 640; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 232)
 “παρὰ χριστοφόρῳ τῷ ζανέτῳ. νεωστὶ μετὰ πολλῆς ἐπιμελείας διορθωθείσα, καὶ ἐντυπωθείσα”
- [1568?] Ε. Γλυζούνης, Βιβλίον...λογαριαστικὴν (PAPADOPOULOS II no. 235)
 Copy lacks colophon. Mark of C. Zanetti on the title page
- 1568 Ὀκτώηχος (ILIOU, 318 no. 19)²⁶
- 1568 Τριώδιον (ILIOU no. 11; LADAS no. 62; PAPAZOTOS no. 2)
 “παρὰ Χριστοφόρῳ τῷ Ζανέτῳ. νεωστὶ μετὰ πολλῆς Ἐπιμελείας διορθωθείσα καὶ ἐντυπωθείσα”
- 1569 Ὡρολόγιον (UNIVERSITÄTSBIBLIOTHEK INNSBRUCK)
 “παρὰ Χριστοφόρῳ τῷ Ζανέτῳ νεωστὶ μετὰ πολλῆς ἐπιμελείας διορθωθέν, καὶ ἐντυπωθέν”
- 1570 Παρακλητικὴ (ILIOU, 319 no. 22)²⁷
- 1571 Α. Ἀχέλης, Βιβλίον...μάλτας πολιορκίαν (BH IV no. 683)
 “παρὰ Χριστοφόρῳ τῷ Ζανέτῳ”
- 1573 Πορτολάνος (BH II no. 152)²⁸
 “In Venetia, nel mese di Zugno”
- 1575 Ἱερὸν Εὐαγγέλιον (BH II no. 155; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 256)
 “ἐν οἰκίᾳ Χριστοφόρῳ τῷ ζανέτῳ”
- 1575 Θεῖαι Λειτουργίαι (LADAS no. 68)²⁹
 “παρὰ Χριστοφόρῳ τῷ Τζανέτῳ”

- Pre-1577 Ψαλτήριον (LADAS no. 89=1587 [sic])³⁰
 "παρὰ χριστοφόρῳ τῷ ζανέτῳ"
- 1577 Διήγησις...Βελισαρίου (BH IV no. 721)
 As above
- 1577 Ἱστορία τοῦ ρὲ τῆς σκοτζίας (BH II no. 271=IV no. 722)
 As above
- 1577 Ψαλτήριον (PAPADOPOULOS II no. 259; EISS II no. 2004)
 As above
- 1578 Ἀνθολόγιον (ILIOU no. 13; LADAS no. 72; EISS III no. 3992)
 "ἐν οἰκίᾳ μὲν Χριστοφόρου τοῦ τζανέτου, ἀναλώμασι μὲν τοῖς αὐτοῦ"
- 1579 Ἀπολόνιος (BH IV no. 734)
 "παρὰ Χριστοφόρῳ τῷ Ζανέτῳ"
- 1579 Ἀπόστολος (BH II no. 161)
 As above
- 1579 Σπανός (BH IV no. 735)
 As above
- 1580 Δαμασκηνὸς Στουδίτης, Βιβλίον...Θησαυρός (PAPADOPOULOS II no. 263)
 As above
- 1580 Εὐχολόγιον (BEES I no. 127)
 "ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ τοῦ εὐγενεστάτου κυρίου Χριστοφόρου τοῦ Ζανέτου, ἀναλώμασι μὲν τοῖς αὐτοῦ"
- [1580] Ὠρολόγιον (BH II no. 164)
 "παρὰ Χριστοφόρῳ τῷ Ζανέτῳ"
- 1580 Θεῖαι Λειτουργίαι (PAPADOPOULOS II no. 263bis; ADAMS L no. 845)
 As above
- 1581 Ἱερὸν Εὐαγγέλιον (BH II no. 273; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 266)
 "ἐν οἰκίᾳ Χριστοφόρῳ τῷ Ζανέτῳ"
- 1582 Ἀνθολόγιον (BH IV no. 756; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 268)³¹
 "ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ τοῦ εὐγενεστάτου, ἄρχοντος, κυρίου, Χριστοφόρου τοῦ τζανέτου ἀναλώμασι μὲν τοῖς αὐτοῦ"

NOTES

¹ ASCARELLI, 188 (1555-1576); ASCARELLI-MENATO, 368 (1546-1547; 1553-1580); BORSA I, 351 (1546-1547; 1553-1580); KONTOSOPOULOS, 295 (1546-1586); PASTORELLO no. 474 (1555-1576); STC, 985 (1546-1576).

² E. MARTINI, *Chi era*, 41, 47; R. CESSI, *Bartolomeo e Camillo*, 174-82; GAMILLSCHEG-HARLFINGER, I no. 212, II no. 299.

³ The date is taken from H. OMONT, *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, 1888, III, 355. See LAYTON no. 45=[1558].

⁴ H. OMONT, *Spécimens de caractères hébreux, grecs, latins et de musique gravés à Venise et à Paris par Guillaume Le Bé (1545-1592), Mémoires de la Société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Île-de-France*, 15(1888)275, 282 and pl. III where the Greek type is reproduced. See also LAYTON no. 45.

⁵ The colophon reads: Venetiis apud Franciscum Bruciolum et fratres, 1543. The initials belonged to the stock of B. Zanetti. The printer of this work was probably Bartolomeo Zanetti. B. Zanetti had already printed some other works for the Brucioli in earlier years, see E. MARTINI, 46 note 3, nos. 22, 24, 25, 30. All of these works were in Italian.

⁶ Venetiis apud Alexandrum Bruciolum et fratres, 1545-1546. This work too uses initials that come from the stock of Bartolomeo Zanetti.

⁷ In the "Elenco di stampatori e librari" compiled by E. Cicogna and published in H. F. Brown, *The Venetian*, 408, Giacomo Leoncini is listed as being active as early as 1547, long before he established his own publishing firm in 1560. Perhaps this means that he had financed some books as early as 1547.

⁸ *Spécimens de caractères*, 282 and pl. III; BH IV, 25; H. F. BROWN, *The Venetian*, 104.

⁹ Compare the title pages of the *Apokopos*, 1534 (BH I no. 90), printed by the Nicolini da Sabbio for Damiano di Santa Maria, with the Zanetti edition of 1553 (BH IV no. 557). Except for the printer's device, they are identical. Compare also the headpiece of M. Depharanas, *Λόγοι διδακτικοί*, 1543 (BH I no. 105 fig. 158) A2^r with the headpiece of the 1553 Zanetti edition of the *Ἡμῆριος*, α2^r (BH IV no. 558 fig. 157).

¹⁰ ESSLING no. 1175; VACCARO, no. 417, fig. 106. Later, his son Pietro Zanetti, used the page border but with the "Io. Anto. et fratelli" scratched out, on the title page of his 1589 edition of Damaskenos Stoudites, *Βιβλίον...Θησαυρός* (BH IV no. 817).

¹¹ Books printed with this type by C. Zanetti: *Apokopos*, 1553 (BH IV no. 557; EISS II no. 1618); *Apolonios*, 1553 (BH I no. 130); *Imberios*, 1553 (BH IV no. 558); *Spanos*, c. 1553 (BH III no. 105); *Psalterion*, 1555 (FINAZZI no. 88; LADAS no. 47); *Horologion*, 1559 (ILIOU no. 8); Damaskenos Stoudites, *Thesaurus*, 1557-58 and the preliminary leaves of the edition of 1561 (PAPADOPOULOS II no. 209); E. Glyzounis, *Violion...logariastiken*, 1568? (PAPADOPOULOS II no. 235); *Diegesis...Belisariou*, 1577 (BH IV no. 721); *Historia tou re tes Skotzias*, 1577 (BH IV no. 722); *Apolonios*, 1579 (BH IV no. 734); *Spanos*, 1579 (BH IV no. 735); Damaskenos Stoudites, *Thesaurus*, 1580 (PAPADOPOULOS II no. 263); *Horologion*, [1580] (BH II no. 164). For the use of the Greek liturgical books for scholastic purposes see Σ. ΛΑΜΠΡΟΣ, *Τὰ ἀναγνώσματα*, 237-71; Γ. ΣΚΟΡΔΕΛΗΣ, *Ἡ Ὀκτώηχος*, 197-211; Φ. ΗΛΙΟΥ, *Σημειώσεις*, 111-15.

¹² See also under Demetrios Doukas in Part II. This type had its origins in Venice. It was traced to the press of Giovanni da Cerreto de Tridino, alias Tacuino. See his edition of Aulus Gellius, *Noctes micantissimae*, 1509 (ISAAC no. 12687) and the Urbano Bolzanio, *Grammaticae institutiones*, 1512 (STC, 116; ISAAC no. 12699).

¹³ M. PARKER, K. MELIS & D. H. L. VERVLIT, *Early Inventories*, 10, MA 32, 33; see also C. PLANTIN, *Index sive specimen characterum*, B1^r. This font was often confused with the *augustine grecque* of Robert Granjon.

¹⁴ It can be found in the *Διαταγαὶ τῶν Ἀγίων Ἀποστόλων*, 1563 (PHOSKOLOS A no. 4; STC, 34) edited by Francesco Torres (Franciscus Turrianus) and printed by Giordano Ziletti. It can also be seen in the work of Alexios Rartouros, *Διδαχαί*, 1560 (BH I no. 138) printed for the author by an unidentified printer, probably one of the Zanetti, either Francesco or Cristoforo. It was also used by the Aldine press about this time. See Dionysius Halicarnacensis, *De Thucydidis historia*, 1560 (RENOUARD, 181 no. 15).

¹⁵ Here are a few: E. Glyzounis, *Violion...logariastiken*, [1568?] (PAPADOPOULOS II no. 235); *Horologion*, 1569; A. Achelis, *Vivlión...Maltas poliorkian*, 1571 (BH IV no. 683); *Evangelion*, 1575 (BH II no. 155); *Historia tou re tes Skotzias*, 1577 (BH IV no. 722); *Apostolos*, 1579 (BH II no. 161); *Spanos*, 1579 (BH IV no. 735); *Euchologion*, 1580 (BEES I no. 127); Damaskenos Stoudites, *Thesaurus*, 1580 (PAPADOPOULOS II no. 263); *Evangelion*, 1581 (BH II no. 273).

For another, smaller version of this mark used by Cristoforo Zanetti (fig. 248) see *Psalterion*, 1547 (BH I no. 120); *Apokopos*, 1553 (BH IV no. 557); *Apolonios*, 1553 (BH I no. 130); *Euchologion*, 1558 (BH I no. 134); *Apostolos*, 1559 (LADAS no. 49; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 179); *Euchologion*, 1562 (SKLAVENTES, no. 4); *Spanos*, 1562 (BH IV no. 613).

¹⁶ ZAPPELLA no. 1160 also does not include any marks with darts.

¹⁷ R. CESSI, Bartolomeo e Camillo, 180 note 3.

¹⁸ D. W. AMRAM, *The Makers of Hebrew Books in Italy*. Philadelphia, 1909, 244, 341-44. J. BLOCH, *Venetian Printers of Hebrew Books*, *Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, 36(1932)71-92; P. GRENDLER, *The Roman Inquisition*, 102-03; 140-142, 230, 240, 255 and his *The Destruction of Hebrew Books in Venice*, 1568, *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research*, 45(1978)103-30, especially 115-19. See also STC, 985, 986.

19 *The Roman Inquisition*, 230.

20 R. CESSI, Bartolomeo e Camillo, 180 and note 3 points out the confusion in the sources about the date of C. Zanetti's death. In her will, written on 17 June 1577, C. Zanetti's daughter Angelina, wife of the printer Orazio de Gobbi, says she is the daughter of the late printer Cristoforo Zanetti "fiola del q. ser Cristoforo Zanetti stampator." On 25 April 1578 her husband Orazio de Gobbi applied to the office of the Guild of Printers and Booksellers requesting permission to exercise the art of printing as the heir. However, during this time and later, the name of Cristoforo Zanetti is found in the lists of those present at the Chapter meetings of the Guild up until 25 August 1581. His death is recorded in the Sanità, Necrologi, no. 19: "1582, 15 febbraio: Ser Cristofolo [sic] stampador d'anni 62 da un catarro già anni tre."

21 An *Oktoechos* dated c. 1543 (BH III no. 109A) was printed after 1548, perhaps c. 1558. See LAYTON no. 45.

22 See I. TRIFONOV, Ritor Teofan i ipodiakon Damaskin Studit, *Spisanie na Bulgarskata Akademiia na naukite*, 71(1950)10-11.

23 LADAS no. 50 lists an *Euchologion*, 1559 by P. Zanetti. The date of the citation from which LADAS took it was a misprint. See *Catalogue de la Bibliothèque de M. N. Yemeniz*. Paris, 1867, 9 no. 50: *Eucologion. Rituale graecum. Venetiis, Petr. Zanetti, 1559 [sic]*. See also N. YEMENIZ, *Catalogue de mes livres*. Lyon, 1865-66, I, 7 no. 50: *Eucologion. Rituale graecum. Venetiis, Petr. Zanetti, 1859 [sic]*. This is actually the *Euchologion* printed in 1589 by Pietro Zanetti (BH IV no. 816). See under Pietro Zanetti in Part II.

24 The only copy in the British Library lacks the title page. This edition of the *Oktoechos* has one very distinctive feature. Quire π is not printed with the Zanetti-Le Bé type like the remainder of the work, but with the liturgical type of Andreas Kounadis, K no. 1. Between 1560 and 1580, K no. 1 was used by Giacomo Leoncini and in 1584-1585, by a group of associates who financed a series of liturgical books. C. Zanetti never used this type in any other publication.

25 Edition not extant. It is known only from a composite edition of 1639 (ILIOU no. 36).

26 Edition not extant unless=[1560?]. See above.

27 Edition not extant.

28 No mention of C. Zanetti but printed with the Zanetti-Le Bé type for Augustin Gemelli, whose device is on the title page.

29 See Π. ΛΑΜΠΡΟΣ, Βιβλιακά, *Πανδώρα*, 9(1858)246.

30 The only copy in existence described by LADAS no. 89 is imperfect. The lower part of the page, where the date should have been, is torn. The date of 1587 given by Ladas was supplied by pencil. However, this is not possible since Cristoforo Zanetti died in 1582. The edition of this *Psalterion* appears to be an earlier edition of that of 1577 (PAPADOPOULOS II no. 259). The woodcut of David on the title page is the same in both editions, but the cut in the 1577 edition shows marked deterioration and breaks.

31 The editor of this work was the priest Nikolaos from Cyprus. Nothing is known about him beyond what is furnished in this work: "Ἐπιμελεία δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ διορθώσει [sic] ὑπὸ ἐμοῦ, νικολάου ἱερέως κυπρίου." See also A. Γ. ΣΥΚΟΥΤΡΗΣ, *Ἐκθεσις*, 127; Λ. ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ, *Τὰ ἐλληνικὰ γράμματα*, II, 43; KONTOSOPOULOS, 316; K. KYPPHΣ, *Κύπριοι λόγιοι*, 92 and his *Cypriot Scholars*, 220 no. 50; K. XATZHΨΑΛΤΗΣ, *Τὸ ἐν Ἑλλάδι*, 152.

Pietro Zanetti, fl. 1586-1596

P IETRO ZANETTI was the son of Cristoforo and grandson of Bartolomeo Zanetti.¹ After the death of Cristoforo Zanetti, his heirs continued to print Greek liturgical books, with the occasional reprint of a modern Greek text. The books published during this period came out either under the designation "heirs of Cristoforo Zanetti," or "by Pietro Zanetti, son of the late Cristoforo Zanetti." After the death of Pietro Zanetti, which occurred some time in 1596, the press continued to function under the "heirs of Pietro Zanetti" until 1599 or 1600, at which time its type, decorations, and other stock including the unsold copies of some of their editions, were acquired by the Pinelli.

From 1583 until 1585, the firm brought out books under "the heirs of Cristoforo Zanetti," "παρὰ τῶν κληρονόμων, Χριστοφόρου τοῦ τζανέτου." It was not until 1586 that Pietro Zanetti's name appeared alone. According to R. Cessi,² Cristoforo Zanetti had a daughter, Angelina, married to the printer Orazio de Gobbi. Angelina died in 1577, shortly after she signed her will on 17 June 1577. It is not known if Daniele Zanetti (fl. 1576-1606) or Matteo Zanetti (fl. 1593-1596) who both specialized in the printing of Hebrew books, were sons of Cristoforo.³

Unlike his father, Pietro Zanetti relied heavily on editors and correctors for virtually all of the Greek books published under his name. For the most part, the editors were drawn from the members of the Greek community and were usually clerics. The editor most closely associated with Pietro Zanetti's press was Georgios Vlastos Pounialetos of Crete. Another cleric whose name appears briefly is Dionysios Katelianos, who later succeeded Maximos Margounios as Bishop of Kythera. Four works, an *Apostolos*, 1596 (BH II no. 220), an *Euchologion*, 1596, an *Anthologion*, 1598 (SKLAVENTES no. 6), and an *Oktoechos*, 1598 were edited and corrected by Maximos Margounios.⁴

With the exception of three works, all of the books printed under the name of either Pietro Zanetti or "the heirs of Cristoforo Zanetti" were liturgical books, reprints of earlier editions (figs. 80, 123, 142, 254). Even the few nonliturgical editions brought out by the press were reprints of earlier works. These were: Zacharias Skordylis, *Περὶ τῶν τῆς συγγενείας βαθμῶν*, 1588 (BH II no. 178; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 1040; fig. 142),⁵ Damaskenos Stoudites, *Thesaurus*, 1589 (BH IV no. 817),⁶ and E. Glyzounis, *Logariastike*, 1596 (BH II no. 219; fig. 166).⁷ After the death of Pietro Zanetti in 1596 there are a few books printed by his heirs with the designation "παρὰ τοῖς κληρονόμοις Πέτρου τοῦ ντζανέτου." The last two works to appear under the name of Pietro Zanetti were two editions of the *Apolonios* in 1600 (BH XVIIIs. V no. 2=1601 [sic]) and 1603 (BH XVIIIs. V no. 10). It is doubtful, however, that these editions were actually printed by the Zanetti press, notwithstanding the fact that Pietro Zanetti's name and the Zanetti mark appear on the title page of the *Apolonios* of 1600 and at the end of the edition of 1603.

Another work, a *Dialogos*, 1586 (BH IV no. 802), without indication of printer, had been assigned by E. Legrand to the press of Cristoforo Zanetti. A closer examination of the type and decorations of this work has led this writer to the conclusion that it was printed not with the Zanetti-Le Bé type but with that of Andrea Spinelli, which is very similar. The Spinelli type had passed into the hands of Zuan Battista Tauroceni and then to Giovanni Aliprandi. In 1586, Giovanni Aliprandi



fig. 254



Τῇ ἀγίᾳ Σμεγάλῃ κυριακῇ τῆ πάχα τῷ ἀγίᾳ Σζωκ
 φόρῳ ἀμάσασμ' ἐορτάζωμεν τῆ κυ Σ θυ καὶ ὅς ἡμῶν
 ἰϋ χϋ. Εἰς τῷ λειτουργίᾳ, τὰ παρόντα ἀντίφωρα.

ἡ, α'. Ἀλαλαξατε τῷ καὶ πᾶσα ἡ γῆ.
 Ταῖς πρεσβείαις τῆς Θεῆς.

ἡ, β'. Ψάλλατε δὴ τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτῆς.
 Ταῖς πρεσβείαις τῆς Θεῆς.

ἡ, γ'. Εἴπατε τῷ Θεῷ ὡς φοβέσθαι τὰ ὄργανα σου.
 Ταῖς πρεσβείαις τῆς Θεῆς.

ἡ, δ'. Γὰρ ἡ γῆ προσκυνεῖ σὺν ὅσῳ σου.
 Ταῖς πρεσβείαις τῆς Θεοῦ.

Δόξα, καὶ μὲν.

Ταῖς πρεσβείαις τῆς Θεῆς.

Ἀντίφωρον, β'.

ἡ, α'. Ο Θεὸς οὐκ ἐταρῆσαι ἡμᾶς καὶ ἀλογησάμεθα.
 Σώσον ἡμᾶς ἡθε θυ, ὁ ἀμάσας.

ἡ, β'. Εἰσαφάσαι τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτῆς.
 Σώσον ἡμᾶς ἡθε θυ, ὁ ἀμάσας.

ἡ, γ'. Τὸ ὑμῶν ἐν τῇ γῇ τῷ ὀνόματι σου.
 Σώσον ἡμᾶς ἡθε θυ, ὁ ἀμάσας.

Ὡς.

α ἰ

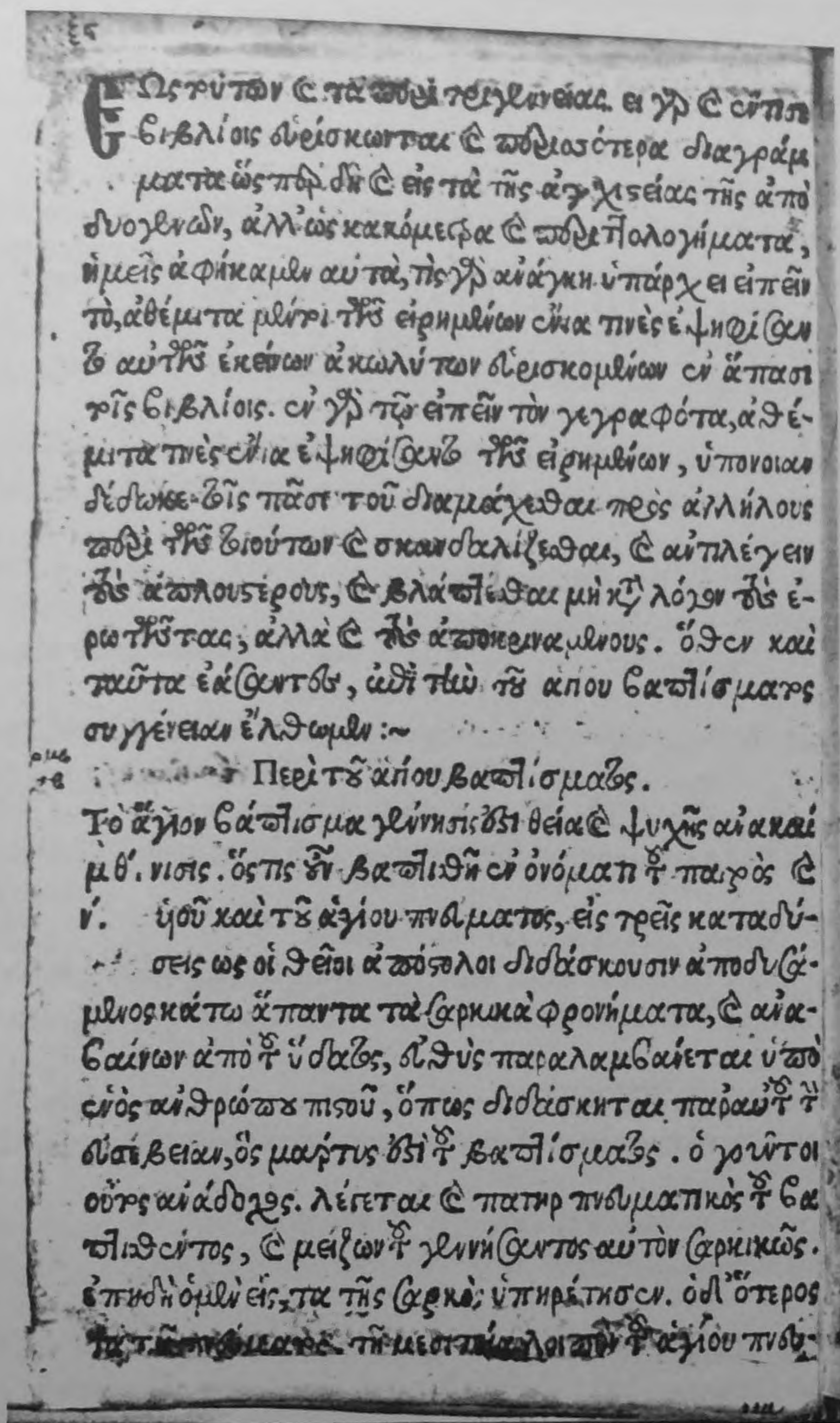


fig. 256

had the sole use of this font, and the work must therefore be assigned to the press of Giovanni Aliprandi.

The type with which most of the works of the Pietro Zanetti press were printed was the Zanetti-Le Bé type (fig. 255). Only two works were printed by this press with a different font, Z. Skordylis, *Περὶ τῶν τῆς συγγενείας βαθμῶν*, 1588 (BH II no. 178; fig. 256), and Damaskenos Stoudites, *Thesaurus*, 1589 (BH IV no. 817). The type used to print these two works, (20 lines=92-93 mm), bears a very close resemblance to Cervini no. 2, the type designed by Giovanni Onorio for Cardinal Marcello Cervini in Rome (fig. 35).

Pietro Zanetti used the same printer's device as his father, the three darts pointing up held together by a ribbon (figs. 166, 247, 248, 257).

Books printed by "the heirs of Cristoforo Zanetti" or by his son Pietro Zanetti and his heirs:

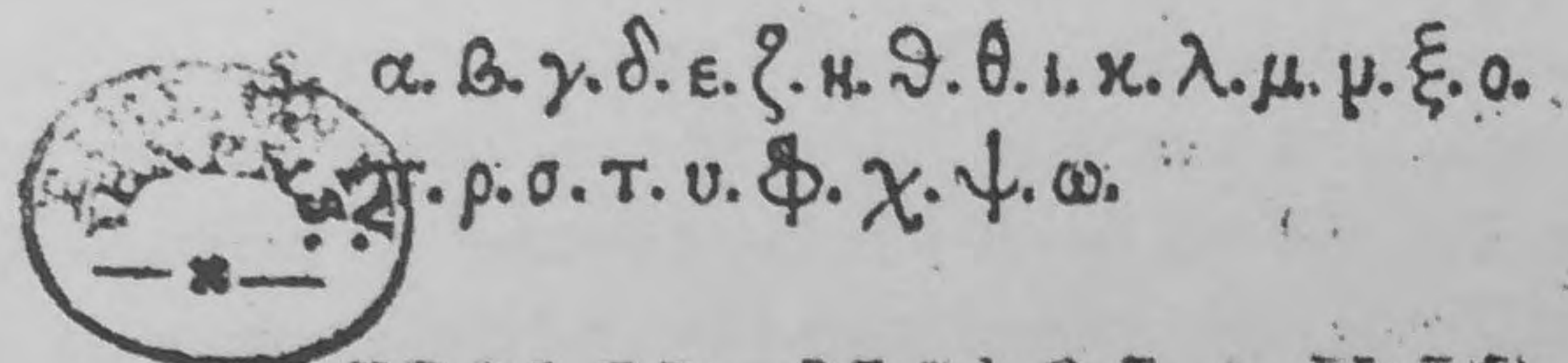
- 1583 Ἀπόστολος (KORDOSIS B no. 3)
"παρὰ τῶν κληρονόμων, Χριστοφόρου, τῷ ζανέτῳ"
- 1585 Ὀκτώηχος (ILIOU no. 20; LADAS no. 86)
"παρὰ τῶν κληρονόμων Χριστοφόρου τοῦ Ζανέτου"
- 1586? Βιβλίον...Μάρτιος (BH II no. 176=1588; BH IV no. 823=1590; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 281=1586?)⁸
"παρὰ πέτρου, υἱοῦ τοῦ ποταὶ Χριστοφόρου τοῦ τζανέτου"
- 1586 Πεντηκοστάριον (BH IV no. 795) G. Vlastos
"παρὰ τῶν κληρονόμων, Χριστοφόρου τοῦ τζανέτου"
- 1586 Τριώδιον (BH IV no. 796) G. Vlastos
As above
- 1587 Ὡρολόγιον (BH IV no. 803; EISS III no. 4007)
"παρὰ Πέτρου, υἱοῦ τοῦ ποτε Χριστοφόρου, τοῦ τζανέτου"
- 1587-88 Βιβλίον Ἀπριλλίου (BH IV no. 808) G. Vlastos
"παρὰ τῶν κληρονόμων, Χριστοφόρου τοῦ τζανέτου"
- 1588 Βιβλίον...Μάϊος (BH II no. 177) G. Vlastos
Title page: "παρὰ πέτρου, υἱοῦ τοῦ ποταὶ Χριστοφόρου, τοῦ τζανέτου"
Colophon: "παρὰ τῶν κληρονόμων, Χριστοφόρου τοῦ τζανέτου"
- 1588 Εὐαγγέλιον (LOVERDOU no. 1) G. Vlastos
"παρὰ τῶν κληρονόμων Χριστοφόρου τοῦ Τζανέτου"
- 1588 Πεντηκοστάριον (LADAS no. 91)⁹ G. Vlastos
"παρὰ τῶν κληρονόμων Χριστοφόρου τοῦ τζανέτου"
- 1588 Ψαλτήριον (ILIOU no. 22; LADAS no. 92) G. Vlastos
"παρὰ Πέτρου, υἱοῦ τοῦ ποτε Χριστοφόρου, τοῦ τζανέτου"
- 1588 Ζ. Σκορδύλης, Περὶ τῶν τῆς συγγενείας βαθμὸν [sic] (BH II no. 178; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 1040; STC, 630=[1585?]) G. Vlastos
"ἐν οἰκίᾳ πέτρου τοῦ τζανέτου"
- 1589 Δαμασκηνὸς Στουδίτης, Βιβλίον...Θησαυρὸς (BH IV no. 817) G. Vlastos
"παρὰ πέτρου, υἱοῦ τοῦ ποταὶ Χριστοφόρου, τοῦ τζανέτου"
- 1589 Εὐχολόγιον (BH IV no. 816; LADAS no. 50=1559 [sic]) G. Vlastos
As above
- 1589 Ὀκτώηχος (BH II no. 283)
As above
- 1589 [Αἱ Θεῖαι Λειτουργίαι] (LAZAROU no. 388) G. Vlastos
As above

- 1590 Ἱερὸν Εὐαγγέλιον (BH IV no. 822; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 289) G. Vlastos
 "παρὰ τῶν κληρονόμων, Χριστοφόρου τοῦ τζανέτου"
- 1591 Βιβλίον...Μαΐου (LADAS no. 94) G. Vlastos
 "παρὰ πέτρου, υἱοῦ τοῦ ποταῖ Χριστοφόρου, τοῦ τζανέτου"
- 1591 Βιβλίον...Ἰούνιος (BH II no. 188) G. Vlastos
 As above
- 1591 Βιβλίον...Ἰούλιος (BH II no. 189) G. Vlastos
 As above
- 1591 Βιβλίον...Αὐγουστος (BH II no. 190) G. Vlastos
 As above
- 1591 Πεντηκοστάριον (LADAS no. 91) G. Vlastos
 Title page: "παρὰ τῶν κληρονόμων, Χριστοφόρου τοῦ τζανέτου...1588"
 Colophon: "Παρὰ πέτρου, υἱοῦ τοῦ ποταῖ, Χριστοφόρου, τοῦ τζανέτου...1591"
- 1591-92 Τριώδιον (PAPADOPOULOS II no. 298) G. Vlastos
 "παρὰ τῶν κληρονόμων, Χριστοφόρου τοῦ τζανέτου"
- 1592 Μὴν Σεπτέμβριος (BH II no. 195)¹⁰ G. Vlastos
 As above
- 1592 Μὴν Ὀκτώβριος (BH II no. 196) G. Vlastos
 As above
- 1593 Μὴν Νοέμβριος (BH II no. 201) G. Vlastos
 As above
- 1593-1594 Ἀνθολόγιον (PAPADOPOULOS B no. 7; EISS III no. 3993) G. Vlastos
 "Παρὰ πέτρου, υἱοῦ τοῦ ποταῖ Χριστοφόρου τοῦ τζανέτου"
- 1594 Ἀκολουθία τοῦ Ἀναγνώστου (UNIVERSITÄTSBIBLIOTHEK JENA)
 As above
- 1595 Ὡρολόγιον (BH IV no. 846)¹¹
 Mark of the Zanetti at end
- 1595 Μὴν Ἰούνιος (LADAS no. 98) G. Vlastos
 "παρὰ Πέτρῳ υἱοῦ τοῦ ποτέ Χριστοφόρου τζανέτου"
- 1595 Μὴν ὁ Δεκέμβριος (BH II no. 214) G. Vlastos
 "παρὰ πέτρου, υἱοῦ τοῦ ποτέ Χριστοφόρου τοῦ τζανέτου"
- 1595-96 Μὴν Ἰανουάριος (BH II no. 215) G. Vlastos
 As above
- 1596 Ἀπόστολος (BH II no. 220) M. Margounios
 "παρὰ τοῖς κληρονόμοις πέτρου τοῦ ντζανέτου"

- 1596 Ε. Γλυζούνης, Βιβλίον...λογαριαστικήν (BH II no. 219)
"παρὰ πέτρου, υἱοῦ τοῦ ποτέ, Χριστοφόρου τοῦ τζανέτου"
- 1596 Εὐχολόγιον (UNIVERSITÄTSBIBLIOTHEK WÜRZBURG) M. Margounios
"παρὰ τοῖς κληρονόμοις Πέτρου, τοῦ τζανέτου"
- 1596 Μὴν Φεβρουάριος (BH II no. 222) G. Vlastos
"παρὰ πέτρου, υἱοῦ τοῦ ποτέ Χριστοφόρου τοῦ τζανέτου"
- 1598 Ἀνθολόγιον (SKLAVENTITES no. 6) M. Margounios
"παρὰ τοῖς κληρονόμοις Πέτρου τοῦ Τζανέτου"
- 1598 Ὀκτώηχος (UNIVERSITÄTSBIBLIOTHEK JENA) M. Margounios
"Παρὰ τοῖς κληρονόμοις πέτρου τοῦ ντζανέτου"
- 1599 Ἱερὸν Εὐαγγέλιον (BH IV no. 856; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 310) D. Katelianos
"παρὰ τοῖς κληρονόμοις πέτρου τοῦ τζαννέτου"
- 1600 Ἀπολώνιος (BH XVIIIs. V no. 2=1601 [sic])¹²
"παρὰ Πέτρου, υἱοῦ τοῦ ποταὶ Χριστοφόρου τοῦ τζανέτου"
- 1603 Ἀπολώνιος (BH XVIIIs. V no. 10=VRETOS II no. 36 note=A. Pinelli)
As above



fig. 257



ΕΥΧΗ ΚΥΡΙΑΚΗ.

Π αἰτῶ ἡμῶν ὅς ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, ἀγίασθήτω
 τὸ ὄνομά σου. ἐλθέτω ἡ βασιλεία σου, γένηται
 ἡ θέλημά σου, ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ, ὅτι
 τῆς γῆς. τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἑσπέριον δός
 ἡμῖν σήμερον. καὶ ἄφες ἡμῖν τὰ ὀφειλόμενα
 ἡμῶν, ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφίεμεν τοῖς
 ὀφειλέταις ἡμῶν. καὶ μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς
 ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμόν, ἀλλὰ ῥύσαι ἡμᾶς
 ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ.

fig. 258

NOTES

¹ ASCARELLI-MENATO, 369 (1598-1608); BORSA I, 351 (1596-1599); KONTOSOPOULOS, 295-96 (1587-1603); STC, 986 (1596).

² Bartolomeo, 180 note 3. For Orazio de Gobbi, see ASCARELLI, 213; ASCARELLI-MENATO, 428; BORSA I, 169; PASTORELLO, no. 147; VACCARO, 267-68, 373 and nos. 334-335; STC, 852.

³ For Daniele see J. BLOCH, *Venetian Printers*, 87; D. W. AMRAM, *The Makers of Hebrew Books*, 342-45.

⁴ See also under Dionysios Katelianos, Georgios Vlastos Pounialetos, and Maximos Margounios in Part II.

⁵ The first edition of this work came out in 1564, published simultaneously by Andrea Spinelli and Giacomo Leoncini.

⁶ The earliest extant edition is that of 1557-58 printed by Cristoforo Zanetti.

- 7 This edition is undoubtedly a reprint of the first edition of 1568 printed by Cristoforo Zanetti.
- 8 Legrand has listed this book twice: once dated 1588 (BH II no. 176), the other dated 1590 (BH IV no. 823). On the other hand, PAPADOPOULOS II no. 281=1586? See fig. 67.
- 9 Edition known only from the *Pentekostarion*, 1591 (LADAS no. 91).
- 10 Unsold copies of this edition were reissued by Antonio Pinelli in 1610 (BH XVIIIs. I no. 54) with a new title page but with the old colophon: "παρὰ τῶν κληρονόμων χριστοφόρου τοῦ τζανέτου...ἐπιμελεία δὲ καὶ ἐπιδι-ορθώσει, Γεωργίου ἱερέως Βλαστοῦ κρητὸς τοῦ ἐπονομαζομένου πουνῖαλέτου, 1592" and the Zanetti mark (ver-so of last leaf).
- 11 Described from a very incomplete edition with the mark of C. Zanetti at the end.
- 12 Reprint of earlier, missing edition? Probably published by the Pinelli, as must be the edition of 1603.

Demetrios Zenos, fl. 1523-1540

DEMETRIOS ZENOS was undoubtedly the most important editor of the publishing firm of Andreas Kounadis and Damiano di Santa Maria, especially with regard to the publication of modern Greek texts. He was born on the island of Zakynthos toward the end of the fifteenth or the very beginning of the sixteenth century.¹ There is no information about his early years in Zakynthos or when he came to Venice, but he must have come at an early age because, if we are to believe the only contemporary source available about his activities as an editor, he began working for Andreas Kounadis, when he was barely twenty years old.² This information was given to the Catholic ecclesiastical authorities in 1527 by Stefano Nicolini da Sabbio during an inquisition about the publication of an *Horologion*, 1524 (BH I no. 71), edited by Zenos, and which, according to the authorities, contained material offensive to the Catholic Church. It is quite possible, however, that the information about Zenos's age was erroneous, as were some of the other statements made at this inquisition.³ Whether, as some have suggested, Demetrios Zenos was related to the Zantiote scholar Alexandros Zenos, who taught at the University of Padua c. 1473 as professor of Greek letters, also has not been substantiated. Another assumption not yet proved by any documentation is that Zenos was connected with the Aldine press, which seems highly unlikely.⁴ As will be seen later, D. Zenos's only connection with printing was with the firm of Kounadis-di Santa Maria and with the printers Nicolini da Sabbio, who printed all of the works commissioned by the publishers during Zenos's tenure with the firm.

Demetrios Zenos was hired as editor by Andreas Kounadis himself a short time before his untimely death, in late 1522 or early in 1523. The publishing activities of the firm were taken over by Andreas Kounadis's father-in-law and partner, Damiano di Santa Maria, a resident of Venice who was originally from Spic in Illyria and who was either a spinner by profession or owned a spinning shop.⁵ It appears that A. Kounadis's premature death forced Demetrios Zenos, despite his youth, to take a leading role in deciding what was to be published by the firm, Damiano di Santa Maria not being a native Greek. Although Damiano di Santa Maria was the publisher i.e., the one who provided the money and all other necessary equipment to the printers, including the type, it is doubtful if he played a leading role in deciding what to publish, at least at the beginning of his tenure as publisher. Demetrios Zenos had the necessary education, energy, and close contacts with the life and intellectual needs of the Greek community, as, he lodged at the house of the priest of the community during the 1520s.⁶

That Zenos played a leading role in deciding what was to be chosen for publication, especially in the case of the modern Greek popular texts, is evident from the very beginning of his tenure as editor of the firm. But even in the publication of the liturgical texts, there are immediate innovations instigated by Demetrios Zenos. In the preface of the first book in which D. Zenos's name appears, the *Oktoechos*, 1523 (ESSLING no. 2217; SANDER no. 5025; PHOSKOLOS B no. 1), Zenos informs the reader that it was decided to introduce three woodcut illustrations (εἰκόνες), those of Saint John of Damaskos, the Crucifixion, and the Resurrection (fig. 59a-c). This was the first time that subject illustrations were introduced inside the printed pages of a Greek liturgical book. These three illustrations had a far-reaching influence on subsequent editions. They were copied

and imitated by all sixteenth century printers of Greek liturgical books. One can find copies and copies of copies of them in liturgical books well into the eighteenth century.

Up until the time Demetrios Zenos began work as editor, the Kounadis-di Santa Maria firm had published three liturgical books, two of which were first editions.⁷ It was not until 1524 that modern Greek texts made their first appearance under the name of Damiano di Santa Maria. The first to appear was *Πένθος θανάτου, ζωῆς μάταιον καὶ πρὸς Θεὸν ἐπιστροφή*, 1524 (BH I no. 69).⁸ Unfortunately, this edition is only known from a very brief description in M. Maittaire,⁹ from which E. Legrand incorporated it into his bibliography. In the 1528 edition of *Penthos thanatou* (LAYTON no. 12),¹⁰ there is a woodcut of Death that closely follows the description of Death in the text; it can be assumed that the cut was made expressly for the first edition of the work (fig. 92a). The 1528 edition seems to be a faithful reprint of the first, down to the absence of the Kounadis device, which was not ready during the printing of the 1524 edition but was available in 1528.¹¹ Also absent from the 1528 edition of *Penthos thanatou* is K no. 2, the font cut for Damiano di Santa Maria in 1524 to use in the printing of his modern Greek texts. This type was in all probability not used because the first edition of *Penthos* had been printed before K no. 2¹² was ready; the circumstance illustrates how closely one edition copied another at this time. Not only the second edition in 1528 (LAYTON no. 12), but even the third, 1543, edition of *Penthos* (BH I no. 102), was printed with K no. 1.

In the prologue of the work,¹³ written in verse, D. Zenos reveals the identity of the author, Giustos Glykys from Koroni, who had died in 1522. Zenos also gives information about the extent of his own involvement in the work:

Διὰ νὰ μάθεται λοιπὸν στὶ τόπον ἐτυπόθη.
 πόνος καὶ δεξιότητι, καὶ πῖος τὸ ἀναλώθη.
 Δημήτριος κατ' ὄνομα, ζήνος τὸ ἐπινόμη,
 ἐτοῦτο ἐτυπόθηκε μὲ τὴν δική μου γνώμη.
 Γρεκῶν ὑπάρχω γενεᾶ ζακύνθου πατριότης·
 στὴν Βενετίαν ἐγένετον τὸ ἄνθος τῆς ὀλότης.¹⁴

It is obvious from the prologue that Demetrios Zenos, was completely responsible for the preparation of the work — i.e., for choosing this particular work (ἐτοῦτο ἐτυπόθηκε μὲ τὴν δική μου γνώμη) and for preparing the edition for the press. Zenos also says that he was responsible for the expenses incurred for its publication. However, the colophon of the 1524 edition names Petros Kounadis as the man who defrayed the cost of printing "sumptu et requisitione D. Petri Cunadi." The two subsequent editions, those of 1528 and 1543, have the same prologue, but give Damiano di Santa Maria as the publisher. After the publication of the *Penthos* in 1524, the printing of other modern Greek texts followed and became a regular feature of the imprints of this firm.

In 1527, Demetrios Zenos was involved in a religious controversy with the Patriarch of Venice, who considered some verses inserted at the end of an *Horologion*, 1524 (BH I no. 71), to be offensive to the Catholic Church. All involved in the production of the *Horologion* were questioned by the Catholic authorities. In their depositions, both the publisher, Damiano di Santa Maria, and the printer, Stefano Nicolini da Sabbio, maintained that it was Demetrios Zenos who had insisted in adding the controversial verses, and that they were innocent of any wrongdoing because of their ignorance of the Greek language. This latter statement, of course, was patently untrue, as they both must have known Greek.¹⁵ It is true, however, that these verses were not included in an *Horologion*, 1523 (BH II no. 235), printed by the Nicolini da Sabbio that had served as copy for the

1524 edition. Unfortunately, the deposition of Demetrios Zenos did not survive, and it is not known what he had to say in his own defense. However, nothing seems to have come of this controversy, as all three continued their activities as before.

It is the consensus that Zenos was very likely the editor/corrector of a set of *Menaia* printed between 1526 and 1536 by the Nicolini da Sabbio for Damiano di Santa Maria. These include the *Menaia* for September, 1526 (BH III no. 279), October, 1527 (BH III no. 285), November, 1527 (BH III no. 286), December, 1528 (BEES I no. 495; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 49), December, 1527 (BH (STOYANOV no. 10), January, 1533 (BH III no. 327), and February, 1533 and 1536 (PAVLOPOULOS no. A 40; BH III no. 351). The name of Demetrios Zenos does not appear anywhere in these publications because the *Menaia* omitted the Greek colophon, where it was the custom to give the name of the editor.¹⁶ As far as is known, the sole editor working for Damiano di Santa Maria between 1523 and 1539 was Demetrios Zenos. In the case of the modern Greek texts, the so-called *phyllades*, printed during Zenos's tenure as editor/corrector, it is even more difficult to know what role he played in their printing unless, as in the case of the *Penthos thanatou*, there is mention of his name in the body of the text. The Latin colophons do not give the name of the editor.¹⁷

In 1526, Stefano da Sabbio printed for Damiano di Santa Maria the first printed translation of Homer's *Iliad* in a paraphrase made by Nikolaos Loukanis of Zakynthos. Nikolaos Loukanis was among the first Greek pupils to attend the Greek Gymnasium founded by Pope Leo X in Rome in 1514, and he was a compatriot of Demetrios Zenos. Some believe that Zenos too might have attended the Gymnasium, in Rome, but, thus far, there is no evidence to back this suggestion.¹⁸ It is not unreasonable to surmise, however, that Demetrios Zenos played a role in the publication of a fellow Zantiote's work at the very least, it must have been Zenos who brought the work to the attention of the publisher, and he was most likely in charge of editing and overseeing the printing of the work.

In 1528, Demetrios Zenos appears in the sources in yet another guise, that of publisher. He and Menandros Noukios of Corfu defrayed the cost of the publication of the Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom, *Θεία Λειτουργία* (BH I no. 80), printed by the Nicolini da Sabbio. It is interesting to note that, in this case, the type used to print this work was neither K no. 1, the large type used for the printing of the liturgical works commissioned by Damiano di Santa Maria, nor K no. 2, used for the popular texts and also at times for the pocket-sized liturgical books that were used as schoolbooks. Instead, the type used was DS no. 1, the type that belonged to the Nicolini da Sabbio and that they invariably used for the books they printed for clients other than Damiano di Santa Maria.¹⁹ This liturgy, unlike any of the other Greek liturgical works published thus far, was accompanied by a Latin translation. It is the consensus that the edition was not intended for liturgical purposes, because it omitted the parts chanted by the choir, but that it was addressed to humanists and other intellectuals in the West.²⁰ The liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom is the only book financed by Demetrios Zenos and printed independently of Damiano di Santa Maria.

If one examines the type of books printed after the incident with the Patriarch of Venice in 1527, it becomes clear that there was a considerable slowdown in the printing of liturgical books by this publisher. The only liturgical work to appear during 1528 and 1529 was the *Menaion* of December, in 1528 (BEES I no. 495; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 49). Indeed, during 1528 and 1529 there was an increase in the printing of Greek popular literature. As already mentioned, the second edition of *Penthos thanatou* came out in 1528 (LAYTON no. 12). Another work, the *Ἱστορία τοῦ Ταγιαπιέρρα* (BH I no. 81=VRETOS II no. 31), by Iakovos Trivolis, was also published in 1528. Unfortunately, this edition is not extant, the information in Legrand is taken from a listing in

Vretos that gives only the printer, Stefano da Sabbio. But it is without doubt a chapbook in the series published by Damiano di Santa Maria and most likely edited by Zenos.

At least two of the three works printed in 1529 for Damiano di Santa Maria were definitely edited by Zenos. The first to appear was the rhymed version of the Tale of Alexander the Great, *Ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μακεδών*, 1529 (BH I no. 83; ILIOU no. 3; LADAS no. 19). At one time, some scholars considered Demetrios Zenos to be the author of the Alexander romance. However, this assumption has been disputed by later research and scholarship.²¹ Zenos, who wrote the epilogue of this first edition, informs the reader in verse about the work and the circumstances of its publication. Mainly, he says that the author was from Zakynthos and was known to him: "Ἐκεῖνος ὅπου τό 'βαλε εἰς στίχον καὶ εἰς ρίμα ἠύρίσκεται στήν Ζάκυνθον."²² Further down in the same epilogue, he describes his own part in the preparation of the manuscript to serve as copy for the printed version. He also tells us that the manuscript he had in hand was badly written and damaged and had many mistakes, and, although he had asked the author for a new, corrected manuscript, the author, who is never mentioned by name, had not answered his request. Zenos had therefore to make do with the manuscript at hand. At the end of the epilogue he supplies the date and his name thus: "χίλια πεντακόσια δὶς δέκα καὶ ἐννέα, σὰς δεκαπέντε τοῦ μηνός, λέγω τοῦ Σεπτεμβρίου, κόπος καὶ δεξιότητι Ζήνου τοῦ Δημητρίου."²³ As usual, the Latin colophon does not give Zenos's name, only those of the printer and publisher.

The other work in which Zenos's contribution has been recently demonstrated is the modern Greek edition of the *Teseide* of Boccaccio, *Θησέος καὶ γάμοι τῆς Ἑμήλιας*, 1529 (BH I no. 84). The name of Demetrios Zenos is not mentioned in the printed edition, the only information supplied in the colophon reads: "Stampato in Vinegia per Giouanantonio et fratelli da Sabbio a requisitione de M. Damiano de Santa Maria de Spici." The work came out in December 1529. E. Follieri²⁴ has recently identified the manuscript, now at the Vatican Library, that was used as the printer's copy for this first and only edition of this work. The manuscript still retains traces of the compositor's ink and, in the margins, the directions for which woodcuts were to be used and where they were to be placed in the text. The woodcuts, except for one, were those used to illustrate the Loukanis paraphrase of the modern Greek *Iliad* published in 1526 (BH I no. 75). By comparing the Vatican manuscript of the modern Greek *Theseid* to an older manuscript now at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, Follieri has been able to ascertain that the Vatican manuscript was reworked and modified and was expressly prepared for the printing of the modern Greek *Theseid*. G. Morgan,²⁵ in his study of the *Theseid*, observed that linguistic elements indicate that the work had undergone a reworking either in the Ionian Islands or in Venice. Although E. Follieri was unable to identify the handwriting of the Vatican manuscript as belonging to the hand of Demetrios Zenos, D. Holton²⁶ was later able to do so by comparing the Vatican manuscript with other manuscripts known to have been copied by Demetrios Zenos. E. Follieri²⁷ later concurred with this identification.

The third vernacular text to be printed in 1529 was a translation and adaptation of the popular Italian work, *Fior di virtù*, which appeared under the title *Ἄνθος τῶν Χαρίτων* in November 1529 (BH III no. 305). The *Anthos* was the first vernacular prose work to appear in print.²⁸ The name of Demetrios Zenos is again not mentioned in the printed edition. Both E. D. Kakoulide-Panou²⁹ and D. Holton³⁰ have pointed out that the work has some Heptanesian dialectal forms in it, but whether Zenos played the same role in its preparation as in the *Alexander romance* and the *Theseid*, no one is prepared to say yet.

It was not until 1534 that the name of the Demetrios Zenos was again mentioned in editions of Greek books. Between the years 1530 and 1532, no books were published by Damiano di Santa

Maria, or at least none have survived. This might be due to the fact that Stefano Nicolini da Sabbio and at least one of his brothers were in Verona between 1529 and 1532, where they printed Greek theological texts for Bishop Gian Matteo Giberti.³¹ Not all of the brothers were in Verona, however, Giovanni Antonio and at least one other brother continued to print in Venice during this time. The reason for the gap in the publishing operations of Damiano di Santa Maria is not known and neither are the³² whereabouts of Zenos himself, who might have been busy copying manuscripts or was possibly absent from Venice.

The name of Demetrios Zenos appears in the Greek colophons of the *Apostolos*, 1534 (BH III no. 334), and the *Psalterion*, 1534 (BH III no. 333), but, again, his name is absent from the Latin colophons of the *Apolonios*, 1534 (BH I no. 91),³³ and the *Apokopos*, 1534 (BH I no. 90). All of these works were, more or less, reprints of earlier editions edited by Demetrios Zenos as was the *Horologion*, 1538 (BEES I no. 170). On the other hand, an edition of the *Triodion*, 1538 (BH I no. 96), edited by Demetrios Zenos is proof that Zenos was still working for Damiano di Santa Maria on a regular basis. The first edition of this work, which came out in 1522 (BH I no. 66=III no. 242), was edited by Konstantinos Palaiokapas and Ercole Girlandi.

Demetrios Zenos's most important contribution is perhaps the rhymed vernacular version of the *Batrachomyomachia*, 1539 (BH I no. 100). The text proper of the *Batrachomyomachia* is preceded by a dialogue in verse between a "φιλομαθής καὶ βιβλιοπώλης"³⁴ in which Zenos's part in the work is also revealed. This dialogue, which is an early example of book advertising, is strongly reminiscent of the one found in the edition of Arsenios Apostolis, *Γέρας...σπάνιον*, 1519 (BH I no. 61), which contains a dialogue between a "φιλομαθής, βιβλιοπώλης καὶ βίβλος,"³⁵ or it might have been inspired directly from an older model found in the *Suidas* (BH I no. 25) edited by Demetrios Chalcondyles and printed in Milan in 1499.³⁶ The *Batrachomyomachia* is undated and without a colophon, but L. Politis's suggestion that it formed the first part of a two-part work in 1539, the other being the story of the donkey, *Γαδάρου, λύκου, κιαλουπούς, διήγησις ὡραία*, 1539 (BH I no. 98), makes perfect sense.³⁷ According to C. Carpinato, Zenos's paraphrase is based on the text of the 1486 edition of the *Batrachomyomachia* printed by Laonikos of Crete (BH I no. 3).³⁸ The *Batrachomyomachia* is without colophon, while the story of the donkey is without a title page, each work consisting of sixteen leaves. The *Batrachomyomachia* was reprinted in M. Crusius, *Turcograeciae*, 1584 (BH IV no. 788),³⁹ and was also included in several compendia of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.⁴⁰ After this publication, the editorial activities of Demetrios Zenos come to an end. All other works printed later that bear his name as editor/corrector are merely faithful reprints of his earlier editions.⁴¹

Not all of Zenos's activities were confined to editorial work and the printed book. He was also a scribe of note and was considered by some as one of the best calligraphers of his day.⁴² E. Legrand's casual dismissal that he was "le prototype de certains Grecs du seizième siècle, pauvres hères qui, malgré leurs professions multiples, en étaient réduits à vivre au jour la journée. Nous le voyons tour à tour compositeur d'imprimerie, éditeur, traducteur, calligraphe et marchand de manuscrits,"⁴³ has been criticized by later scholars as harsh and unwarranted.⁴⁴

The little information that is known about Zenos's work as a scribe comes from the correspondence of Guillaume Pellicier during his tenure as ambassador of Francis I of France in Venice, 1539-1542.⁴⁵ The French King had sent Girolamo Fondulo, a former pupil of Markos Mousouros, to Italy in 1538 in order to procure manuscripts for the royal library. It appears that Fondulo entrusted Zenos with the task of procuring Greek manuscripts from Zakynthos, Corfu, and other neighbouring areas. Zenos was eventually able to collect some forty Greek manuscripts, which he

took to Guillaume Pellicier in Venice in 1540, Fondulo having died on 12 March of the same year. Pellicier received the manuscripts on behalf of the King and sent them to Pierre Duchastel, the royal librarian. In 1540, Zenos worked for Pellicier in Venice correcting manuscripts.⁴⁶ Prior to this, Zenos had also worked as a scribe for Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, the ambassador of Charles V in Venice. Some of the manuscripts he copied for Mendoza are now with the other Mendoza collection of manuscripts at the Escorial Library in Madrid.⁴⁷ It is not known what became of Demetrios Zenos after 1540. The last mention of his name is found in a letter of Guillaume Pellicier dated 2 November 1540, in which he mentions that Demetrios Zenos and his nephew were residing with him, correcting manuscripts.⁴⁸

Works edited, corrected and prepared for printing by Demetrios Zenos, 1523-1539:⁴⁹

- 1523 Ὀκτώηχος (ESSLING no. 2217; SANDER no. 5025; PHOSKOLOS B no. 1; LADAS no. 12)
Preface: "Δημήτριος ὁ Ζήνων, τοῖς ἀναγινώσκουσι χαίρειν"
- 1524 Πένθος θανάτου, 1524 (BH I no. 69)⁵⁰
Prologue: "πόνος καὶ δεξιότητι, καὶ πῖος τὸ ἀναλώθη, Δημήτριος κατ' ὄνομα, ζήνος τὸ ἐπινόμη, ἐτοῦτο ἐτυπόθηκε μὲ τὴν δικὴ μου γνώμη"
- 1524 Ψαλτήριον (BH I no. 70; EISS III no. 4017)
"πόνω καὶ δεξιότητι δημοτρίου τοῦ ζήνου, τοῦ ἐκ ζακύνθου, ἀναλώμασι δέ, κυροῦ πέτρου τοῦ κουνάδου"
- 1524 Ὁρολόγιον (BH I no. 71)
"πόνω καὶ δεξιότητι δημοτρίου τοῦ ζήνου, τοῦ ζακυνθίου"
- 1525 Ἀπόστολος (LADAS no. 14; KORDOSIS A no. 1)
As above
- 1525 Πεντηκοστάριον (BH III no. 270)
As above
- 1528 Πένθος θανάτου (LAYTON no. 12)
See Prologue under 1524 edition above
- 1528 Ἡ Θεία Λειτουργία (BH I no. 80; EISS III no. 4010; SANDER no. 3646)
"sumptu & expensis D. Demetrii Zini Zacynthii: & D. Menandri Nuntii Corcyraei sociis"
- 1529 Ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μακεδών (BH I no. 83; ILIOU no. 3; LADAS no. 19)
"κόπος καὶ δεξιότητι Ζήνου τοῦ Δημοτρίου"
- 1529 Θησέος καὶ γάμοι τῆς Ἑμήλιας (BH I no. 84; EISS II no. 2421)⁵¹
No mention of Zenos but definitely the editor.
- 1534 Ἀπόστολος (BH III no. 334; DELIALES no. 106)
"πόνω καὶ δεξιότητι Δημοτρίου τοῦ ζήνου, τοῦ ἐκ ζακύνθου"
- 1534 Ψαλτήριον (BH III no. 333; BEES I no. 157)
As above

- 1538 Ὠρολόγιον (BEES I no. 170)
 “πόνω καὶ δεξιότητι Δημητρίου τοῦ ζήνου, τοῦ ζακυνθίου”
- 1538 Τριώδιον (BH I no. 96)
 “πόνω καὶ δεξιότητι δημητρίου τοῦ ζήνωνος”
- [1539] Βατραχομυομαχία (BH I no. 100)
 α1^v: “τίς εἰς τὴν ρίμα τῷβαλε καὶ μεταγλώττισέ το;
 Ξεύρεις τον καὶ γνωρίζεις τον, φίλος σου ἔναι κεῖνος,
 ἔναι ἀπὸ τὴν Ζάκυνθον Δημήτριος ὁ Ζήνος”
- 1539 Γαδάρου Λύκου Κιαλουποῦς, διήγησις ὥραϊα (BH I no. 98)
 Issued with *Batrachomyomachia* above?

NOTES

¹ C. DU FRESNE DU CANGE, *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae graecitatis*. Lugduni, 1688, col. 47; BH I, 179-80; N. KATPAMHΣ, *Φιλολογικὰ ἀνάλεκτα Ζακύνθου*, 255-59; Γ. ZABIPΑΣ, *Νέα Ἑλλάς*, 96-97; Σ. ΛΑΜΠΡΟΣ, *Διήγησις Ἀλεξάνδρου*, 266-71; Λ. Χ. ΖΩΗΣ, *Λεξικὸν ἱστορικὸν καὶ λαογραφικὸν Ζακύνθου*. Ἀθῆναι, 1963, I, 214-15; Β. Φ. ΤΩΜΑΔΑΚΗΣ, *Νεοελληνικαὶ μεταφράσεις*, 24-37; Γ. Θ. ΖΩΡΑΣ, *Πένθος θανάτου*, 9-14; E. FOLLIERI, *Il libro greco*, 488-500; L. POLITIS, Venezia, 456-65; D. HOLTON, *Διήγησις τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου*, 41-55; C. CARPINATO, *Δημήτριος Ζήνος, Ζακύνθιος λόγιος τοῦ δεκάτου ἔκτου αἰῶνα, Περίπλους*, 12(1987)228-30; C. CARPINATO, *Dimitrios Zinos e la sua Batrachomyomachia*. Tese di laurea, Università degli Studi di Catania, 1986-87.

² F. MAVROIDI, “Inquisitio” patriarchale, 51.

³ For further details, see below. See also under the Nicolini da Sabbio in Part II.

⁴ N. KATPAMHΣ, *Φιλολογικὰ ἀνάλεκτα*, 255; D. HOLTON, *Διήγησις*, 43 and note 5.

⁵ In some of the colophons Damiano calls himself “filatoio.”

⁶ F. MAVROIDI, *Op. cit.*, 51.

⁷ See also under Andreas Kounadis and Damiano di Santa Maria in Part II.

⁸ But see Σ. Ε. ΚΑΚΛΑΜΑΝΗΣ, *Τριβώλης-Δεφαράνας-Βεντράμος*, 149-50, 179-80 notes 37-42, who believes that the first modern Greek text to come out in print was the *Historia tou Tagiapiera* by Iakovos Trivolis, 1523. There is, however, no evidence that this work was ever printed as early as 1523.

⁹ *Annales typographici*. London, 1741, V, pt. 2, 427.

¹⁰ B. KNÖS, Une édition jusqu’ à présent inconnue de “Πένθος θανάτου,” *Ἀθηνᾶ*, 64(1960)186-93.

¹¹ The Kounadis mark was first displayed in the *Horologion* (BH I no. 71) printed on 13 August 1524.

¹² K no. 2 made its first appearance in August 1524. The first edition of *Penthos thanatou*, 1524 (BH I no. 69),

came out in March.

¹³ It appears in all extant sixteenth century editions.

¹⁴ From the 1528 edition. See also Γ. Θ. ΖΩΡΑΣ, *Πένθος θανάτου*, 64; L. POLITIS, Venezia, 455.

¹⁵ F. MAVROIDI, “Inquisitio”, 43-53; see also E. FOLLIERI, *Il libro greco*, 488-500, 507-08.

¹⁶ Usually, the name of the editor was not given in the Latin colophons, only those of the printer and publisher were supplied.

¹⁷ None of the editions of the *phyllades* have colophons in Greek. See also note 49 below.

¹⁸ E. FOLLIERI, *Il libro greco*, 489.

¹⁹ E. LAYTON, Notes on Some Printers, 127 and note 22.

²⁰ L. POLITIS, Venezia, 465, 468-69; E. FOLLIERI, *Il libro greco*, 499.

²¹ D. HOLTON, *Διήγησις τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου*, 41-42; G. VELOUDIS, *Der neugriechische Alexander*, 72-74, 79-81.

²² D. HOLTON, *Διήγησις τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου*, 184.

²³ D. HOLTON, *Διήγησις τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου*, 185.

- ²⁴ Su alcuni libri greci, 130-45.
- ²⁵ Cretan Poetry, 253-70.
- ²⁶ Διήγησις, 46-47 and note 5.
- ²⁷ Il libro greco, 490-91; L. POLITIS, Venezia, 460-62.
- ²⁸ E. Δ. ΚΑΚΟΥΛΙΔΗ-ΠΑΝΟΥ, Fior di virtù, 267-311.
- ²⁹ *Op. cit.*, 282.
- ³⁰ D. HOLTON, Sixteenth-Century Popular Greek Printing in Venice. Unpub. lecture given at the University of Birmingham, June 5, 1975, 14.
- ³¹ G. C. GIULIARI, *Della tipografia veronese*, 54; P. SIMONI, Stefano Nicolini e fratelli, 23-40; L. CARPANÈ-M. MENATO, *Annali della tipografia veronese*, I, 21-23.
- ³² During the period in which Stefano and some of the brothers were in Verona, there were several Latin and Italian books printed by "G. A. et fratelli da Sabio."
- ³³ See Γ. ΚΕΧΑΓΙΟΓΛΟΥ, Πρώτες εκδόσεις της ριμάδας τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου, 155.
- ³⁴ The text is given in BH I, 236; B. Φ. ΤΩΜΑΔΑΚΗΣ, *Νεοελληνικαὶ μεταφράσεις*, 27.
- ³⁵ See BH I, 168.
- ³⁶ For the text, see R. PROCTOR, *The Printing of Greek*, pl. XXa; BH I, 64. See also fig. 19. For early advertising in Greek books, see Γ. ΖΩΡΑΣ, Ἡ διαφήμησι στὰ παλαιὰ κείμενα, *Ἐπιθεώρησις*, 2 no. 3 (1939)1-5; Θ. Δ. ΓΙΑΝΝΑΚΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, Βιβλιοπωλικά διὰφημίσεις, *Μισσέρ Δαμιανός, Ὁ Βιβλιόφιλος*, 9 no. 3-4 (1955)43-47. See also G. POLLARD & A. EHRMAN, *The Distribution of Books by Catalogue*. Cambridge, 1965, 6, where the Suidas dialogue is reproduced with an English translation.
- ³⁷ L. POLITIS, Venezia, 464-65.
- ³⁸ Dimitrios Zinos, 67. I wish to extend many thanks to Caterina Carpinato for sending me a copy of her thesis.
- ³⁹ 371-82.
- ⁴⁰ For various other reprints of the *Batrachomyomachia* see D. HOLTON, *Διήγησις*, 16-17; B. Φ. ΤΩΜΑΔΑΚΗΣ, *Νεοελληνικαὶ μεταφράσεις*, 29-31; C. CARPINATO, Dimitrios Zinos, 72-110.
- ⁴¹ His name appears after this date in the reprints of *Penthos thanatou*, 1543, 1564, 1600 (BH I no. 102; BH IV no. 623; PAPADOPOULOS II no. 1046). All of these editions reproduce the verses written by Zenos for the 1524 edition. The same holds true for the reprints of the *Tale of Alexander*, 1553, 1600 (BH I no. 129; ILIOU no. 25).
- ⁴² For Zenos as scribe, see B. de MONTFAUCON, *Palaeographia graeca*. Paris, 1708, 513; VG 101; BH I, 180; CANART, 62; G. MERCATI, *Note per la storia di alcune biblioteche romane nei secoli XVI-XIX*. Città del Vaticano, 1952, 167-68 note 3 (*Studi e testi*, 164); GAMILLSCHEG-HARLFINGER, I no. 94, II no. 128.
- ⁴³ BH I, 179.
- ⁴⁴ L. POLITIS, Venezia, 456-57; D. HOLTON, *Διήγησις*, 45-50; E. FOLLIERI, Il libro greco, 490.
- ⁴⁵ H. OMONT, Catalogue des manuscrits grecs de Guillaume Pellicier, évêque de Montpellier, ambassadeur de François I^{er} à Venise, *Bibliothèque de l'École de Chartes*, 46(1885)613-14, 616, 622-23.
- ⁴⁶ BH I, 179-80; J. IRIGOIN, Les ambassadeurs, 401-402 and notes 9-10.
- ⁴⁷ S. d' ARISTARCHI, Les Grecs a l' Escorial, Ὁ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ἑλληνικὸς Φιλολογικὸς Σύλλογος, *Παράρτημα* τ. 34(1913-21)372; D. HOLTON, *Διήγησις*, 45-46.
- ⁴⁸ BH I, 179-80; J. IRIGOIN, Les ambassadeurs, 401-02.
- ⁴⁹ There were several books published by Damiano di Santa Maria during D. Zenos's tenure as editor which do not mention their editor. These are: *Apolonios*, 1524 and 1534; *Aisopos*, 1525; the *Belisarios*, 1525; the modern Greek *Iliad*, 1526; *Menaia* of September, 1526, October, 1527, November, 1527, December, 1528 and 1533, January, 1533, February, 1533 and 1536; *Historia tou Tagiapiera*, 1528; *Anthos ton Chariton*, 1529 and 1537.
- ⁵⁰ Edition not extant. The prologue was taken from the 1528 edition.
- ⁵¹ See above and E. FOLLIERI, Su alcuni libri greci, 130-45.

Bibliography

- Ἀχειμάστου-Ποταμιάνου, Μ. Φορητὲς εἰκόνες τοῦ ζωγράφου Μάρκου Στριλίτζα Μπαθᾶ ἢ Μάρκου Βαθᾶ στὴν Ἠπειρο, *Δελτίον Χριστιανικῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας*, περ. Δ', 8(1975-76)109-44.
- Adams, H. M. *Catalogue of Books Printed on the Continent of Europe, 1501-1600, in Cambridge Libraries*. Cambridge, 1967. 2v.
- Agapitos, P. A. *Narrative Structure in the Byzantine Vernacular Romances*. München, 1991. (Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia, 34).
- Agee, R. J. *The Privilege and Venetian Music Printing in the Sixteenth Century*. PhD. Dissertation, Princeton University, 1982.
- . *The Venetian Privilege and Music-Printing in the Sixteenth Century*, *Early Music History*, 3(1983)1-42.
- Ἀγγελάτος, Δ. "Σπανός": Τὸ ἀντεστραμμένο τυπικὸ καὶ ὁ ἀναποδογυρισμένος κόσμος τῆς τραγωδίας. Ἑρμηνευτικὴ προσέγγιση, *Βυζαντιναὶ Μελέται*, 4(1992)1-15.
- Agostini, G. degli. *Notizie storico-critiche intorno la vita, e le opere degli scrittori Viniziani*. Venezia, 1752-54. 2v.
- Alatorre, A. Para la historia de la tipografia griega en España, *Revue de littérature comparée*, 52(1978)233-44.
- Alciati, A. *Emblemata*. Edited by P. M. Daly with V. W. Callahan, assisted by S. Cuttler. Toronto, c. 1985. 2v.
- Aldo Manuzio editore. *Dediche, prefazioni, note ai testi*. Introduz. di C. Dionisotti. Testo latino con traduzione e note a cura di G. Orlandi. Milano, 1975. 2v. (Documenti sulle arti del libro, 11).
- Ἀλεξίου, Λ. Ἡ φυλλάδα τοῦ γαδάρου, ἥτοι Γαδάρου, λύκου καὶ ἀλεποῦς διήγησις ὡραία, *Κρητικὰ Χρονικά*, 9(1955)81-118.
- Alexiou, M. Modern Greek Folklore and its Relation to the Past: the Evolution of Charos in Greek Tradition, S. Vryonis, ed. *The "Past" in Medieval and Modern Greek Culture*. Malibu, 1978, 22-36. (Byzantina kai Metabyzantina, 1).
- Ἀλεξίου, Σ. Ἀπόκοπος, *Κρητικὰ Χρονικά*, 17(1963)183-251.
- . *Κρητικὰ φιλολογικά*, *Κρητικὰ Χρονικά*, 13(1959)289-310.
- . Ἡ Κρητικὴ λογοτεχνία κατὰ τὴ Βενετοκρατία, *Κρήτη: Ἱστορία καὶ πολιτισμός*. Ν. Μ. Παναγιωτάκης, ed. Κρήτη, 1988, II, 197-229.
- . *Κρητικὴ ἀνθολογία (ιε'-ιζ' αἰώνας)*. 2. ἔκδ. Ἡράκλειον, 1969.
- . Ἡ Κρητικὴ λογοτεχνία κατὰ τὴν ἐποχὴ τῆς Βενετοκρατίας, *Ἱστορία τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ ἔθνους*. Ἀθῆναι, 1974, X, 384-400, 471.
- . *Μπεργαδῆς Ἀπόκοπος. Ἡ βοσκοπούλα*. Ἀθήνα, 1971. (Νέα ἑλληνικὴ βιβλιοθήκη, 15).
- . Συμπληρωματικὰ σὲ Κρητικὰ κείμενα, *Ἀριάδνη*, 3(1985)267-82.
- Ἀλιβιζάτος, Α. Τὰ ἐκκλησιαστικὰ καὶ λειτουργικὰ βιβλία, *Νέα Σιών*, 11(1911)486-97.

- Ἀλυσανδράτος, Γ. Γ. Ἑρανίσματα γιὰ τὸν “Ἀπόκοπο” τοῦ Μπεργαδῆ, *Ἑλληνικά*, 20(1967)435-42.
- Allatius, L. *De libris ecclesiasticis Graecorum, dissertationes duae*. Paris, 1645.
- . *De libris et rebus ecclesiasticis Graecorum*. Paris, 1646.
- Ἀμαντος, Κ. Ἡ ἄλωσις τῆς Χίου ὑπὸ τῶν Τούρκων (1566), *Χιακὰ Χρονικά*, 4(1919)52-78.
- . *Τὰ γράμματα εἰς τὴν Χίον κατὰ τὴν Τουρκοκρατίαν 1566-1822*. Πειραιεύς, 1946.
- . Ἡ λογαριαστικὴ τοῦ Γλυντζούνη, *Ἡμερολόγιον τῆς Μεγάλης Ἑλλάδος 1934*, 179-84.
- . Παχώμιος Ρουσᾶνος, *Νέα Ἑστία*, 1(1927)1061-64.
- Amram, D. W. *The Makers of Hebrew Books in Italy*. Philadelphia, 1909 Rpt. 1963.
- Anastasijewic, D. N. Alphabete, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 16(1907)479-501.
- . *Die paränetischen Alphabete in der griechischen Literatur*. München, 1905.
- Andreu, Fr. Spunti di attività libraria in S. Gaetano Thiene, *Studi di bibliografia e di storia in onore di T. de Marinis*. Verona, 1964, I, 17-32.
- Ἀντωνιάδη, Σ. Ἡ βιβλιοθήκη τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Ἰνστιτούτου Βενετίας, *Νέα Ἑστία*, 68(1960)1134-41.
- . Τὸ ἐν Βενετίᾳ Ἑλληνικὸν Ἰνστιτούτον Βυζαντινῶν καὶ Μεταβυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν. Πορίσματα ἀπὸ τὴν μελέτην προχείρων διαχειριστικῶν βιβλίων τῶν ἐτῶν 1544-1547 καὶ 1549-1554 τῆς Παλαιᾶς Κοινότητος Βενετίας, *Πρακτικὰ Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν*, 33(1958)466-87.
- . L'Institut grec de Venise, ses buts et son programme, la communauté dont il a hérité, ses trésors d'art et de documents, *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. Comptes-rendus des séances de l'année 1960*. Paris, 1961, 127-43.
- . Νέα στοιχεῖα ἀπὸ τὰ κατάστιχα τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Ἀδελφότητος Βενετίας (16ος αἰ.). Ἀφιέρωμα στὴ μνήμη τοῦ Μανόλη Τριανταφυλλίδη. Θεσσαλονίκη, 1960, 63-67.
- . Ἡ Παρρησία τοῦ Ἀγ. Γεωργίου τῶν Ἑλλήνων Βενετίας, *Νέα Ἑστία*, 62(1957)1256-57.
- . *Place de la liturgie dans la tradition des lettres grecques*. Leiden, 1939.
- . Πορίσματα ἀπὸ τὴ μελέτη τοῦ βιβλίου συνοικεσίων τῆς Ἀδελφότητος Ἑλλήνων Βενετίας, *Εἰς μνήμην Κ. Ι. Ἀμάντου*. Ἀθῆναι, 1960, 432-37.
- Ἀποστολόπουλος, Δ. Γ. *Τὸ Μέγα Νόμιμον. Συμβολὴ στὴν ἔρευνα τοῦ μεταβυζαντινοῦ δημοσίου δικαίου*. Ἀθήνα, 1978.
- Ἀρχοντίδης, Α. Π. Εἰδήσεις γιὰ τὸ Πατριαρχεῖο τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως τὸ 1592 (ἀπὸ ἐπιστολὴ τοῦ Θεοδώρου Σεβήρου), *Θησαυρίσματα*, 15(1978)119-26.
- Ἀριστάρχης, ἀρχ. Διοκαϊσσαρίας. Γαβριὴλ ὁ Σεβῆρος, μητροπολίτης Φιλαδελφείας, *Νέα Σιών*, 21(1926)467-81; 529-37; 593-609; 719-34; 22(1927)3-18; 210-22; 338-45; 493-99; 611-24; 658-78; 705-15.
- Aristarchi, S. d'. Les Grecs à l'Escorial. Ὁ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ἑλληνικὸς Φιλολογικὸς Σύλλογος. Παράρτημα τ. 34(1913-1921)370-82.
- Armstrong, E. Robert Estienne, Royal Printer. *An Historical Study of the Elder Stephanus*. Rev. ed. Oxford, 1986. (Courtenay Studies in Reformation Theology, 6).
- Arnauld, P. Graveurs de caractères et typographes de l'Italie du Nord, *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France*, 7 no. 3(1903)289-95.
- Ascarelli, F. *Annali tipografici di Giacomo Mazzocchi*. Firenze, 1961. (Biblioteca bibliografica italiana, 24).
- . *Le cinquecentine romane. Censimento delle edizioni romane del XVI secolo possedute dalle biblioteche di Roma*. Milano, 1972.
- . *La tipografia cinquecentina italiana*. Firenze, 1953. (Contributi alla Biblioteca bibliografica italiana, 1).

- & M. Menato. *La tipografia del '500 in Italia*. Firenze, 1989 (Biblioteca di bibliografia italiana, 116).
- & E. Vaccaro. Marche poco note di tipografi ed editori italiani del sec. XVI dalla raccolta della Biblioteca Universitaria Alessandrina, *Miscellanea di studi in memoria di Anna Saitta Revignas*. Firenze, 1978, 29-52.
- Askew, A. *Bibliotheca askeviana*. London, 1774.
- Astruc, Ch. Maxime Margounios et les recueils parisiens de sa correspondance (mss. du Supplément grec 621, 1310 et 1334), *Κρητικά Χρονικά*, 3(1949)211-61.
- . La Théséide de Boccace adaptée en grec vulgaire, *Scriptorium*, 5(1951)303-04.
- Ἀθηναγόρας, metr. of Paramythia. Ὁ σοφὸς διδάσκαλος καὶ ἱερομάρτυς Νικηφόρος Παράσχος ὁ Καντακουζηνός, *Γρηγόριος ὁ Παλαμᾶς*, 20(1936)7-15, 45-54, 77-82, 125-33.
- Avramea, A. The Cartography of the Coastlands, *The Greek Merchant Marine (1453-1850)*. Athens, 1972, 175-82, 485-88.
- . Maps of the Aegean, *Maps and Mapmakers of the Aegean*. Athens, 1985, 22-33.
- Ayala, M. d'. *Bibliografia militare-italiana antica e moderna*. Torino, 1854.
- Bagrow, L. *History of Cartography*. 2nd ed. enl. with additional maps and rev. and enl. by R. A. Skelton. Chicago, 1985.
- Bakelants, L. & R. Hoven. *Bibliographie des oeuvres de Nicolas Clénard (1529-1700)*. Verviers, 1981. 2v.
- Bakker, W. F. The Transition of Unrhymed to Rhymed: The Case of the Βελισαριάδα, *Neograeca Medii Aevi. Text und Ausgabe. Akten zum Symposion Köln 1986*. Köln, 1987, 25-51.
- Bakker, W. F. & A. F. van Gemert, eds. *Ἱστορία τοῦ Βελισαρίου*. Ἀθήνα, 1988. (Βυζαντινὴ καὶ νεοελληνικὴ βιβλιοθήκη, 6).
- eds. *The Λόγοι διδακτικοὶ of Marinos Phalieros*. Leiden, 1977. (Byzantina Neerlandica, 7).
- eds. *The Ρίμα παρηγορητικὴ of Marinos Phalieros*, *Studia Byzantina et Neohellenica Neerlandica*. Leiden, 1972, 74-195 (Byzantina Neerlandica, 3).
- Balbi, H. A. Some Bibliographical Notes on the First Book Printed on the Siege of Malta, 1565 Written by Pierre Gentil de Vendôme, Pirated by Marino Fracasso... Followed by a Bibliographical Notice of Natale Conti and his History of the Siege of Malta, *Archivium Melitense*, 9(1932)1-81.
- Ball, J. G. The Greek Community in Venice: 1470-1620. PhD. Dissertation, University of London, 1984.
- . Poverty, Charity and the Greek Community, *Studi veneziani*, n.s. 6(1982)129-45.
- Ballistreri, G. Bonaccorso, *DBI*, 11(1969)464-65.
- Balsamo, L. & A. Tinto. *Origini del corsivo nella tipografia italiana del Cinquecento*. Milano, 1967. (Documenti sulle arti del libro, 6).
- Bandini, A. M. *De florentina Iuntarum typographia*. Lucca, 1791, 2pts.
- Banescu, N. Un fragment inédit du 'poème à Spanéas' (cod. Marc. vii 51), *Recueil d'études, dédiées à la mémoire de N. P. Kondakov*. Prague, 1926, 75-80.
- Barberi, Fr. Blado, Antonio, *DBI*, 10(1968)753-57.
- . Derivazioni di frontespizi, *Contributi alla storia del libro italiano. Miscellanea in onore di Lamberto Donati*. Firenze, 1969, 27-52.
- . Frontespizi italiani incisi nel Cinquecento, *Scritti di storia dell'arte, bibliologia ed erudizione in onore di Alfredo Petrucci*. Roma, 1969, 65-74.

- . *Il frontespizio nel libro italiano del Quattrocento e del Cinquecento*. Milano, 1969. 2v. (Documenti sulle arti del libro, 7).
- . Libri e stampatori nella Roma dei Papi, *Studi romani*, 13(1965)433-56.
- . *Paolo Manuzio e la Stamperia del Popolo Romano (1561-1570)*. Roma, 1942. (Ministero della educazione nazionale. Direzione generale delle biblioteche. Studi di bibliografia, 1).
- . Per un ricordo di Aldo Manuzio, *Accademie e biblioteche d' Italia*, 45(1977)64-77.
- . Stefano Guillery e le sue edizioni romane, *Studi offerti a Roberto Ridolfi*. Firenze, 1973, 93-145 (Biblioteca di bibliografia italiana, 71).
- . *Tipografi romani del Cinquecento. Guillery, Ginnasio Mediceo, Calvo, Dorico, Cartolari*. Firenze, 1983. (Biblioteconomia e bibliografia. Saggi e studi, 17).
- . and E. Cerulli. Le edizioni greche 'in Gymnasio mediceo ad Caballinum montem', *Atti del Convegno di studi su Angelo Colocci, Jesi, 13-14 settembre 1969*. Iesi, 1972, 61-76.
- Barker, N. *Aldus Manutius and the Development of Greek Script & Type in the Fifteenth Century*. Sandy Hook, Ct., 1985.
- Baroncelli, U. Editori e stampatori a Brescia nel Cinquecento, *Studi di biblioteconomia e storia del libro in onore di Francesco Barberi*. Roma, 1976, 97-107.
- . *Gli incunabuli della Biblioteca Queriniana di Brescia. Catalogo*. Brescia, 1970. (Supplemento ai Commentari dell' Ateneo di Brescia per l'anno 1970).
- . *La stampa nella riviera bresciana del Garda nei secoli XV e XVI*. Salò, 1964.
- Barwick, G. F. The Laws Regulating Printing and Publishing in Italy, *Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*, 14(1915-1917)311-23.
- Baschet, A. *Aldo Manuzio: Lettres et documents, 1495-1515*. Venise, 1867.
- Βασιλείου, Π. 'Αποκατάσταση χρονολογίας στην *Bibliographie hellénique* τοῦ Ém. Legrand, 'Ο *Ερανιστής*, 14(1977)206-08.
- . 'Ερμηνευτικὲς προτάσεις στὸν 'Απόκοπο τοῦ Μπεργαδῆ, *Ἑλληνικά*, 43(1993)125-72.
- Βασιλικός, Ι. Παχωμίου Ρουσάνου Κατὰ χυδαῖζόντων καὶ αἰρετικῶν καὶ ἄλλα τοῦ αὐτοῦ, Κ. Σπανοῦ, *Γραμματικὴ τῆς κοινῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων γλώσσης*. Ἐν Τεργέστη, 1908, 49-150.
- Beaton, R. *The Medieval Greek Romance*. Cambridge, 1989.
- Beaujon, P. The 'Garamond' Types: Sixteenth Century Sources Considered, *The Fleuron*, no. 5(1926)131-79.
- Bec, C. Note sur l' économie du livre en Italie au XVI^e siècle, *Revue des études italiennes*, n.s. 27(1981)374-80.
- Beck, H.-G. *Geschichte der byzantinischen Volksliteratur*. München, 1971. (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft, 2, no. 3).
- . *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich*. München, 1959. (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft, 2, no. 1).
- . Die Volksliteratur, *Geschichte der Text Ueberlieferung der antiken und mittelalterlichen Literatur*. Zürich, 1961, I, 471-93.
- Βέης, Ν. Χειρόγραφα καὶ παλαιότυπα τοῦ Ἀγίου Νικολάου Τρικκάλων, *Ἐπετηρὶς Μεσαιωνικοῦ Ἀρχείου*, 12(1962)1-22.
- . *Τὰ χειρόγραφα τῶν Μετεώρων*. Ἐν Ἀθήναις, 1967-
- . *Der französisch-mittelgriechische Ritterroman "Imberios und Margarona" und die Gründungssage des Daphniklosters bei Athen*. Berlin, 1924. (Texte und Forschungen zur byzantinisch-neugriechischen Philologie, 4).

- Βελούδης, Ι. 'Ελλήνων Ὁρθοδόξων ἀποικία ἐν Βενετία. Ἔκδ. 2. Βενετία, 1893. Rpt. 1964.
- Βελούδης, Σ. Ἀπόσπασμα ὑπομνημάτων ἀνεκδότων, *Πανδώρα*, 7(1856)245.
- . Ἐπιδιόρθωσις, *Πανδώρα*, 7(1857)334-35.
- Βερβενιώτης, Γ. Σ. Δύο ἐλληνισταὶ τῆς Ἀναγεννήσεως, *Νέα Ἑστία*, 1(1927)269-71, 347-49.
- Beloe, Wm. *Anecdotes of Literature and Scarce Books*. London, 1807-1812, 6v.
- Bernard, A. *Les Estienne et les types grecs de François I^{er}*. Paris, 1856.
- Bernoni, D. *Antonio Blado e la sua stamperia in Roma (nel secolo XVI) con notizie sulla edizione principe delle opere di Nicolò Machiavelli*. Ascoli, 1883.
- . *Dei Torresani, Blado e Ragazzoni, celebri stampatori a Venezia e Roma nel XV e XVI secolo*. Milano, 1890.
- Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς Βουλῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων. Ἀρχέτυπα καὶ ἐκδόσεις ιε' & ις' αἰῶνος. Θ. Ι. Παπαδόπουλος, comp. Ἀθήναι, 1971. 2v.
- Bignami-Odier, J. *La Bibliothèque Vaticane de Sixte IV à Pie XI. Recherches sur l'histoire des collections de manuscrits avec la collaboration de José Ruyschaert*. Città del Vaticano, 1973. (Studi e testi, 272).
- Blanchot, R. Les vicissitudes des 'Grecs du Roy,' *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* 1951, 9-16.
- Bland, D. *A History of Book Illustration: The Illuminated Manuscript and the Printed Book*. 2nd rev. ed. Berkeley, 1969.
- Blasio, M. G. Privilegi e licenze di stampa a Roma fra Quattro e Cinquecento, *La bibliofilia*, 90(1988)147-59.
- Bloch, J. Venetian Printers of Hebrew Books, *Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, 36(1932)71-92.
- Bohatta, H. *Bibliographie der Breviere, 1501-1850*. Leipzig, 1937. Rpt. 1963.
- . *Bibliographie der Livres d'heures (Horae B.M.V.) officia, hortuli animae, coronae B.M.V., rosaria und cursus B.M.V. des XV. und XVI. Jahrhunderts*. 2nd enl. ed. Vienna, 1924.
- Bongi, S. *Annali di Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari da Trino di Monferrato, stampatore in Venezia*. Roma, 1890-1897. 2v.
- Borgia, N. Ὁρολόγιον "Diurno" delle chiese di rito bizantino, *Orientalia Christiana*, 6 no. 2(1929)151-254.
- Borsa, G. *Clavis typographorum librariumque Italiae, 1465-1600*. Baden-Baden, 1980. 2v. (Bibliotheca bibliographica Aureliana, 35, 85).
- Bosisio, A. *La stampa a Venezia dalle origini al secolo XVI. I privilegi, gli stampatori*. Trieste, 1973.
- Botfield, B. *Praefationes et epistolae editionibus principibus auctorum veterum praepositae*. Cambridge, 1861.
- Bottasso, E. I paleotipi alla ricerca del frontespizio, *La bibliofilia*, 70(1968)217-81.
- Βρανούσης, Λ. Ἡ ἐν Ἠπείρῳ μονὴ Σωσίνου, *Ἐπετηρὶς τοῦ Μεσαιωνικοῦ Ἀρχείου*, 6(1956)72-129.
- . *L' hellénisme postbyzantin et l' Europe: manuscrits, livres, imprimeries et maisons d' éditions*. Athènes, 1981.
- . Les imprimeries vénitiennes et les premiers livres grecs, *Venezia, centro di mediazione tra Oriente e Occidente (secoli XV-XVI). Aspetti e problemi*. Firenze, 1977 II, 509-19.
- . Post-Byzantine Hellenism and Europe: Manuscripts, Books and Printing Presses, *Modern Greek Studies Yearbook*, 2(1986)1-71.
- Bravo García, A. Sobre algunos manuscritos de Manuel Glynzunio en la Real Biblioteca de El Escorial, *Φιλοφρόνημα. Festschrift für Martin Sicherl zum 75. Geburtstag*. Hrsg. von D. Harlfinger. Paderborn, 1990, 313-31. (Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums. 1. Reihe: Monographien, Bd. 4).

- Breaden, R. P. A Colophon of Interest in the Early Printing of Greek, *Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, 50(1946)471-75.
- . The First Book Printed in Greek, *Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, 51(1947)586-92.
- Βρετός, Α. Παπαδόπουλος. Ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς τὸν ἐλλογιμώτατον ἱππότην Ἀνδρέαν Μουστοξύδη...περὶ τοῦ βιβλίου ἐπιγραφομένου Ἐνθὸς τῆς Παλαιᾶς καὶ Νέας Διαθήκης ὑπὸ Ἰωαννικίου Καρτάνου κτλ. Ἐν Ἀθήναις, 1874.
- . Νεοελληνικὴ φιλολογία, ἥτοι Κατάλογος τῶν ἀπὸ πτώσεως τῆς Βυζαντινῆς αὐτοκρατορίας μέχρι ἐγκαθιδρύσεως τῆς ἐν Ἑλλάδι βασιλείας τυπωθέντων βιβλίων. Ἐν Ἀθήναις, 1854-1857. 2v.
- British Library. Department of Printed Books. *Catalogue of Books Printed in the XVth Century Now in the British Museum*. London, 1908-1962. 9v.
- . *Catalogue of Seventeenth Century Italian Books in the British Library*. London, 1986. 3v.
- . *Short-title Catalogue of Books Printed in France and of French Books Printed in Other Countries from 1470 to 1600 in the British Museum*. London, 1924. Rpt. 1966.
- . *Short-title Catalogue of Books Printed in Italy and of Italian Books Printed in Other Countries from 1465 to 1600 Now in the British Museum*. London, 1958. Supplement. London, 1986.
- . *Short-title Catalogue of Books Printed in Spain and of Spanish Books Printed Elsewhere in Europe Before 1601 Now in the British Museum*. By Henry Thomas. London, 1921.
- Brown, H. F. *Privilegi veneziani per la stampa concessi dal 1527 al 1597, copiati da Horatio Brown*. Venezia, Biblioteca Marciana, Mss. Italiani, Classe VII, Cod. 2500 (12077).
- . *The Venetian Printing Press, 1469-1800*. London, 1891. Rpt. 1969.
- Bruckner, A. *Schweizer Stempelschneider und Schriftgiesser; Geschichte des Stampelschnittes und Schriftgusses in Basel und der übrigen Schweiz von ihren Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*. Basel, 1943.
- Brunet, J.-C. *Manuel du libraire et de l'amateur de livres*. Paris, 1860-1865 6v. Suppl. *Dictionnaire de géographie ancienne et moderne* by P. Deschamps. 1870. Suppl by P. Deschamps and G. Brunet, 1878-1880. 2v.
- Brunetti, M. L' Accademia aldina, *Rivista di Venezia*, 8(1929)417-31.
- Bühler, C. F. Additional Note to Aldus Manutius and his First Edition of the Greek Musaeus, *Scritti sopra Aldo Manuzio*. Firenze, 1955, 106-07.
- . Aldus Manutius: the First Five Hundred Years, *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 44(1950)205-15=his Early Books and Manuscripts. New York, 1973, 145-53.
- . Aldus Manutius and his First Edition of the Greek Musaeus, *La bibliofilia*, 52(1950)123-27=Scritti sopra Aldo Manuzio, 3-7=his Early Books and Manuscripts. New York, 1973, 162-67.
- . Aldus Manutius and the Printing of Athenaeus, *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* 1955, 104-06=his Early Books and Manuscripts. New York, 1973, 220-22.
- . *The Fifteenth Century Book: the Scribes, the Printers, the Decorators*. Philadelphia, 1960.
- . Notes on Two Incunabula Printed by Aldus Manutius, *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 36(1942)18-26.
- . Some Documents Concerning the Torresani and the Aldine Press, *The Library*, 4th ser., 25(1945)111-21=his Early Books and Manuscripts. New York, 1973, 89-99.
- . Studies in the Early Editions of the *Fiore di virtù*, *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 49(1955)315-39=his Early Books and Manuscripts. New York, 1973, 236-56.
- Bulgarelli, T. *Gli avvisi a stampa in Roma nel Cinquecento*. Bibliografia-Antologia. Roma, 1967.
- Camerini, P. *Annali dei Giunti*. Firenze, 1962-1963. I, pts. 1-2.

- Canart, P. La carrière ecclésiastique de Jean Nathanael, chapelain de la communauté grecque de Venise (XVI^e siècle), *La chiesa greca in Italia dall' VIII al XVI secolo. Atti del Convegno storico interecclesiale* (Bari, 30 apr.-4 magg. 1969). Padova, 1972, II, 793-824=*Italia sacra*, 21(1973)793-824.
- . *Catalogue des manuscrits grecs de l' Archivio di San Pietro*. Città del Vaticano, 1966. (Studi e testi, 246).
- . Démétrius Damilas, alias le 'Librarius Florentinus,' *Rivista di studi bizantini e neoellenici*, n.s., 14-16(1977-79)281-347.
- . Jean Nathanaël et le commerce des manuscrits grecs à Venise au XVI^e siècle, *Venezia centro di mediazione tra Oriente e Occidente (secoli XV-XVI). Aspetti e problemi*. Firenze, 1977, II, 417-38.
- . Les manuscrits copiés par Emmanuel Provataris (1540-1570 environ), *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant*. Città del Vaticano, 1964, VI, pt. I, 173-287 (Studi e testi, 236).
- . Notes sur l'écriture de Nicolas Sophianos, M. Vitti, *Nicola Sofianòs e la commedia dei Tre tiranni di A. Ricchi*. Napoli, 1966, 43-47. (Istituto universitario orientale. Seminario di greco moderno, 3).
- . Nouveaux manuscrits copiés par Emmanuel Glynzounios, *Ἐπετηρίς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν*, 39-40(1972-73)527-44.
- . Scribes grecs de la Renaissance: Additions et corrections aux répertoires de Vogel-Gardthausen et de Patrinélis, *Scriptorium*, 17(1963)56-82.
- . Un crétois scriptor de la Bibliothèque vaticane: Emmanuel Provataris, *Κρητικά Χρονικά*, 15-16(1961-62)84-96.
- Cantarella, R. La Διήγησις ὠραιότητι τοῦ θαυμαστοῦ ἐκείνου τοῦ λεγομένου Βελισαρίου, *Studi bizantini e neoellenici*, 4(1935)153-202.
- Carpanè, L. & M. Menato, *Annali della tipografia veronese del Cinquecento*. Baden-Baden, 1992.
- Carpinato, C. Δημήτριος Ζήνος, Ζακύνθιος λόγιος τοῦ δεκάτου ἔκτου αἰῶνα, *Περίπλους*, 3 no. 12(1987)228-30.
- . Dimitrios Zinos e la sua *Batrachomyomachia*. Tesi di Laurea, Università degli Studi di Catania, 1986-87.
- . La fortuna della *Batrachomyomachia* dal IX al XVI secolo: Da testo scolastico a testo "politico", [Omero] *La battaglia delle rane e dei topi, Batrachomyomachia*. M. Fusillo, ed. Milano, 1988, 137-48.
- Carter, H. Plantin's Types and their Makers, *Gedenboek der Plantin-Dagen 1555-1555. Internationaal Congres voor Boekdrukkunst en Humanisme 4-10 September 1955*. Antwerpen, 1956, 247-69.
- . *Sixteenth-Century French Typefounders: The Le Bé Memorandum*. Paris, 1967. (Documents typographiques français, 3).
- . The Types of Christopher Plantin, *The Library*, 5th ser., 11(1956)170-79.
- . *A View of Early Typography up to about 1600*. Oxford, 1969.
- Carter, V., L. Hellenga & T. Parker. Printing with Gold in the Fifteenth Century, *The British Library Journal*, 9(1983)1-13.
- Casamassima, E. Lettere antiche: note per la storia della riforma grafica umanistica, *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* 1964, 13-26.
- . Per una storia delle dottrine paleografiche dall' Umanesimo a Jean Mobillon I, *Studi medievali*, s. 3, 5(1964)525-78 especially 527-32.
- & A. Tinto. Per un censimento dei tipi delle cinquecentine italiane, *Studi bibliografici. Atti del Convegno dedicato alla storia del libro italiano nel V centenario dell' introduzione dell' arte tipografica in Italia*. Bolzano, 7-8 ottobre, 1965. Firenze, 1967, 133-45. (Biblioteca bibliografica italiana, 50).

- Casanova, E. Le carte di Constantino Corvisieri all' Archivio di Stato di Roma, *Gli archivi italiani*, 7(1920)20-48.
- Castellani, C. Pacomio Rusano, grammatico greco del secolo XVI e i manoscritti autografi delle sue opere, *Atti del R. Istituto veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti*, 53, ser. 7, 6(1894-95)903-10.
- . I privilegi di stampa e la proprietà letteraria in Venezia dalla introduzione della stampa nella città fin verso del secolo scorso, *Archivio veneto*, 36(1888)127-39.
- . *La stampa in Venezia dalla sua origine alla morte di Aldo Manuzio seniore*. Venezia, 1889. Rpt. 1973.
- Catalogo delle edizioni romane di Antonio Blado Asolano ed eredi (1516-1593)*. Roma, 1891-1961. (Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione. Indici e cataloghi, 14) 4v. Vols. 1-2, compiled by G. Fumagalli and G. Belli. Vols. 3-4, compiled by E. Vaccaro Sofia.
- Cave, Wm. *Scriptorum ecclesiasticorum historia literaria*. Basel, 1741-45. 2v. Vol. 2. Section entitled: De libris & officiis Eccl. Graecorum.
- Cecchini, G. Anna Notara Paleologa: Una principessa greca in Italia e la politica senese di ripopolamento della Maremma, *Bollettino senese di storia patria*, n. s. 9(1938)1-41.
- Cessi, R. Bartolomeo e Camillo Zanetti, tipografi e calligrafi del '500, *Archivio veneto-tridentino*, 8(1925)174-82.
- . [Camillo e Bartolomeo Zanetti], *Nuovo archivio veneto*, n.s. 31(1916)494-98.
- Χασιώτης, Ι. Κ. Οί Έλληνες στis παραμονές τής ναυμαχίας τής Ναυπάκτου. Θεσσαλονίκη, 1970. (Ίδρυμα Μελετών Χερσονήσου του Αΐμου, 120).
- . Venezia e i domini veneziani tramite di informazioni sui Turchi per gli Spagnoli nel sec. XVI, *Venezia centro di mediazione tra Oriente e Occidente (secoli XV-XVI). Aspetti e problemi*. Firenze, 1977, I, 117-36.
- Chadzikidakis, M. Les débuts de l' école crétoise et la question de l' école dite italogrecque, *Μνημόσυνον Σοφίας Άντωνιάδη*. Βενετία, 1974, 169-211.
- . Έλληνες ζωγράφοι μετὰ τήν Άλωση (1450-1830). Άθήνα, 1987- (Κέντρο Νεοελληνικῶν Έρευνῶν Ε. Ι. Ε., 33).
- . *Icônes de Saint-Georges des Grecs et de la collection de l'Institut*. Venise, 1962. (Bibliothèque de l'Institut hellénique d'études byzantines et post-byzantines de Venise, 1).
- . La peinture des "Madonneri" ou "Vénéto-crétoise" et sa destination, *Venezia centro di mediazione tra Oriente e Occidente (secoli XV-XVI). Aspetti e problemi*. Firenze, 1977, II, 673-90.
- Χατζηψάλτης, Κ. Τὸ ἐν Ἑλλάδι καὶ Κύπρῳ οἰκογενειακὸν ὄνομα Λογαράς κατὰ τὴν βυζαντινὴν καὶ μεταβυζαντινὴν περίοδον, *Έπετηρίς τοῦ Κέντρου Έπιστημονικῶν Έρευνῶν*, 6(1972-73)133-68.
- . Έγγραφα σχετικὰ πρὸς τινὰς ἐπὶ Τουρκοκρατίας Κυπρίους λογίους καὶ τὸν ἀρχιεπίσκοπον Ἰλαρίωνα Κιγάλαν, *Κυπριακαὶ Σπουδαί*, 24(1960)51-61.
- Χιώτης, Π. Έπιστολὴ πρὸς τὸν Άγιον Διονύσιον τὸν Σιγοῦρον μετὰ διασαφήσεις. Έν Ζακύνθῳ, 1852.
- . Περὶ τοῦ χειρογράφου τῶν Άποδημιῶν Νικάνδρου τοῦ Νουκίου, *Πανδώρα*, 12(1862)140-42.
- Christie, R. C. *The Aldine Anchor, Selected Essays and Papers*. London, 1902, 247-51.
- . The Chronology of the Early Aldines, *Bibliographica*, 1(1895)193-222.
- Χριστόπουλος, Τ. Φ. Δαμασκηνὸς ὁ Στουδίτης, *ΘΗΕ*, 4(1964)907-08.
- Χυτήρης, Γ. Ἡ Τουρκικὴ πολιορκία τής Κερκύρας στὰ 1537 καὶ ὁ Νούκιος Νίκανδρος, *Δελτίον τής Άναγνωστικῆς Έταιρείας Κερκύρας*, 6(1969)99-113.
- Cicogna, E. A. (Ms. Cicogna 3044). *Elenco di stampatori e librari tanto veneti che forestieri et di quelli ad istanza de quali si pubblicarono libri in Venezia*. Venezia, Museo Civico Correr.

Cioni, A. Bertocchi, *DBI*, 9(1967)557-59.

———. Bissoli, Giovanni, *DBI*, 10(1968)701-03.

———. *Giunte e correzioni al "Indice generale degli incunaboli."* Firenze, 1960. (Biblioteca degli eruditi e dei bibliofili, 52).

———. *Nuove giunte e correzioni al "Indice generale degli incunaboli."* Firenze, 1963. (Biblioteca degli eruditi e dei bibliofili, 83).

Clugnet, L. *Dictionnaire grec-français de noms liturgiques en usage dans l' église grecque*. Paris, 1895.

Cohn, L. Konstantin Palaeokappa und Jakob Diassorinos, *Philologische Abhandlungen*. Martin Hertz zum siebzigsten Geburtstag. Berlin, 1888, 123-43.

Cole, G. The Historical Development of the Title Page, *The Journal of Library History*, 6(1971)303-16.

Cornelio, Fl. *Creta sacra, sive De episcopis utriusque ritus Graece et Latine in insula Cretae*. Venetiis, 1755. 2v. Rpt. 1971.

Cosenza, M. E. *Biographical and Bibliographical Dictionary of the Italian Humanists and of the World of Classical Scholarship in Italy, 1300-1800*. 2nd. ed. rev. and enl. Boston, 1962-67. 6v.

———. *Biographical and Bibliographical Dictionary of the Italian Printers and of Foreign Printers in Italy from the Introduction of Printing into Italy to 1800*. Boston, 1968.

———. *Checklist of Non-Italian Humanists, 1300-1800*. Boston, 1969.

Cotton, J. H. Frosino Bonini: Politian's Protégé and Plagiariist?, *La bibliofilia*, 71(1969)157-75.

Cramer, J. A, ed. *The Second Book of the Travels of Nikander Nucius of Corcyra*. London, 1841.

Crusius, M. *Turcograeciae libri octo*. Basel, 1584. Rpt. 1972.

Curi Nicolardi, S. *Una società tipografico-editoriale a Venezia nel secolo XVI: Melchiorre Sessa e Pietro di Ravani (1516-1525)*. Firenze, 1984 (Biblioteca di bibliografia italiana, 103).

Dain, A. Commerce et copie de manuscrits grecs, *Humanisme et Renaissance*, 4(1937)395-410.

———. La fille d' Ange Vergèce, *Humanisme et Renaissance*, 1(1934)133-44.

Danezis, G. *Spaneas: Vorlage, Quellen, Versionen*. München, 1987. (Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia, 31).

———. Das Vorbild des Spaneas: ein neuer Vorschlag und die Folgen für die Edition des Textes, *Neograeca Medii Aevi. Text und Ausgabe. Akten zum Symposium Köln 1986*. Köln, 1987, 89-98.

Darlow, T. H. and H. F. Moule. *Historical Catalogue of the Printed Editions of the Holy Scriptures in the Library of the British and Foreign Bible Society*. London, 1903-1911. 2v.

Davies, H. W. *Devices of the Early Printers, 1457-1560*. London, 1935.

Dawkins, R. M. Modern Greek Oral Versions of Apollonius of Tyre, *Modern Language Review*, 37(1942)169-84.

De Andrés, G. Los códigos griegos de Nicolás Barelli y las reclamaciones de Jorge Niquifor, *Scriptorium*, 25(1971)71-75.

De Frede, C. Tipografi, editori, librai italiani del Cinquecento coinvolti in processi di eresia, *Rivista di storia della Chiesa in Italia*, 23(1969)21-53.

Δεινάκις, Σ. 'Ο Orlando Furioso τοῦ 'Αριόστου εἶναι πηγὴ τοῦ ποιήματος τοῦ 'Αντωνίου 'Αχέλη, *Χριστιανικὴ Κρήτη*, 2(1913)437-42.

Deisser, A. Entre Constantinople et Venise. L'Hodoeporicum de Favoli et son escale au Tenare (début 1546), *Θησαυρίσματα*, 15(1978)246-59.

———. Nicandre de Corfou, le premier grec qui descendit dans une mine liégeoise, *La vie wallone*, 50(1976)7-21.

- . 'Ο Νίκανδρος, ὁ Φραγκίσκος Α' καὶ τὰ θαύματα τῆς Κέρκυρας, *Δελτίον τῆς Ἀναγνωστικῆς Ἑταιρείας Κερκύρας*, 12(1975)165-80.
- . "Τραγωδία εἰς τὴν τοῦ Αὐτεξουσίου ἀναίρεσιν" τοῦ Νικάνδρου τοῦ Κερκυραίου, *Θεατρικά*, 14-18(1977)54-57.
- Delatte, A. *Les portulans grecs*. Liège, 1947-58. 2v. (Bibliothèque de la Faculté de philosophie et lettres de l' Université de Liège, no. 107).
- Δεληδημος, Ε. Δαμασκηνὸς ὁ Στουδίτης, *Γρηγόριος ὁ Παλαμᾶς*, 53(1970)438-48.
- . ed. *Θησαυρὸς Δαμασκηνοῦ τοῦ ὑποδιακόνου καὶ Στουδίτου τοῦ Θεσσαλονικέως*. Θεσσαλονίκη, 1971.
- Δελιαλῆς, Ν. Π. *Κατάλογος ἐντύπων Δημοτικῆς βιβλιοθήκης Κοζάνης*. Θεσσαλονίκη, 1948-64. 2v. (Δημοσιεύματα Δημοτικῆς Βιβλιοθήκης Κοζάνης, 1, 3).
- Δημαρᾶς, Κ. Θ. Βενετία: 1477, 1828. Ἀνέκδοτα κείμενα, *Θησαυρίσματα*, 1(1962)2-13.
- Δημητρακόπουλος, Α. Κ. Ὁρθόδοξος Ἑλλάς, ἥτοι Περὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τῶν γραψάντων κατὰ Λατίνων καὶ περὶ τῶν συγγραμμάτων αὐτῶν. Ἐν Λειψία, 1872. Rpt. 1968.
- . *Προσθήκαι καὶ διορθώσεις εἰς τὴν Νεοελληνικὴν φιλολογίαν Κωνσταντίνου Σάθα*. Ἐν Λειψία, 1871. Rpt. 1965.
- Δημητρακόπουλος, Φ. Α. Ἀρσένιος Ἐλασσόνος (1550-1626). Βίος καὶ ἔργο. Συμβολὴ στὴ μελέτη τῶν μεταβυζαντινῶν λογίων τῆς Ἀνατολῆς. Ἀθήνα, 1984.
- Dénissouff, E. *Maxime le Grec et l' Occident*. Paris-Louvain, 1943.
- Δεπούντης, Α. Ν. Προϊόντα τῶν πρώτων δεκαετηρίδων μετὰ τὴν ἀνακάλυψιν τῆς τυπογραφίας, *Νέα Σιών*, 36(1941)355-71.
- Desgraves, L. *Les Haultin, 1571-1623*. Genève, 1960. (L'Imprimerie a la Rochelle, 2). Travaux d'humanisme et Renaissance, 34.
- Deutscher, T. B. Zacharias Calliergis of Rethymnon c. 1473 after October 1524, *Contemporaries of Erasmus. A Biographical Register of the Renaissance and Reformation*. P. G. Bietenholz, ed. Toronto, 1986, II, 380-81.
- Di Filippo Bareggi, C. Giunta, Doni, Torrentino: tre tipografie fiorentine fra repubblica e principato, *Nuova rivista storica*, 58(1974)318-48.
- Dibdin, T. F. *The Bibliographical Decameron*. London, 1817. 3v.
- Didot, A. F. *Alde Manuce et l'hellénisme à Venise*. Paris, 1875.
- Diller, A. *The Tradition of the Minor Greek Geographers*. Lancaster, 1952. (American Philological Association. Philological Monographs, 14).
- . Two Greek Forgeries of the Sixteenth Century, *American Journal of Philology*, 57(1936)124-29.
- Dionizotti, C. Aldo Manuzio umanista, *Lettere italiane*, 12(1960)375-400=Umanesimo europeo e umanesimo veneziano. Firenze, 1963, 213-43. (Civiltà europea e civiltà veneziana: aspetti e problemi, 2).
- . Questioni su Aldo Manuzio editore, *Atti del quinto congresso internazionale di bibliofili, Venezia, 1-7 ottobre 1967*. Verona, 1970, 95-108.
- Doens, I. *Manoscritti ed edizioni veneziane di opere liturgiche e ascetiche greche e slave esposti in occasione del convegno di studi "Millenario del Monte Athos" presso la Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Isola di San Giorgio Maggiore*. Venezia, 1963.
- Donati, L. L' ancora aldina, *La bibliofilia*, 50(1948)179-82.
- . Bibliografia aldina, *La bibliofilia*, 52(1950)188-204=Scritti sopra Aldo Manuzio. Firenze, 1955, 69-92.

- . *Del mito di Zoan Andrea e di altri miti grandi e piccoli*. Firenze, 1959.
- . *Epistole et evangelij volgari hystoriade...*, Maso Finiguerra, 2(1937)230-31.
- . *Le iniziali iconografiche del XVI secolo*, *Studi bibliografici: Atti del convegno dedicato alla storia del libro italiano nel V centenario dell' introduzione dell' arte tipografica in Italia* (Bolzano 7-8 ottobre 1965). Firenze, 1967, 219-39.
- . *Il libro illustrato italiano nel Rinascimento. Aggiunte e correzioni all' Essling*, Maso Finiguerra, 4(1939)87-99.
- . *Le marche tipografiche di Aldo Manuzio il Vecchio*, *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* 1974, 129-32.
- . *Problemi cronologici dell' incunabulistica italiana*, *La bibliofilia*, 62(1960)44-49.
- . *Riflessioni sulle marche tipografiche*. Bellinzona, 1959. (Kleiner Druck der Gutenberg Gesellschaft, 67).
- . *Le vicende del Fior di virtù*, *La bibliofilia*, 76(1974)175-208.
- Dorez, L. Antoine Éparque. *Recherches sur le commerce des mss. grecs en Italie au XVI^e siècle*, *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, 13(1893)281-364.
- . *Antonio Blado, imprimeur romain du XVI^e siècle*, *Revue des bibliothèques*, 3(1893)363-70.
- . *Le cardinal Marcello Cervini et l'imprimerie à Rome (1539-1550)*, *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, 12(1892)289-313.
- . *Études aldines*, *Revue des bibliothèques*, 6(1896)143-60; 237-83; 311-26; 12(1902)400-19.
- . *Joannes Lascaris*, *Revue des bibliothèques*, 5(1895)325-29.
- . *La marque typographique d' Alde Manuce*, *Revue des bibliothèques*, 6(1896)143-60; 237-38.
- Drummond, H. J. H. *A Short-title Catalogue of Books Printed on the Continent of Europe 1501-1600 in Aberdeen University Library*. Oxford, 1979. (Aberdeen University Studies Series, no. 156).
- Δουβουνιώτης, Κ. Μάξιμος ὁ Μαργούνιος, *Γρηγόριος ὁ Παλαμᾶς*, 4(1920)155-68; 209-16; 321-24; 386-88, 418-25; 671-73; 722-30; 781-85; 5(1921)269-80; 390-96; 481-92.
- Edler de Roover, F. *Cost Accounting in the Sixteenth Century*, *Accounting Review*, 12(1937)226-37.
- . *New Facets on the Financing and Marketing of Early Printed Books*, *Bulletin of the Business Historical Society*, 27(1953)222-30.
- Ehinger, E. *Catalogus bibliothecae amplissimae reipublicae Augustanae*. Augustae Vindelicorum, 1633.
- Eideneier, H. *Ἀναζητώντας τὶς ἀρχὲς τῆς νεοελληνικῆς γραμματείας, "Ἀρχὲς τῆς Νεοελληνικῆς Λογοτεχνίας."* Πρακτικὰ τοῦ Δευτέρου Διεθνoῦς Συνεδρίου "Neograeca Medii Aevi." Βενετία, 1993, I, 42-49.
- . *Leser oder Hörerkreis? Zur byzantinischen Dichtung in der Volkssprache*, *Ἑλληνικά*, 34(1982-83)119-50.
- . *Σπανός*. Ἀθήνα, 1990.
- . *Spanos. Eine byzantinische Satire in der Form einer Parodie*. Berlin, 1977. (Supplementa Byzantina. Texte und Untersuchungen, 5).
- . *Zur Herausgabe von Texte der Byzantinischen Volksliteratur*, *Μαντατοφόρος*, 25-26(1987)63-68.
- Ἡλιοῦ, Φ. *Ἑλληνικὰ βιβλία στὴ Βουλγαρία, Ὁ Ἑρανιστής*, 15(1978-79)321-29.
- . *Προσθήκες στὴν ἑλληνικὴ βιβλιογραφία. Α΄. Τὰ βιβλιογραφικὰ κατάλοιπα τοῦ É. Legrand καὶ τοῦ H. Pernot (1515-1799)*. Ἀθήνα, 1973.
- . *Σημειώσεις γιὰ τὰ "τραβήγματα" τῶν ἑλληνικῶν βιβλίων τὸν 16^ο αἰῶνα*, *Ἑλληνικά*, 28(1975)102-41.

- Ἡλιοῦδης, Γ. Ν. Ἡ γραμματικὴ τοῦ Κωνσταντίνου Λασκάρεως πρότυπο τῆς γραμματικῆς τοῦ Νικολάου Σοφianoῦ, *Ἑλληνικά*, 40(1989)413-17.
- Enepekides, P. K. Der Briefwechsel des Maximos Margunios, Bischof von Kythera (1549-1602), *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen byzantinischen Gesellschaft*, 1(1951)13-66.
- . *Χρηστομάνος, Βικέλας, Παπαδιαμάντης. Ἐπιστολαὶ Μαξίμου Μαργουνίου, ἐπισκόπου Κυθήρων, 1549-1602*. Ἀθήναι, 1970.
- . Maximos Margunios an deutsche und italienische Humanisten, *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen byzantinischen Gesellschaft*, 10(1961)93-145.
- Engberg, S. G. Greek Literacy During the Tourkokratia and Manólis Glynzounis' Edition of the "Prophetie," Venice 1595/96, *Proceedings of the First International Congress on the Hellenic Diaspora, from Antiquity to Modern Times* (Montréal, 17-22.iv.1988; Athens, 26-30.iv.1988). Amsterdam, 1991, II, 41-46.
- . Greek Literacy and Liturgical Books: Manolis Glynzounis' Edition of the "Profetie", Venice 1595/96, *Epsilon*, 2(1988)31-41.
- . The Greek Old Testament Lectionary as a Liturgical Book, *Cahiers de l' Institut du moyen-âge grec et latin de l' Université de Copenhague*, 54(1987)39-47.
- . Ἀγία Μαύρα τῆς Πελοποννήσου — An Addendum, *Epsilon*, 2(1988)42-44.
- . An Unnoticed Printed Edition of the Old Testament Lectionary in Greek (Venice, 1545), *Epsilon*, 1(1987)57-67.
- Essling, V. Masséna, prince d'. *Bibliographie des livres à figures vénitiens de la fin du XV^e siècle et du commencement du XVI^e, 1469-1525*. Paris, 1892.
- . *Études sur l'art de la gravure sur bois à Venise. Les livres à figures vénitiens de la fin du XV^e siècle et du commencement du XVI^e*. Florence, 1907-09. 3v. in 5.
- . *Études sur l'art de la gravure sur bois à Venise. Les missels imprimés à Venise de 1481 a 1600*. Paris, 1896.
- . *Livres à figures provenant de la bibliothèque du Prince d' Essling*. Zürich, 1939.
- . Les premiers ornements xylographiques dans les livres de Venise, *La bibliofilia*, 8(1907)121-29.
- . & C. Ephrussi, Notes sur les xylographes vénitiens du XV^e et du XVI^e siècles, *Gazette des beaux arts*, 3. ser. 3(1890)494-503.
- . ———, Zoan Andrea et ses homonymes, *Gazette des beaux arts*, 3. ser. 5(1891)401-15; 6(1891)225-44.
- Eubel, C. *Hierarchia catholica medii aevi*. Münster, 1898-1910. 3v.
- Fahy, C. Descrizioni cinquecentesche della fabbricazione dei caratteri e del processo tipografico, *La bibliofilia*, 88(1986)47-86.
- Falaschi, E. T. Valvassori's 1553 Illustrations of *Orlando furioso*: the Development of Multi-narrative Technique in Venice and its Links with Cartography, *La bibliofilia*, 77(1975)227-51.
- Fanelli, V. Aspetti della Roma cinquecentesca: le case e le raccolte archeologiche del Colocci, *Studi romani*, 10(1962)391-402=*Ricerche su Angelo Colocci e sulla Roma cinquecentesca*. Città del Vaticano, 1979, 111-25. (Studi e testi, 283).
- . Il ginnasio greco di Leone X a Roma, *Studi romani*, 9(1961)379-93=*his Ricerche su Angelo Colocci e sulla Roma cinquecentesca*. Città del Vaticano, 1979, 91-110. (Studi e testi, 283).
- Fedalto, G. Ancora su Massimo Margunio, *Bollettino dell' Istituto di storia della Società e dello stato veneziano*, 5/6(1963-64)203-13.

- . Cultura ecclesiastica di vescovi greci in Italia nel secolo XVI: Massimo Margunio, *La Chiesa greca in Italia dall' VIII al XVI secolo. Atti del Convegno storico interecclesiale* (Bari, 30 apr. - 4 magg. 1969). Padova, 1972, II, 825-36.
- . Excursus storico sulla vita e sulla attività di Massimo Margounios, *Studia patavina*, 8(1961)213-44.
- . *Massimo Margunio e il suo commento al "De Trinitate" di S. Agostino (1588)*. Brescia, 1968.
- . *Massimo Margounios e la sua opera per conciliare la sentenza degli Orientali e dei Latini sulla processione dello Spirito Santo*. Padova, 1961.
- . Le minoranze straniere a Venezia tra politica e legislazione, *Venezia centro di mediazione tra Oriente e Occidente* (secoli XV-XVI). Firenze, 1977, I, 143-62.
- . Processione dello Spirito Santo e unione della chiesa greca e latina in Massimo Margounios, *Studia patavina*, 10(1963)301-07.
- . *Ricerche storiche sulla posizione giuridica ed ecclesiastica dei Greci a Venezia nei secoli XV e XVI*. Firenze, 1967. (Civiltà veneziana. Saggi, 17).
- . Stranieri a Venezia e a Padova, *Storia della cultura veneta dal primo Quattrocento al Concilio di Trento*. Vicenza, 1980, III/I, 499-535.
- . & G. Plumidis. Nuovi inediti di Massimo Margunio, *Κρητικά Χρονικά*, περ. 2, 3(1971)224-30.
- Ferguson, M. *The Printed Books in the Library of the Hunterian Museum in the University of Glasgow. A Catalogue*. Glasgow, 1930.
- [Ferrari, G. E.] Serie cronologica delle edizioni di Aldo Manuzio, M. Dazzi, *Aldo Manuzio e il dialogo veneziano di Erasmo*. Vicenza, 1969, 203-25.
- Ferrari, V. *Gli annali della tipografia reggiana. II. (secolo XVI)*. Reggio Emilia, 1918.
- Finazzi, M. *La stampa greca a Venezia nei secoli XV e XVI*. Catalogo di mostra. Venezia, 1968.
- Fischetti, G. La prima traduzione neogreca di Omero, *Miscellanea neogreca. Atti del I convegno nazionale di studi neogreci* (Palermo, 17-19 maggio 1975). Palermo, 1975, 11-20. (Atti della Accademia di Scienze, Lettere e Arti di Palermo. Supplemento no. 8).
- Fletcher, H. G. *New Aldine Studies. Documentary Essays on the Life and Work of Aldus Manutius*. San Francisco, 1988.
- Follieri, E. Gli elementi originali nella versione neogreca del Teseida, del Boccaccio, *Πεπραγμένα τοῦ Θ' Διεθνoῦς Βυζαντινολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου* (Θεσσαλονίκη, 12-14 Ἀπριλίου 1953). Ἀθήναι, 1958, III, 292-98.
- . Il libro greco per i Greci nelle imprese editoriali romane e veneziane della prima metà del Cinquecento, *Venezia, centro di mediazione tra Oriente e Occidente* (secoli XV-XVI). *Aspetti e problemi*. Firenze, 1977, II, 483-508.
- . Il poema bizantino di Belisario, *Atti del Convegno internazionale sul tema: la poesia epica e la sua formazione* (Roma, 28 marzo-3 aprile 1969). Roma, 1970, 583-651.
- . Su alcuni libri greci stampati a Venezia nella prima metà del Cinquecento, *Contributi alla storia del libro italiano. Miscellanea in onore di Lamberto Donati*. Firenze, 1969, 119-64.
- . Il Teseida neogreco. Libro I. Roma, 1959. (Testi e studi bizantino-neoellenici, 1).
- . La versione in greco volgare del Teseida del Boccaccio, *Atti dello VIII Congresso internazionale di studi bizantini* (Palermo 3-10 aprile 1951). Roma, 1953=*Studi bizantini e neoellenici*, 7(1953) I, 67-77.
- . & I. Dujcev. Il calendario in sticheri di Cristoforo di Mitilene, *Byzantinoslavica*, 25(1964)1-36.

Fonkitch, B. L. La chronique de Michel Glykas: note sur les origines du manuscrit de Leningrad (une fois de plus sur Nathanaël Emboros et Nathanaël Chicas), *Θησαυρίσματα*, 19(1982)78-89.

———. Izdanie perepiski Maksima Marguniia, *Vizantiiskii Vremennik*, 39(1978)276-77.

———. Materiali dlia izucheniiia biblioteki Maksima Marguniia, *Vizantiiskii Vremennik*, 38(1977)141-53.

Foucault, J.-A. de, ed. *Nicandre de Corcyre, Voyages*. Paris, 1962.

Fraenkel, J. J. Introduction, Costantinus Lascaris, *Greek Grammar*. Milan, Dionysius Paravisinus for Demetrius of Crete 30 January 1476. Amsterdam, 1966, 3-16.

Froger, L. Un auteur Vendômois inconnu, *Les annales fléchoises et la vallée du Loir*, 9(1908)169-72.

Fulin, R. Documenti per servire alla storia della tipografia veneziana, *Archivio veneto*, 23(1882)84-212, 390-405.

Fumagalli, G. *Antonio Blado, tipografo romano del secolo XVI. Memoria storico-bibliografica*. Milano, [1899].

———. Delle insegne tipografiche e specialmente italiane, *Esopo*, 1(1979)23-32.

———. *Lexicon typographicum Italiae*. Firenze, 1905. *Giunte e correzioni*, 1939. *Nuova giunta* by M. Parenti. Milano, 1941. *Seconda giunta* by M. Parenti. Milano, 1949. Reissue with the three supplements. Firenze, 1966.

Furlan, I. Artisti Greci a Venezia, *Il veltro*, 27(1983)299-313.

Fyrigos, A. ed. *Il collegio greco di Roma. Ricerche sugli alunni, la direzione, l'attività*. Roma, 1983. (Analecta Collegii Graecorum. Collana di studi fondata e diretta da Olivier Raquez, 1).

———. Σπανίως Σπανέως. Proposta per una interpretazione del termine e ipotesi sulla datazione dell'omonimo poema, *Bollettino della Badia greca di Grottaferrata*, n.s., 39(1985)39-56.

Gaidagis, N. *Catalogul cărților grecești de la Biblioteca Centrală Universitară "M. Eminescu" - Iași*. Iași, 1974-75. 2v.

Gamillscheg, E. & D. Harlfinger, *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten 800-1600*. Wien, 1981- (Oesterreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Byzantinistik, 3).

Gardthausen, V. *Catalogus Codicum Graecorum Sinaiticorum*. Oxonii, 1886.

Garnett, R. The Early Italian Book-Trade, *Bibliographica*, 3(1897)29-45.

Geanakoplos, D. J. An Overlooked Post-byzantine Plan for Religious Union with Rome: Maximos Margounios the Cretan Humanist-Bishop and his Latin Library Bequeathed to Mt. Athos, *Byzantine East and Latin West*. New York, 1966, 165-93.

———. La colonia greca di Venezia e il suo significato per il Rinascimento, *Venezia e l'Oriente fra tardo Medioevo e Rinascimento*. A. Pertusi, ed. Firenze, 1966, 183-203.

———. Erasmus and the Aldine Academy of Venice, *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*, 3(1960)107-34.

———. The Greco-byzantine Colony in Venice and its Significance in the Renaissance, *Byzantine East and Latin West*. New York, 1966, 112-37.

———. The Greek Community of Venice, his *Interaction of the "Sibling" Byzantine and Western Cultures in the Middle Ages and Italian Renaissance (330-1600)*. New Haven, 1976, 176-86.

———. *Greek Scholars in Venice*. Cambridge, MA, 1962.

———. Italian Renaissance Thought and Learning and the Role of the Byzantine Emigrés Scholars in Florence, Rome and Venice: a Reassessment, *Rivista di studi bizantini e slavi*, 3(1983)129-57 = *Miscellanea Agostino Pertusi*. Bologna, 1984, III, 129-57.

- . The Library of the Cretan Humanist-Bishop, Maximos Margounios, Especially his Collection of Latin Books Bequeathed to Mount Athos, *Πεπραγμένα τοῦ Β' Διεθνoῦς Κρητολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου*. Ἀθῆναι, 1968, III, 75-91.
- Γεδεών, Μ. *Χρονικά τῆς Πατριαρχικῆς Ἀκαδημίας. Ἱστορικαὶ εἰδήσεις περὶ τῆς Μεγάλης τοῦ Γένους Σχολῆς, 1454-1830*. Ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, 1883.
- . Δαμασκηνὸς ὁ Στουδίτης, *Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Ἀλήθεια*, 3(1882-83)85-91; 649-51.
- . Ἑτεροδιδασκαλίας ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως μετὰ τὴν Ῥάωσιν, *Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Ἀλήθεια*, 3(1882-83)718-22.
- . *Μνεία τῶν πρὸ ἐμοῦ*. Ἀθῆναι, 1934-36.
- . *Πατριαρχικαὶ ἐφημερίδες. Εἰδήσεις ἐκ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἱστορίας 1500-1912*. Ἐν Ἀθῆναις, 1936-38.
- . Πατριαρχικὴ μέριμνα περὶ ἐκδόσεως βιβλίων λειτουργικῶν, *Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Ἀλήθεια*, 29(1909)404-05, 413-14; 30(1910)13-14, 39-40, 42-44.
- . *Πατριαρχικοὶ πίνακες. Εἰδήσεις ἱστορικαί, βιογραφικαὶ περὶ τῶν πατριαρχῶν Κωνσταντινουπόλεως*. Ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, 1890?
- Gerhardt, C. W. Wie haben Ratdolt und Callierges Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts in Venedig ihre Drucke mit Blattgold hergestellt?, *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* 1984, 145-50.
- Gerlach, S. *Tagebuch*. Frankfurth am Mayn, 1674.
- Gerola, G. *Monumenti veneti nell' isola di Creta*. Venezia, 1905-32. 4v. in 5.
- Gerulaitis, L. V. *Printing and Publishing in Fifteenth-Century Venice*. Chicago, 1976.
- Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*. Hrsg. von der Kommission für Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke. 2. Aufl.. Stuttgart, 1968-
- Gesner, K. *Bibliotheca uniuersalis*. Tiguri, 1545-55. 4v. in 3.
- Γιαννακόπουλος, Θ. Δ. Βιβλιοπωλικά διαφημίσεις. Μισσὲρ Δαμιανός, *Ὁ Βιβλιόφιλος*, 9, ἀρ. 3-4(1955)43-47.
- . Ἡ διακοσμητικὴ τοῦ ἑλληνικοῦ βιβλίου, *Ὁ Βιβλιόφιλος*, 1, ἀρ. 2(1947)8-9.
- Giannotti, D. *Lettere a Piero Vettori*. Roberto Ridolfi & C. Roth, eds. Firenze, 1932.
- Gidel, C. *Étude sur Apollonius de Tyr; roman écrit en grec et en vers politiques, d'après une version latine*, W. Wagner, *Medieval Greek Texts*. London, 1870, 91-101.
- . *Études sur la littérature grecque moderne*. Paris, 1866.
- Gigante, M. Benigno, Cornelio, *DBI*, 6(1966)513-14.
- Γιωτοπούλου-Σισιλιάνου, Ε. *Ἀντώνιος ὁ Ἐπαρχος, ἕνας Κερκυραῖος οὐμανιστὴς τοῦ 15' αἰῶνα*. Ἀθήνα, 1978.
- Giuliani, G. C. *Della tipografia veronese: saggio storico-letterario*. Verona, 1871.
- I Giunti tipografi editori di Firenze*. Firenze, 1978-79. 2v.
- Göllner, C. *Turcica: die europäischen Türkendrucke des XVI Jahrhunderts*. Bucuresti, Berlin, 1961-78. 3v. (Bibliotheca bibliographica Aureliana, 23, 70).
- Goff, F. R. *Incunabula in American Libraries*. New York, 1964. A Supplement to the Third Census of Fifteenth Century Books. New York, 1972.
- Goldschmidt, E. P. *The Printed Book of the Renaissance*. Amsterdam, 1966.
- Gollob, H. Ein Beitrag zur Zoon-Andrea-Frage, *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* 1959, 165-70.
- Gombosi, G. Die "Epistole et evangeli" und Raffaels Einfluss auf die venezianische Buchillustration, *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für vervielfältigende Kunst*, 54, no. 4(1931)53-56.

- González Palencia, A. G. & E. Mele, *Vida y obras de Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza*. Madrid, 1941-43. 3v.
- Grässe, J. G. T. *Trésor de livres rares et précieux ou Nouveau dictionnaire bibliographique*. Berlin, 1922. 7v in 8.
- Graf, A. *Jeórgios Zavírasz Budapesti Könyvtárának Katalógusa*. Κατάλογος τῆς ἐν Βουδαπέστη Βιβλιοθήκης Γεωργίου Ζαβίρα. Budapest, 1935.
- Grafton, A. Janus Lascaris of Constantinople, *Contemporaries of Erasmus*. Toronto, 1986, II, 292-94.
- Graux, C. *Essai sur les origines du fonds grec de l' Escorial*. Paris, 1880 (Bibliothèque de l' École des hautes études, 46).
- Gray, H. L. Greek Visitors to England 1455-56, *Anniversary Essays in Mediaeval History by Students of Charles Homer Haskins*. Boston, 1929, 81-116.
- Grendler, M. A Greek Collection in Padua: The Library of Gian Vincenzo Pinelli (1535-1601), *Renaissance Quarterly*, 33(1980)386-416.
- Grendler, P. F. The Destruction of Hebrew Books in Venice, 1568, *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research*, 45(1978)103-30.
- . *The Roman Inquisition and the Venetian Press*. Princeton, 1977.
- . The Roman Inquisition and the Venetian Press, 1540-1605, *Journal of Modern History*, 47(1975)48-65.
- Greswell, W. P. *A View of the Early Parisian Greek Press*. Oxford, 1833. 2v.
- Grimm, J. *Sendschreiben an Karl Lachmann. Über Reinhart Fuchs*. Leipzig, 1840.
- Γριτσόπουλος, Τ. Α. Πατριαρχική Μεγάλη τοῦ Γένους Σχολή. Ἐν Ἀθήναις, 1966-71. 2v. (Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις Φιλεκαπιδευτικῆς Ἑταιρείας, 37, 59).
- Guarnaschelli, T. M. & E. Valenziani, *Indice generale degli incunaboli delle biblioteche d' Italia*. Roma, 1943-55. *Giunte e correzioni* by A. Cioni. Firenze, 1960. *Nuove giunte e correzioni* by A. Cioni. Firenze, 1963. 6v.
- Gusman, P. Claude Garamont, 'graveur des lettres grecques du roi' 'tailleur des caractères de l' Université' (1480-1561), *Byblis*, 4(1925)85-96.
- Hagen, H. Der Roman von König Apollonius von Tyrus in seinen verschiedenen Bearbeitungen. Berlin, 1878. (Sammlung gemein- verständlicher wissenschaftlicher Vorträge, Ser. xiii, no. 303).
- Halecki, O. *From Florence to Brest, 1439-1596*. New York, 1958; Rpt., 1968.
- Hall, B. *The Great Polyglot Bibles Including a Leaf from the Complutensian of Alcalà, 1514-17*. San Francisco, 1966.
- . The Trilingual College of San Ildefonso and the Making of the Complutensian Polyglot Bible, *Studies in Church History*, 5(1969)114-46.
- Hamel, J. A. van. Hellas herleefd, *Hermenevs*, 34, no. 4(1962)103-13.
- Hanna, F. Textkritische Bemerkungen zu Spaneas, *Certa Harteliana*. Vienna, 1896, 91-96.
- Harlfinger, D. & M. Sicherl, *Griechischen Handschriften und Aldinen*. Wolfenbüttel, 1978.
- Harvard University. Library. Department of Printing and Graphic Arts. *Catalogue of Books and Manuscripts. Part II. Italian 16th Century Books*. By R. Mortimer. Cambridge, MA, 1974. 2v.
- Heidenheimer, H. Peter Schöffer der Jüngere in Basel und Venedig, *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, 19(1902)456-59.
- Helladius, A. *Status praesens Ecclesiae Graecae*. Nürenberg, 1714.
- Ἑλληνικὴ Ἑταιρεία Βιβλιοφίλων. Ἀπαρχὲς τῆς ἐλληνικῆς τυπογραφίας. Κατάλογος ἐκθέσεως. Λουκία Δρούλια, comp. Ἀθήνα, 1976.

- Hesseling, D. C. *Charos. Ein Beitrag zur Kenntniss des neugriechischen Volksglaubens*. Leiden, 1897.
- Hind, A. M. *An Introduction to a History of Woodcut*. London, 1935. 2v.
- Hirsch, R. The Art of Selling Books: Notes on Three Aldus Catalogues, 1586-1592, *The Printed Word*. London, 1978, XXX, 85-101.
- . Early Printed Greek Grammars, 1471-1550, *The Printed Word*. London, 1978, VII, 1-9.
- . Pre-Reformation Censorship of Printed Books, *Library Chronicle*, 21(1955)100-05.
- . *Printing, Selling and Reading 1450-1550*. 2. Printing with a Supplemental Annotated Bibliographical Introduction. Wiesbaden, 1974.
- . *Stampa e lettura fra il 1450 e il 1550*, *Libri, editori e pubblico nell' Europa moderna*. A cura di A. Petrucci. Bari, 1977, 1-50.
- Hobson, A. Jacobus Apocellus, *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 7(1979)279-83.
- . The Printer of the Greek Editions 'In gymnasio Mediceo ad Caballinum montem', *Studi di biblioteconomia e storia del libro in onore di Francesco Barberi*. Roma, 1976, 331-35.
- Hodius, H. *De Graecis illustribus*. London, 1742.
- Hofer, Ph. & G. W. Cottrell Jr. Angelos Vergecios and the Bestiary of Manuel Phile, *Harvard Library Bulletin*, 8(1954)323-39.
- Hoffmann, G. Briefwechsel zwischen Gabriel Severos und Anton Possevino, S. I., *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, 15(1949)416-34.
- Hoffmann, S. F. W. *Bibliographisches Lexicon der gesamten Literatur der Griechen*. 2. Aufl. Amsterdam, 1961. 3v. Rpt. of 1838-45 ed.
- Holton, D., ed. *Διήγησις τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου. The Tale of Alexander. The Rhymed Version*. Critical ed. with an introd. and commentary. Θεσσαλονίκη, 1974. (Βυζαντινὴ καὶ νεοελληνικὴ βιβλιοθήκη, 1).
- . 'Η Ἱστορία τῆς Σωσάννης τοῦ Μάρκου Δεφαράνα: ἐκδοτικὰ προβλήματα μιᾶς φυλλάδας, *Neograeca medii aevi. Text und Ausgabe. Akten zum Symposion Köln 1986*. Köln, 1987, 165-77.
- . ed. *Literature and Society in Renaissance Crete*. Cambridge, 1991.
- . Orality in Cretan Narrative Poetry, *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, 14(1990)186-98.
- . A Set of Sixteenth Century Woodcuts in Greek Popular Texts, *Ἑλληνικά*, 25(1972)371-76.
- . Sixteenth-Century Popular Greek Printing in Venice. Unpub. lecture given at the University of Birmingham, June 5, 1975.
- Hoogewerff, G. J. L' editore del Vasari: Lorenzo Torrentino, *Studi vasariani. Atti del Convegno internazionale per il IV centenario della prima edizione delle 'vite' del Vasari*. Firenze, 1952, 93-104.
- . Laurentius Torrentinus (Laurens Leenaertsz van der Beke) boekdrukker en uitgever van den hertog van Toscane, 1547-1563, *Het Boek*, 15(1926)273-88; 369-81.
- Howe, E. The Le Bé Family: Typefounders, Printers, Paper Merchants, Engravers and Writing Masters, 1525-1730, *Signature*, 8(1938)1-27.
- Hunger, H. Markos Bathas, ein griechischer Maler des Cinquecento in Venedig, *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*, 21(1972)131-37.
- Husung, M. J. *Die Drucker- und Verlegerzeichen Italiens im XV. Jahrhundert*. München, 1929.
- Index Aureliensis. Catalogus librorum sedecimo saeculo impressorum*. Baden Baden, 1962-
- Ingram, W. H. The Ligatures of Early Printed Greek, *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*, 7(1966)371-89.
- Ἰωαννίδης, Ε. Περί τινων ἐκδόσεων μὴ ἀναφερομένων ἐν τῷ καταλόγῳ Ἀνδρέου Παπαδοπούλου Βρετοῦ, *Ὁ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ἑλληνικὸς Φιλολογικὸς Σύλλογος*, 25(1893-94)45-49.

- Iorga, N. Nichifor Dascălul, exarh patriarchal, și legăturile lui cu țările noastre, 1580-1599, *Analele Academiei Române. Memoriile secțiunii istorice*, ser. 2, 27(1904-1905)183-200.
- Irigoin, J. Les ambassadeurs a Venise et le commerce des manuscrits grecs dans les années 1540-1550, *Venezia centro di mediazione tra Oriente e Occidente (secoli XV-XVI). Aspetti e problemi*. Firenze, 1977, II, 399-415.
- . *Les débuts de la typographie grecque*. Paris-Athènes, 1992.
- . Les origines paléographiques et épigraphiques de la typographie grecque, *Dotti bizantini e libri greci nell'Italia del secolo XV. Atti del Convegno internazionale, Trento 22-23 ottobre 1990*. A cura di M. Cortesi e E. V. Maltese. Napoli, 1992, 13-35.
- Irmscher, J. Bemerkungen zu den venezianer Volksbüchern, *Probleme der neugriechischen Literatur*. Berlin, 1960, III, 144-79 (Berliner byzantinistische Arbeiten, 16).
- . ed. *Ἰάκωβος Τριβώλης, Ποιήματα*. Berlin, 1956. (Berliner byzantinistische Arbeiten, 1).
- . Der Kampf um die neugriechischen Bibelübersetzungen, *Studia Evangelica*, 5(1968)188-97.
- Isaac, F. S. *An Index to the Early Printed Books in the British Museum. Part II, MDI-MDXX*. London, 1938.
- . *English & Scottish Printing Types*. Oxford, 1930-32. 2v.
- Istituto centrale per il Catalogo unico delle biblioteche italiane e per le informazioni bibliografiche. *Le edizioni italiane del XVI secolo: Censimento nazionale*. Roma 1985-
- Jagic, V. Das byzantinische Lehrgedicht Spaneas in der kirchenslavischen Übersetzung, *Sitzungsberichte der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philos.-histor. Classe*, 127 no. 8(1892)1-42.
- Jackson, R. F. Sixteenth Century Greek Editions at Iowa, *Books at Iowa*, 12(1970)3-12.
- Janssen, A. A. P. ed. *Narratio neograeca Apollonii Tyrii*. Amsterdam, 1954.
- Jeffreys, E. M. The Later Greek Verse Romances: A Survey, *Byzantine Papers. Proceedings of the First Byzantine Studies Conference, Canberra, 17-19 May 1978*. Canberra, 1981, 116-27. (Byzantina Australiensia, 1).
- . The Popular Byzantine Verse Romances of Chivalry, *Μαντατοφόρος*, 14(1979)20-34.
- . Some Comments on the Manuscripts of 'Imberios and Margarona', *Ἑλληνικά*, 27(1974)39-49.
- Jeffreys, M. & E. Jeffreys, Imberios and Margarona: The Manuscripts, Sources and Edition of a Byzantine Verse Romance, *Byzantion*, 41(1971)122-60= E. M. Jeffreys & M. J. Jeffreys, *Popular Literature in Late Byzantium*. London, 1983, 122-60(I).
- . ———. The Oral Background of Byzantine Popular Poetry, *Oral Tradition*, 1(1986)504-47.
- . ———. *Popular Literature in Late Byzantium*. London, 1983.
- . ———. The Style of Byzantine Popular Poetry: Recent Work, *Okeanos. Essays Presented to Ihor Sevcenko on his sixtieth Birthday by his Colleagues and Students. Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, 7(1983)309-43.
- Jeffreys, M. J. The Literary Emergence of Vernacular Greek, *Mosaic*, 8 no. 4(1975)171-93.
- John Rylands Library, Manchester. *Catalogue of an Exhibition of the Earliest Printed Editions of the Principal Greek and Latin Classics and of a Few Manuscripts*. Manchester, 1926.
- Johnson, A. F. *A Catalogue of Italian Engraved Title Pages in the Sixteenth Century*. Oxford, 1936. (Bibliographical Society. Transactions, Suppl. no. 11).
- . Some Types Used by Paolo Manuzio, *The Library*, 4th ser., 19(1938)167-75.

- . The Supply of Types in the Sixteenth Century, *The Library*, 4th ser., 24(1945)47-65.
- . The Transference of Woodcuts in the 15th and 16th Centuries, *Bibliographica*, 2(1896)343-68.
- Jugie, M. Un théologien grec du XVI^e siècle. Gabriel Sévère et les divergences entre les deux églises, *Echos d' Orient*, 16(1913)97-108.
- . Une nouvelle invention au compte de Constantin Palaeocappa: Samonas de Gaza et son Dialogue sur l' Eucharistie, *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati*. Roma, 1946, III, 342-59. (Studi e testi, 123).
- Καββαδίας, Σ. Α. Παρατηρήσεις στη μετάφραση καὶ γραμματική τοῦ Ν. Σοφianoῦ, *Δελτίον Ἀναγνωστικῆς Ἑταιρίας Κερκύρας*, 18(1981)101-19.
- Kaimowitz, J. H. The Development of Greek Typography, *AB Bookman's Weekly*, 12 June (1978)4179-86.
- Καιρόφυλας, Κ. Νικόλαος Βλαστός καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἑλληνικὸν τυπογραφεῖον, *Νέα Ἑστία*, 4(1928)796-99.
- . *Une famille patricienne crétoise, les Vlasto*. New York, 1932.
- Κακλαμάνης, Σ. Ε. Ἀρχειακὲς μαρτυρίες γιὰ τὴ ζωὴ τοῦ Ἀνδρέα Κουνάδη καὶ τοῦ Δαμianoῦ di Santa Maria, *Origini della letteratura neogreca. Atti del secondo congresso internazionale "Neograeca Medii Aevi."* (Venezia, 7-10 novembre 1991). Venezia, 1993, II, 595-605.
- . Μάρκος Δεφαράνας (1503-1575;), Ζακύνθιος στιχουργὸς τοῦ 16ου αἰῶνα, *Θησαυρίσματα*, 21(1991)210-315.
- . Μιχαὴλ Ροσέτος: Κορωναῖος κωδικογράφος τοῦ 16ου αἰῶνα, Ἀφιέρωμα στὸν πανεπιστημιακὸ δάσκαλο Βασ. Βλ. Σφυρόερα ἀπὸ τοὺς μαθητὲς του. Ἀθήνα, 1992, 53-86.
- . Τρεῖς πρῶτες ἐκδόσεις (1548-1549) ἀπὸ τὸ τυπογραφεῖο τοῦ Βασιλείου Βάρελη καὶ ὁ Μητροφάνης Καισαρείας, *Θησαυρίσματα*, 20(1990)218-52.
- . Τριβώλης- Δεφαράνας- Βεντράμος. Τρεῖς Ἑλληνες λαϊκοὶ στιχουργοὶ στὴ Βενετία τοῦ 16ου αἰῶνα. Unpub. PhD. Dissertation. University of Crete, 1987.
- Κακουλίδης, Ε. Δ. Δαμασκηνοῦ Στουδίτη "Διάλογος," *Δωδώνη*, 3(1974)443-58.
- . Fior di virtù - Ἀνθος Χαρίτων, *Ἑλληνικά*, 24(1971)267-311.
- , ed. Ἰωαννίκιος Καρτάνος. Παλαιὰ τε καὶ Νέα Διαθήκη. Βενετία 1536. Ἀθήνα, 1988.
- . Ἰωαννίκιος Καρτάνος. Συμβολὴ στὴ δημώδη πεζογραφία τοῦ 16^{ου} αἰῶνα, *Θησαυρίσματα*, 12(1975)218-56.
- . *Νεοελληνικὰ θρησκευτικὰ ἀλφαβητάρια*. Θεσσαλονίκη, 1964. (Ἀριστοτέλειον Πανεπιστήμιον Θεσσαλονίκης. Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρὶς Φιλοσοφικῆς Σχολῆς. Παράρτημα, 9).
- Κακριδῆς, Ι. Θ. Ἑρμηνευτικὰ στὸν Ἀπόκοπο τοῦ Μπεργαδῆ, *Κρητικὰ Χρονικά*, 7(1953)409-13.
- Καλιτσουνάκης, Ι. Ε. Ματθαῖος Δεβαρῆς καὶ τὸ ἐν Ρώμῃ Ἑλληνικὸν Γυμνάσιον, *Ἀθηνᾶ*, 26(1914)81-102.
- Καλλίνικος, Π. Γ. Ὁ Νίκανδρος Νούκιος στὴ Βρεταννία, *Δελτίον τῆς Ἀναγνωστικῆς Ἑταιρίας Κερκύρας*, 7(1970)35-42.
- Καλογήρου, Ι. Ο. Ἡ ἐγκαθίδρυσις Ἑλληνος ἀρχιεπισκόπου εἰς Βενετίαν κατὰ τὰ τέλη τοῦ 15^{ου} αἰῶνος, *La chiesa greca in Italia dall' VIII al XVI secolo. Atti del Convegno storico interecclesiale (Bari, 30 apr.- 4 magg. 1969)*. Padova, 1973, I, 89-131.
- Καμπούρογλους, Δ. Γρ. Ἐν ἑλληνικὸν χειρόγραφον. Παρατηρήσεις τινὲς ἐπὶ τῶν περιεχομένων ἔργων εἰς τὸν κώδικα 202 (ἑλληνικῆς σειρᾶς) τῆς Αὐτοκρατορικῆς Βιβλιοθήκης Πετροπόλεως, *Νέα Ἑστία*, 13(1933)462-65.
- Karaiskakis. S. Das Lehrgedicht Λόγοι διδασκτικοὶ τοῦ πατρὸς πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν von Markos Depharanas, *Λαογραφία*, 11(1934)1-66.

- Καρῶς, Γ. Γλυζώνιος (ἢ Γλυζούνης ἢ Γλυτζούνης) Μανουήλ (1530-1596) ἢ τὸ πρῶτο νεοελληνικὸ μαθηματικὸ βιβλίο, *Ὁ Φυσικὸς Κόσμος*, 81 (Μάρτης 1982) 10-12.
- . *Τὰ ἐλληνικὰ ἔντυπα τῆς Ἰ. Μ. Σίμωνος Πέτρας*. Ἀθήνα, 1989. (Κέντρον Νεοελληνικῶν Ἑρευνῶν Ἐθνικοῦ Ἰδρύματος Ἑρευνῶν, 37).
- . *Οἱ θετικὲς ἐπιστῆμες στὸν ἐλληνικὸ χῶρο (15^{ος}-19^{ος} αἰ.)*. Ἀθήνα, 1991.
- Καραθανάσης, Α. Ε. Ἡ ἐκκλησιαστικὴ ρητορικὴ στὸν Ἅγιο Γεώργιο τῶν Ἑλλήνων τῆς Βενετίας (1534-1788), *Θησαυρίσματα*, 9 (1972) 137-79.
- Καρμίρης, Ι. Ν. *Ὁ Π. Ρουσᾶνος καὶ τὰ ἀνέκδοτα δογματικὰ καὶ ἄλλα ἔργα αὐτοῦ*. Athen, 1935 (Texte und Forschungen zur byzantinisch-neugriechischen Philologie, 14).
- . Ρουσᾶνος, Παχώμιος, *ΘΗΕ*, 10 (1966) 858-61.
- Κατραμῆς, Ν. *Φιλολογικὰ ἀνάλεκτα Ζακύνθου*. Ἐν Ζακύνθῳ, 1880.
- Κεχαγιόγλου, Γ. *Ἀπόκοπος. Ἀπολλώνιος. Ἱστορία τῆς Σωσάννης*. Ἀθήνα, 1982.
- . *Γιὰ μιὰ νέα ἔκδοση τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου: Παρατηρήσεις καὶ προτάσεις, Neograeca Medii Aevi. Akten zum Symposion Köln 1986*. Köln, 1987, 179-203.
- . Πρῶτες ἐκδόσεις τῆς ριμάδας τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου: Νέα στοιχεῖα, *Ἑλληνικά*, 37 (1986) 145-59.
- . Τρεῖς ἀβιβλιογράφητες ἐκδόσεις τοῦ 16ου αἰῶνα, *Τετράδια Ἑργασίας*, 10 (1988) 457-70.
- . Ζητήματα ρητορικῆς, λογικῆς καὶ θεματικῆς δομῆς στὸν "Ἀπόκοπο" τοῦ Μπεργαδῆ, *Ἀντίχαρη. Ἀφιέρωμα στὸν καθηγητὴ Σταμάτη Καρατζά*. Ἀθήνα, 1984, 239-56.
- Kiselev, N. P. *Knigi grecheskoi pechati v sobranii gosudarstvennoi biblioteki SSSR im V. I. Lenina*, *Kniga*, 26 (1973) 124-47.
- Klebs, E. *Die Erzählung von Apollonius aus Tyrus. Eine geschichtliche Untersuchung über ihre lateinische Urform und ihre späteren Bearbeitungen*. Berlin, 1899.
- Knös, B. Die byzantinische Tradition in der kretischen Volksliteratur des spätmittelalters und der Renaissance, *Probleme der neugriechischen Literatur*. Berlin, 1960, III, 131-40. (Berliner byzantinische Arbeiten, 16).
- . Les "Grecs du roi". Un quadricentenaire de la typographie grecque, *Eranos*, 40 (1942) 1-8=Association Guillaume Budé. *Lettres d'humanité*, 2 (1943) 181-88.
- . *L'histoire de la littérature néogrecque, la période jusqu'en 1821*. Stockholm, 1962. (Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis; studia Graeca upsaliensia, 1).
- . La légende de Bélisaire dans les pays grecs, *Eranos*, 58 (1960) 237-80.
- . Quelques remarques sur deux dialogues par alphabet entre l'homme et Charon du XVI^e siècle, *L'hellénisme contemporain*, 2. sér. 10 (1956) 223-29.
- . *Un ambassadeur de l'hellénisme, Janus Lascaris, et la tradition gréco-byzantine dans l'humanisme français*. Uppsala, 1945.
- . Un miroir des femmes du XVI^e siècle, *Ἑλληνικά*, 14 (1955) 123-57.
- . Une édition jusqu'à présent inconnue de "Πένθος θανάτου," *Ἀθηνᾶ*, 64 (1960) 186-93.
- Κόκκωνας, Γ. Ἰσοκράτους Λόγοι τρεῖς: Φλωρεντία c. 1495 ἢ Ρώμη c. 1517; Γύρω ἀπὸ μιὰ διόρθωση στὸν Legrand, *Μνήμων*, 8 (1980) 314-17.
- . *Κατάλογος τῶν ἀρχετύπων τῆς Ἐθνικῆς Βιβλιοθήκης τῆς Ἑλλάδος*. Ἀθῆναι, 1983. (Κέντρον Νεοελληνικῶν Ἑρευνῶν. Τετράδια Ἑργασίας, 5).
- Κομίνης, Α. Ψαλτήριον τοῦ ἔτους 1588, *Ὁ Ἑρανιστής*, 5 (1967) 64-65.
- Κονόμος, Ν. Ἅγιος Διονύσιος ὁ πολιοῦχος Ζακύνθου. Ἀθήνα, 1969.
- Κοντοσόπουλος, Ν. Γ. *Τὰ ἐν Βενετίᾳ τυπογραφεῖα ἐλληνικῶν βιβλίων κατὰ τὴν Τουρκοκρατίαν*, *Ἀθηνᾶ*, 58 (1954) 286-342.

- Κορδώσης, Μ. Σ. 'Ελληνικά παλαιότυπα σὲ βιβλιοθήκες τῆς πόλεως τῶν Ἰωαννίνων. II. Παλαιότυπα Ζωσιμαίας Βιβλιοθήκης καὶ ἄλλων βιβλιοθηκῶν τῆς πόλεως, *Δωδώνη*, 5(1976)133-91.
- . 'Ελληνικά παλαιότυπα στὴ βιβλιοθήκη τῆς Μονῆς Βλατάδων, *Κληρονομία*, 9(1977)154-67.
- . 'Ελληνικά παλαιότυπα τῆς μονῆς Παντοκράτορος Ἀγίου Ὁρους, *Κληρονομία*, 11(1979)403-41.
- Korolevskij, C. La codification de l'Office byzantin, *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, 19(1953)25-58.
- Κούκκου, Ε. *Ἡ Ὁρθόδοξος μονὴ εὐγενῶν Ἑλληνίδων Βενετίας (1599-1829)*. Ἀθῆναι, 1965.
- Κουρίλας, Ε. Αἱ πρὸς ἀναθεώρησιν τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν βιβλίων γενόμεναι ἀπόπειραι ἐν τῇ Ὁρθοδόξῳ Ἀνατολικῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ, *Νέα Σιών*, 30(1935)82-89; 129-46; 218-34; 290-304; 343-53; 535-43.
- . Αἱ πρῶται ἐκδόσεις τῆς Θείας Λειτουργίας καὶ τὰ λειτουργικὰ εἰλητάρια τῆς μονῆς Μεγίστης Λαύρας τοῦ Ἀθωνος, *Θεολογία*, 19(1941-48)650-71.
- Kriaras, E. Die besonderheiten der letzten Periode der Mittelalterlichen griechischen Literatur, *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen byzantinischen Gesellschaft*, 8(1959)69-85.
- . *Βυζαντινὰ ἱπποτικά μυθιστορήματα*. Ἀθῆναι, 1955. (Βυζαντινὴ βιβλιοθήκη, 2).
- . Παρατηρήσεις εἰς τοὺς "Διδακτικοὺς λόγους" τοῦ Μάρκου Δεφαράνα, *Ἀθηνᾶ*, 46(1935)136-52.
- . Der Roman "Imberios und Margarona" und das "Dekameron" als Quellen des Jakob Trivolis, *Probleme der neugriechischen Literatur*. Berlin, 1960, III, 62-92. (Berliner byzantinistische Arbeiten, 16).
- . Die zeitliche Einreihung des 'Phlorios und Platzia-Phlora'-Romans im Hinblick auf den 'Imberios und Margarona' Roman, *Akten des XI internationalen byzantinistenkongresses München*, 1958. München, 1960, 269-72.
- Kristeller, P. *Early Florentine Woodcuts*. London, 1897.
- . Florentine Book-illustrations of the Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries, *Bibliographica*, 2(1896)81-111.
- . *Die italienischen Buchdrucker- und Verlegenzeichen bis 1525*. Strassburg, 1893. Rpt. 1969.
- . La xilographia veneziana, *Archivio storico dell' arte*, 5(1892)95-114.
- Kristeller, P. O. Der Gelehrte und sein Publicum im späten Mittelalter und in der Renaissance, *Medium Aevum Vivum: Festschrift für Walther Bulst*. Heidelberg, 1960, 212-30.
- Krumbacher, K. *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur von Justinian bis zum Ende des Oströmischen Reiches (527-1453)*. 2. Aufl. New York, 1970. Rpt. of 1897 ed.
- Kukenheim, L. *Contributions à l'histoire de la grammaire grecque, latine et hébraïque à l'époque de la Renaissance*. Leiden, 1951.
- Kunze, H. Über den Nachdruck im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert, *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* 1938, 135-43.
- Κυριακοῦ, Κ. Ἐπισκόπων Κυθήρων Διονυσίου Β' καὶ Ἀθανασίου προσωπογραφίες στὸ Ἰνστιτοῦτο Βενετίας, *Πρακτικὰ Γ' Διεθνοῦς Συνεδρίου Πελοποννησιακῶν Σπουδῶν (Καλαμάτα, 8-15 Σεπτεμβρίου 1985)*. Ἀθῆναι, 1987-88, 185-92.
- . Ἡ συλλογὴ προσωπογραφιῶν τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Ἰνστιτούτου Βενετίας, *Θησαυρίσματα*, 20(1990)431-57.
- Κύρου, Α. Ἐνας Ἕλληνα εἰς τὰ πρῶτα βήματα τῆς τυπογραφίας, *Ὁ Βιβλιόφιλος*, 1 ἄρ. 2(1947)3-5.
- Κύρρης, Κ. Π. Cypriot Scholars in Venice in the XVI and XVII Centuries with Some Notes on the Cypriote Community in Venice and Other Cypriote Scholars who Lived in Rome and the Rest of Italy in the Same Period, J. Irmischer & M. Mineemi, eds. *Ὁ Ἑλληνισμὸς εἰς τὸ Ἐξωτερικόν. Über Beziehungen des Griechentums zum Ausland in der neueren Zeit*. Berlin, 1968, 183-272. (Berliner byzantinistische Arbeiten, 40).

- . Further Documents Relating to Cypriote Immigrants in Venice (XVI-XVII Centuries), *Ἐπετηρὶς Κέντρου Ἐπιστημονικῶν Ἐρευνῶν Κύπρου*, 3(1969-70)145-65.
- . Κύπριοι Λόγιοι τῆς Ἑνετίας κατὰ τοὺς XVI^{ον} καὶ XVII^{ον} αἰῶνες, *Δελτίον Ὁμίλου Παιδαγωγικῶν Ἐρευνῶν Κύπρου*, 6, ἀρ. 11-12(1967)81-95.
- . The Noble Family of Logaras of Lapethos, Cyprus: Some New Information About their Careers, Activities and Landed Properties, *Rivista di studi bizantini e neoellenici*, n. s. 14(1967)107-49.
- La Fontaine Verwey, H. de. Les débuts de la protection des caractères typographiques au XVI^e siècle, *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* 1965, 24-34.
- Labowsky, L. Il cardinale Bessarione e gli inizi della Biblioteca Marciana, *Venezia e l' Oriente fra tardo medioevo e rinascimento*. A. Pertusi, ed. Firenze, 1965, 159-82.
- Λαδᾶς, Γ. Προσθήκαι καὶ σημειώσεις εἰς τοὺς ἐκδοθέντας τόμους τῆς 'Bibliographie hellénique' τοῦ Ém. Legrand καὶ H. Pernot. Σειρὰ πρώτη (1522-1790), *Συλλέκτης. Παράρτημα*, 1(1947-51)1-24.
- . & A. Χατζηδημός. Ἑλληνικὴ βιβλιογραφία. Συμβολὴ στὸ δέκατο ὄγδοο αἶώνα. Ἀθήνα, 1964-1976. 2v.
- . ———. Ἑλληνικὴ βιβλιογραφία τῶν ἐτῶν 1791-1795. Ἀθήνα, 1970.
- . ———. Προσθήκες, διορθώσεις καὶ συμπληρώσεις στὴν ἑλληνικὴ βιβλιογραφία τοῦ Émile Legrand γιὰ τοὺς αἰῶνες XV, XVI, καὶ XVII. Ἀθήνα, 1976.
- Lamanski, V. *Secrets d' Etat de Venise*. Documents, extraits, notices et études servant à éclaircir les rapports de la Seigneurie avec les Grecs, les Slaves et la Porte ottomane de la fin du XV^e et au XVI^e siècle. Saint Pétersbourg, 1884. Rpt. 1968.
- Lami, G. *Deliciae eruditorum*. Florentiae, 1736-69. 18v.
- Λαμπάκης, Σ. Οἱ καταβάσεις στὸν Κάτω Κόσμο στὴ βυζαντινὴ καὶ στὴ μεταβυζαντινὴ λογοτεχνία. Ἀθήνα, 1982.
- Λαμπρινός, Α. Χριστιανικὸ βιβλίον καὶ ἀναγνωστικὸ κοινὸ στὰ χρόνια τῆς Τουρκοκρατίας, *Ἀκτίνες*, 6(1943)134-38.
- Λάμπρος, Π. Τὸ πρῶτον ἑλληνικὸν βιβλίον τὸ τυπωθὲν μετὰ τὴν ἀνακάλυψιν τῆς τυπογραφίας, *Ἑστία*, 1(1876)108-09.
- . Ἀγιορειτικὰ ἀπόγραφα τοῦ Σπανέα νῦν τὸ πρῶτον ἐκδιδόμενα, *Δελτίον Ἱστορικῆς καὶ Ἐθνολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας Ἑλλάδος*, 5(1896)103-22.
- . Τὰ ἀναγνώσματα τῶν πάππων μας, *Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων*, 15(1921)237-71.
- . Τὸ "Ἄνθος Χαρίτων καὶ τὸ "Ἄνθος τοῦ Ἰωαννικίου Καρτάνου, *Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων*, 13(1916)329-33.
- . *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts on Mount Athos*. Κατάλογος τῶν ἐν ταῖς βιβλιοθήκαις τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὄρους ἑλληνικῶν κωδίκων. Cambridge, 1895-1900. 2v.
- . *Collection de romans grecs en langue vulgaire et en vers, publiés d' après les manuscrits de Leyde et d' Oxford*. Paris, 1880.
- . Διήγησις Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐν κώδικι Ὁξωνίου Misc. 283 καὶ Δημήτριος Ζῆνος, *Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων*, 16(1922)266-71.
- . Εἰκονογραφημένοι λογοτεχνικοὶ κώδικες, *Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων*, 11(1914)433-40.
- . Αἱ κατὰ τῶν τυπογράφων τῆς Βενετίας αἰτιάσεις τοῦ Καίσαριου Δαπόντε καὶ τοῦ Παχωμίου Ρουσάνου, *Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων*, 2(1905)337-51.
- . Δημῶδη ἑλληνικὰ κείμενα ἐν κώδικι τοῦ Βατικανοῦ. Ὁ Vaticanus Graecus 1139, *Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων*, 1(1904)372-73.
- . Περὶ τῆς ἐκδόσεως τοῦ ὁδοιπορικοῦ τοῦ Νουκίου, *Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων*, 15(1921)94-95.

- . 'Ο Σπανέας τοῦ Βατικανοῦ Παλατινοῦ κώδικος 367, *Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων*, 14(1917-1920)353-80.
- . Συμβόλαιον περὶ ιδρύσεως ἑλληνικοῦ τυπογραφείου ἐν Φλωρεντία τῷ 1551, *Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων*, 2(1905)199-208.
- Λαμπίδης, Ο. 'Ο Παχώμιος Ρουσᾶνος καὶ ὁ βίος τῶν συγχρόνων του, *Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν*, 13(1937)385-92.
- Λασιθιωτάκης, Μ. Apocopos 183-220: Remarques sur l' anticléricalisme de Bergadis, *Θησαυρίσματα*, 22(1992)127-47.
- Lavrov, P. A. *Damaskin Studit i sborniki ego imeni 'Damaskiny' v iugoslavianskoi literature*. Odessa, 1899.
- . "Sokrovishche" Damaskina Studita v novom russkom perevode, *Letopis' Istoriko-filologicheskogo Obshchestva Imperatorskogo Novorossiiskogo Universiteta*, 11(1901)373-98.
- Layton, E. The First Printed Greek Book, *Journal of the Hellenic Diaspora*, 5(1979)63-79.
- . Greek Bibliography: Additions and Corrections (c. 1471-1829), *Θησαυρίσματα*, 16(1979)89-112.
- . Notes on Some Printers and Publishers of 16th Century Modern Greek Books in Venice, *Θησαυρίσματα*, 18(1981)119-44.
- . Notes on the Illustration of the Sixteenth Century Greek Book in Italy, *Ἀφιέρωμα στὸν Μ. Ι. Μανούσακα* (in press).
- . Zacharias and Nikolaos Kallierges and the First Edition of the *Apokopos* of Bergadis, *Θησαυρίσματα*, 20(1990)206-17.
- Λαζάρου, Α. Κατάλογος ἐντύπων βιβλιοθήκης Ὀλυμπιωτίσσης. Ἀθῆναι, 1964. (Δημοσιεύματα Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἐλασσῶνος, 2).
- Lecuir, C. Les éditeurs Grecs à Venise au XVI^e siècle. Unpub. Master's Thesis submitted to the University of Paris IV, c. 1985.
- Legrand, E. *Bibliographie hellénique, ou Description raisonnée des ouvrages publiés en grec par des Grecs aux XV^e et XVI^e siècles*. Paris, 1885-1906. 4v.
- . *Bibliographie hellénique, ou Description raisonnée des ouvrages publiés en grec par des Grecs au dix-septième siècle*. Paris, 1894-1903. 5v.
- . *Bibliographie hispano-grecque, 1477-1800*. New York, 1915-17. 3v. Forms part of the volumes for 1915-1917 of *Bibliographie hispanique*.
- . Notice biographique sur Jean et Theodose Zygomalas, *Recueil de textes et de traductions publié par les professeurs de l' 'Ecole des langues orientales vivantes*. Paris, 1889, II, 67-264.
- Leicht, P. S. I prezzi delle edizioni aldine al principio del '500, *Il libro e la stampa*, 6 (1912)77-84.
- Lenhart, J. M. *Pre-Reformation Printed Books; a Study in Statistical and Applied Bibliography*. New York, 1935. (Franciscan Studies, 14).
- Lenkey, S. V. Migrations of Sixteenth Century Printers, *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* 1976, 218-23.
- Levarie, N. *The Art & History of Books*. New York, 1968.
- Λιάτα, Ε. Δ. Ἱερεῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων τῆς Βενετίας ἀπὸ 1412-1558: κατάλογοι καὶ ἔγγραφα, *Θησαυρίσματα*, 13(1976)85-110.
- . Μνεῖες θανάτων Ἑλλήνων τῆς Βενετίας ἀπὸ τὰ ταμιακὰ βιβλία τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Ἀδελφότητος τῶν ἐτῶν 1536-1576, *Θησαυρίσματα*, 11(1974)191-239.
- Λίτσας, Ε. Προβλήματα τῆς ζωῆς καὶ τοῦ ἔργου τοῦ Δαμασκηνοῦ Στουδίτη, Β' Συνάντηση πεζογραφίας. "Βυζαντινὴ καὶ μεταβυζαντινὴ πεζογραφία," Θεσσαλονίκη Νοέμβριος 1992 (in press).

- Lobel, E. *The Greek Manuscripts of Aristotle's "Poetics."* Oxford, 1933.
- Λοβέρδου-Τσιγαρίδα, Κ. Τὰ παλαιὰ ἑλληνικὰ βιβλία στὶς ἐκκλησίες τῆς Καστοριάς, *Μακεδονικά*, 20(1980)237-51.
- Loenertz, R.-J. La belle Maguelone [sic] ou le fondement historique d'un roman de chevalerie (ἱπποτικὸν μυθιστόρημα), *Θησαυρίσματα*, 13(1976)40-46.
- Loewe, B. Die Ausbreitung der griechischen Typographie in Deutschland bis zum Ende des dreissigjährigen Krieges, *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* 1940, 297-316.
- Λούκου-Δουρδούνη, Α. 31 ἀρχέτυπα λατινικῆς φιλολογίας (ἀπὸ τὴ συλλογὴ τῆς Ἐθνικῆς Βιβλιοθήκης τῆς Ἑλλάδος). Ἀθήνα, 1975.
- Lowry, M. J. C. Aldo Manuzio of Bassiano, *Contemporaries of Erasmus. A Biographical Register of the Renaissance and Reformation*. Toronto, 1986, II, 376-80.
- . Andrea Torresani of Asola, *Contemporaries of Erasmus*. Toronto, 1987, III, 332-33.
- . Frederico Torresani of Venice, *Contemporaries of Erasmus*. Toronto, 1987, III, 333.
- . Gianfrancesco Torresani of Venice, *Contemporaries of Erasmus*. Toronto, III, 333-34.
- . The 'New Academy' of Aldus Manutius; a Renaissance Dream, *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*, 58(1975-76)378-420.
- . Nicholas Jenson and the Rise of Venetian Publishing in Renaissance Europe. Oxford, 1991.
- . Two Great Venetian Libraries in the Age of Aldus Manutius, *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*, 57(1974-75)128-66.
- . *The World of Aldus Manutius. Business and Scholarship in Renaissance Venice*. Oxford, 1979.
- Luciani, C. L' 'Απόκοπος del 1519 e il suo editore, *Ἑλληνικά*, 38(1987)159-63.
- . Reminiscenze dotte nell' Apokopos di Bergadìs, *Κρητικά Χρονικά*, 28-29(1988-89)324-37.
- Lugano, P. Del tipografo bresciano Bartolomeo de Zanettis al servizio di Camaldoli e della 'Regula Vite Eremitice' stampata a Fontebuono nel 1520, *La bibliofilia*, 14(1912)177-83; 210-27; 285-94; 338-44.
- Lutz, C. E. Manuscripts Copied from Printed Books, *Essays on Manuscripts and Rare Books*. Hamden, CT, 1975, 129-39, 163-65.
- Maini, L. Benedetto Dolcibelli e Giovanni Bissoli, *L' Indicatore modenese*, 2 no. 39(25 Sett., 1852)305-07; no. 41 (9 Ott., 1852)321-24.
- Maittaire, M. *Annales typographici*. London, 1719-41. 5v.
- . *A Catalogue of the Large and Valuable Library of the Late Learned and Ingenious Mr. Michael Maittaire Deceased*. London, 1748-49.
- Μακρυμίχαλος, Σ. Ι. 'Ο ἐκδότης τοῦ Πορτολάνου τοῦ Τάγια τοῦ 1573, *Ὁ Ἑρανιστής*, 5(1967)75-85.
- . 'Ἑλληνες χαρτογράφοι τοῦ 16^{ου} αἰ., *Ὁ Ἑρανιστής*, 2(1964)158-62.
- . 'Ἑλληνικοὶ Πορτολάνοι τοῦ 16^{ου}, 17^{ου} καὶ 18^{ου} αἰῶνος, *Ὁ Ἑρανιστής*, 1(1963)128-55; 211-21.
- Malina, A. Nikandros Nukios, 'Αποδημίαι. Buch I. Bericht über seine Reise durch Deutschland in den Jahren 1545-1546, J. Irmscher & M. Mineemi, eds. *Ὁ Ἑλληνισμὸς εἰς τὸ ἐξωτερικόν. Über Beziehungen des Griechentums zum Ausland in der neueren Zeit*. Berlin, 1968, 45-181.
- Μανούσακας, Μ. Ι. Ἡ ἀλληλογραφία τῶν Γρηγοροπούλων χρονολογουμένη (1493-1501), *Ἐπετηρὶς τοῦ Μεσαιωνικοῦ Ἀρχείου*, 6(1957)156-209.
- . 'Ανέκδοτα πατριαρχικὰ γράμματα (1547-1806) πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Βενετίᾳ μητροπολίτας Φιλαδελφείας καὶ τὴν Ὁρθόδοξον Ἑλληνικὴν Ἀδελφότητα. Βενετία, 1968. (Βιβλιοθήκη τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Ἰνστιτούτου Βενετίας βυζαντινῶν καὶ μεταβυζαντινῶν σπουδῶν, 3).

- . Aperçu d'une histoire de la colonie grecque orthodoxe de Venise, *Θησαυρίσματα*, 19(1982)7-30.
- . Ἀρχιερεῖς Μεθώνης, Κορώνης καὶ Μονεμβασίας γύρω στὰ 1500, *Πελοποννησιακά*, 3-4(1958-59)95-147.
- . Ἀρσενίου Μονεμβασίας τοῦ Ἀποστόλη ἐπιστολαὶ ἀνέκδοτοι (1521-1534), *Ἐπετηρὶς τοῦ Μεσαιωνικοῦ Ἀρχείου*, 8/9(1958-59)5-56.
- . Αὐτόγραφον τεῦχος χρονικῶν σημειωμάτων καὶ δοσοληψιῶν (1578-1588) τοῦ Γαβριὴλ Σεβήρου, *Θησαυρίσματα*, 9(1972)7-67.
- . Βενετικὰ ἔγγραφα ἀναφερόμενα εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν ἱστορίαν τῆς Κρήτης τοῦ 14^{ου}-16^{ου} αἰῶνος. (Πρωτοπαπάδες καὶ πρωτοπάλται Χάνδακος), *Δελτίον Ἱστορικῆς καὶ Ἐθνολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας τῆς Ἑλλάδος*, 15(1961)149-233.
- . Βιβλιογραφία τοῦ Ἑλληνισμοῦ τῆς Βενετίας, *Θησαυρίσματα*, 10(1973)7-87; 17(1980)7-21.
- . La Comunità greca di Venezia e gli arcivescovi di Filadelfia, *La Chiesa greca in Italia dall' VIII al XVI secolo. Atti del Convegno storico interecclesiale (Bari, 30 aprile-4 magg. 1969)*. Padova, 1973 I, 45-87. (Italia sacra, 20).
- . La date de la mort de Marc Musurus, *Studi veneziani*, 12(1970)459-63.
- . Ἡ ἐν Βενετίᾳ ἑλληνικὴ κοινότης καὶ οἱ μητροπολίται Φιλαδελφείας, *Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν*, 37(1969/70)170-210.
- . Ἐπιτροπικὸν Μητροφάνους Καισαρείας Πατριαρχικοῦ Ἐξάρχου εἰς Βενετίαν (1549), *Θησαυρίσματα*, 11(1974)7-20.
- . Γράμματα πατριαρχῶν καὶ μητροπολιτῶν τοῦ 15^{ου} αἰῶνος ἐκ τοῦ ἀρχείου τῆς ἐν Βενετίᾳ Ἑλληνικῆς Ἀδελφότητος, *Θησαυρίσματα*, 5(1968)7-22.
- . Ἑλληνες ζωγράφοι ἐν Βενετίᾳ μέλη τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Ἀδελφότητος κατὰ τὸν 15^{ον} αἰῶνα, *Μνημόσυνον Σοφίας Ἀντωνιάδης*. Βενετία, 1974, 212-26. (Βιβλιοθήκη τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Ἰνστιτούτου Βενετίας, 6).
- . Ἑλληνικὰ ποιήματα γιὰ τὴν σταύρωση τοῦ Χριστοῦ, *Mélanges Octave et Melpo Merlier*. Athènes, 1956, II, 49-74.
- . The History of the Greek Confraternity (1498-1953) and the Activity of the Greek Institute of Venice (1966-1982), *Modern Greek Studies Yearbook*, 5(1989)321-94.
- . Ἡ Κρητικὴ λογοτεχνία κατὰ τὴν ἐποχὴ τῆς Βενετοκρατίας. Θεσσαλονίκη, 1965.
- . Τὰ κυριώτερα ἔγγραφα (1536-1599) γιὰ τὴν οἰκοδομὴν καὶ τὴν διακόσμηση τοῦ Ἁγίου Γεωργίου τῶν Ἑλλήνων τῆς Βενετίας, *Εἰς μνήμην Παναγιώτου Α. Μιχαήλ*. In *Memoriam Panayotis A. Michelis*. Ἀθήναι, 1972, 334-55.
- . La littérature crétoise a l'époque vénitienne, *L' hellénisme contemporain*, 9(1955)95-120.
- . Ναθαναὴλ Χίκας ὁ Ἀθηναῖος καὶ τὰ ἀνέκδοτα ἔργα αὐτοῦ, *Ἐπετηρὶς τοῦ Μεσαιωνικοῦ Ἀρχείου*, 4(1951-52)3-48.
- . Ἡ παρὰ Trivan ἀπογραφὴ τῆς Κρήτης (1644) καὶ ὁ δῆθεν κατάλογος τῶν Κρητικῶν οἰκῶν Κερκύρας, *Κρητικὰ Χρονικά*, 3(1949)35-59.
- . Ἡ παρουσία ἀπὸ τὸν Ἰανὸν Λάσκαρη τῶν πρώτων μαθητῶν τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Γυμνασίου τῆς Ρώμης στὸν Πάπα Λέοντα Ι' (15 Φεβρουαρίου 1514), *Ὁ Ἐρανιστής*, 1(1963)161-72.
- . Προσθήκαι καὶ συμπληρώσεις εἰς τὴν ἑλληνικὴν βιβλιογραφίαν τοῦ E. Legrand (Συμβολὴ πρώτη), *Ἐπετηρὶς τοῦ Μεσαιωνικοῦ Ἀρχείου*, 7(1958)34-83, 137.
- . Recherches sur la vie de Jean Plousiadénos (Joseph de Méthone) 1429?-1500, *Revue des études byzantines*, 17(1959)28-51.
- . Les romans byzantins de chevalerie et l' état présent des études les concernant, *Revue des études byzantines*, 10(1952)70-83.

- . Sept lettres inédites (1492-1503) du recueil retrouvé de Jean Gregoropoulos, *Θησαυρίσματα*, 13(1976)7-39.
- . Structure sociale de l' hellénisme post-byzantin, *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*, 31(1981)791-821.
- . Συλλογή ἀνεκδότων ἐγγράφων (1578-1685) ἀναφερομένων εἰς τοὺς ἐν Βενετία μητροπολίτας Φιλαδελφείας, *Θησαυρίσματα*, 6(1969)7-112.
- . Una prefazione greca inedita di Giovanni Grigoropoulos per una edizione veneziana del 1498, *Bisanzio e l'Italia. Raccolta di studi in memoria di Agostino Pertusi*. Milano, 1982, 218-28.
- & X. Γ. Πατρινέλης, Ἡ ἀλληλογραφία τοῦ Ἰωάννου Γρηγοροπούλου μετὰ τοῦ Μ. Μουσούρου, Α. Ἀποστόλη, Ζ. Καλλιέργη καὶ ἄλλων λογίων τῆς Ἀναγεννήσεως χρονολογουμένη (1494-1503), *Ἐπετηρὶς τοῦ Μεσαιωνικοῦ Ἀρχείου*, 10(1960)163-201.
- . & C. Staïkos, *L'attività editoriale dei Greci durante il Rinascimento italiano (1469-1523)*. Catalogo. Atene, 1986.
- Manuzio, P. *Epistolarium Pauli Manutii libri XI*. Venetiis, 1573.
- Marachi Biagiarelli, B. Il privilegio di stampatore ducale nella Firenze Medicea, *Archivio storico italiano*, 123(1965)304-70.
- Marciani, C. Il commercio librario alle fiere di Lanciano nel '500, *Rivista storica italiana*, 70(1958)421-43.
- . Editori, tipografi, librai veneti nel Regno di Napoli nel Cinquecento, *Studi veneziani*, 10(1968)457-554.
- . Il testamento, e altre notizie, di Federico Torresani, *La bibliofilia*, 73(1971)165-78.
- Mardersteig, G. Aldo Manuzio e i caratteri di Francesco Griffo da Bologna, *Studi di bibliografia e di storia in onore di Tammaro de Marinis*. Verona, 1964, III, 105-47.
- Μάργαρης, Δ. Κ. Τὰ τυπογραφεῖα καὶ τὰ βιβλία τῆς Βενετίας, *Νέα Ἑστία*, 20(1936)79-81.
- Marinis, T. de. *Il castello di Monselice: raccolta degli antichi libri veneziani figurati*. Verona, 1941.
- . *Catalogue d' une collection d' anciens livres à figures italiens appartenent à Tammaro de Marinis*. Milano, 1925.
- . La prima edizione della traduzione greca di 'Pierre de Provence et la belle Maguelonne,' *Appunti e ricerche bibliografiche*. Milano, 1940, 90-91.
- Marshall, F. H. The Greek *Theseid*, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 30(1929-30)131-42.
- Marshall, R. G. *Short-title Catalog of Books Printed in Italy and of Books in Italian Printed Abroad 1501-1600, Held in Selected North American Libraries*. Boston, 1970. 3v.
- Martin, J. R. *The Illustration of the Heavenly Ladder of John Climacus*. Princeton, 1954. (Studies in Manuscript Illumination, 5).
- Martini, E. Chi era il copista Camillo veneto?, *La bibliofilia*, 15(1913)41-51.
- Masetti Zannini, G. L. *Stampatori e librai a Roma nella seconda metà del Cinquecento. Documenti inediti*. Roma, 1980.
- Mavroidi, F. *Aspetti della società veneziana del '500. La Confraternita di S. Nicolò dei Greci*. Ravenna, 1989. (Studi Bizantini e Slavi, 8).
- . Ἐγγραφα ἀναφερόμενα στὶς ἔριδες τῶν Ἑλλήνων τῆς Βενετίας στὰ τέλη τοῦ 15^{οῦ} αἰώνα, *Θησαυρίσματα*, 8(1971)115-87.
- . Εἰδήσεις γιὰ ἐλληνικὰ τυπογραφεῖα τῆς Ἰταλίας τὸν 16^ο αἰώνα, *Δωδώνη*, 4(1975)237-52.
- . 'Inquisitio' patriarcale sopra un Orologio greco (1524-1527), *Bolletino della Badia greca di Grottaferrata*, n.s., 27(1973)43-53.

- _____. Νέες εἰδήσεις γιὰ τὴν Ἑλληνικὴ παροικία τῆς Βενετίας (1493-1499), *Θησαυρίσματα*, 15(1978)66-79.
- _____. Οἱ πρῶτοι πρόεδροι τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Ἀδελφότητος Βενετίας (1498-1558), *Θησαυρίσματα*, 7(1970)172-81.
- _____. Συμβολὴ στὴν ἱστορία τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Ἀδελφότητος Βενετίας στὸ 15' αἰῶνα. Ἔκδοση τοῦ Β' Μητρώου ἐγγράφων (1533-1562). Ἀθῆναι, 1976. (Βιβλιοθήκη ἱστορικῶν μελετῶν, 103).
- Mazal, O. Der griechische und byzantinische Roman in der Forschung von 1945 bis 1960, *Jahrbuch der Österreichische byzantinischen Gesellschaft*, 14(1965)83-124.
- McMurtrie, D. C. *The Type Punches Cut by Garamond and Le Bé*. New York, 1926.
- Medlin, W. K. & C. G. Patrinelis. *Renaissance Influences and Religious Reforms in Russia*. Geneva, 1971.
- Meester, P. de. *Liturgia bizantina. Pte VI. Rituale-benedizionale bizantino*. Roma, 1930.
- Megas, G. Der Bartlose im neugriechischen Märchen, *Λαογραφία*, 25(1967)254-67=Beiträge zur vergleichenden Erzählungs-Forschung. Festschrift für Walter Anderson. Helsinki, 1955.
- Mercati, G. *Codici latini Pico Grimani Pio*. Città del Vaticano, 1938. (Studi e testi, 75).
- _____. *Note per la storia di alcune biblioteche romane nei secoli XVI-XIX*. Città del Vaticano, 1952. (Studi e testi, 164).
- _____. *Per la storia dei manoscritti greci di Genova, di varie badie basiliane d'Italia e di Patmo*. Città del Vaticano, 1935. (Studi e testi, 68).
- Mercati, S. G. Osservazioni allo Spaneas del cod. vaticano Palatino greco 367 edito in Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων, 14(1920)359-80, *Studi bizantini*, 2(1927)275-76.
- Merkelbach, R. *Die Quellen des griechischen Alexanderromans*. Zweite, neubearbeitete Auflage unter Mitwirkung von Jürgen Trumpf. München, 1977. (Zetemata. Monographien zur klassischen Altertumswissenschaft, 9).
- Μέρτζιος, Κ. Δ. Ἡ διαθήκη τῆς Ἀννας Παλαιολογίνας Νοταρᾶ, *Ἀθηνᾶ*, 53(1949)17-21.
- _____. Ἐμμανουὴλ Γλυντζώνης, *Πραγματεῖαι τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν*, 9(1939)203-16.
- _____. Λουκᾶς Σουγδουρῆς ὁ ἐξ Ἰωαννίνων ἐκδότης ἐν Βενετίᾳ (1570-1591), *Ἡπειρωτικὴ Ἑστία*, 18(1969)1-14.
- _____. Νικηφόρος Παράσχης, *Ἡπειρωτικὰ Χρονικά*, 15(1940)21-22.
- _____. Ὁκτώ ἄδειαι διὰ τὴν ἐκτύπωσιν βιβλίων ἐν Βενετίᾳ (1559-1572), *Ἀθηνᾶ*, 69(1966-67)171-80.
- _____. Πατριαρχικὰ ἢτοι ἀνέκδοτοι πληροφορίες σχετικαὶ πρὸς τοὺς πατριάρχας Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἀπὸ τοῦ 1556-1702, *Πραγματεῖαι τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν*, 15 no. 4(1951)1-83.
- _____. Περὶ Νικολάου Μαλαξοῦ, πρωτοπαπᾶ Ναυπλίου, ἐφημερίου τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Κοινότητος Βενετίας. Ὁ βίος καὶ τὰ ἔργα, *Στάχυς*, 6-7(1966)69-117.
- _____. Σταχυολογήματα ἀπὸ τὰ κατάστιχα τοῦ νοταρίου Μιχ. Μαρᾶ, *Πεπραγμένα τοῦ Α' Διεθνoῦς Κρητολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου=Κρητικὰ Χρονικά*, 16-17(1961-62)228-308.
- _____. Θεοφάνης Λογαρᾶς ὁ Κύπριος, *Ἡπειρωτικὴ Ἑστία*, 19(1970)668-70.
- _____. Θωμᾶς Φλαγγίνης καὶ ὁ Μικρὸς ἐλληνομνήμων. Ἐν Ἀθήναις, 1939. (Πραγματεῖαι τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν, 9).
- Meschini, A. *Cristoforo Kondoleon*. Padova, 1973. (Università di Padova. Studi bizantini e neogreci, 6).
- Μητσάκης, Κ. Βυζαντινὴ καὶ νεοελληνικὴ παραῦμνογραφία, *Κληρονομία*, 4(1972)303-64.
- _____. Διήγησις περὶ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ τῶν μεγάλων πολέμων, *Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher*, 20(1970)228-301.

- . The Tradition of the Alexander Romance in Modern Greek Literature, *Ἀρχαία Μακεδονία. Ἀνακοινώσεις κατὰ τὸ πρῶτον διεθνὲς συμπόσιον ἐν Θεσσαλονίκῃ 26-29 Αὐγούστου 1968*. Θεσσαλονίκη, 1970, 376-86. (Ἰδρυμα Μελετῶν Χερσονήσου τοῦ Αἴμου, 122).
- Meusel, J. G. Lexikon der vom Jahr 1750 bis 1800 verstorbenen teutschen Schriftsteller. Leipzig, 1802-16. 15v.
- Meyer, Ph. Die Anfänge der kirchlichen Volkslitteratur bei den Griechen nach dem Untergang des byzantinischen Reichs, *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, 17(1898)315-43.
- . Bibliographische Notizen, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 2(1893)357-59.
- . Die theologische Litteratur des griechischen Kirche im sechzehnten Jahrhundert. Leipzig, 1899. (Studien zur Geschichte der Theologie und der Kirche, 3, nr. 6).
- Meyer, W. Henricus Stephanus über die Regii Typi Graeci, *Abhandlungen der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philol.-hist. Klasse, Neue Folge*, 6, no. 2(1902)1-32.
- Μιχαηλίδης, Δ. Κ. Βιβλιογραφικὸ σημεῖωμα γιὰ τὸν Ἀνδρόνικο Νούκιο, *Ὁ Ἑρανιστής*, 8(1970)220-22.
- . Il modello italiano della *Ἱστορία τῆς Σωσάννης* di Marco Defaranas, *III Convegno nazionale di studi neogreci, Italia e Grecia: Due culture a confronto* (Palermo 19-20 ottobre 1989; Catania: 21 ottobre 1989). Atti. Palermo, 1991, 157-67. (Quaderni dell' Istituto di filologia greca dell' Università di Palermo, 21).
- Mioni, E. Calliergi (Callergi), *Zaccaria, DBI*, 16(1973)750-53.
- Montfaucon, B. de. *Palaeographia Graeca*. Paris, 1708. Rpt. 1970.
- Moravcik, G. Il caronte bizantino, *Studi bizantini e neoellenici*, 3(1930)45-68.
- Moreni, D. *Annali della tipografia fiorentina di Lorenzo Torrentino impressore ducale*. 2. ed. Firenze, 1819.
- Moretti, L. Il libro illustrato veneziano del Quattro e Cinquecento, *Revue des études italiennes*, n. s., 27(1981)334-43.
- Morgan, G. Cretan Poetry: Sources and Inspiration, *Κρητικά Χρονικά*, 14(1960)7-68; 203-70; 379-434.
- Morgan, G. Three Cretan Manuscripts, *Κρητικά Χρονικά*, 8(1954)61-71.
- Morison, S. *Eustachio Celebrino da Vdene, Calligrapher, Engraver and Writer for the Venetian Printing Press*. Paris, 1929.
- . *L' Inventaire de la Fonderie Le Bé, selon la transcription de Jean Pierre Fournier*. Paris, 1957. (Documents typographiques français, 1).
- . *John Fell, the University Press and the 'Fell' Types*. Oxford, 1967.
- . Marcello Cervini, Pope Marcellus II Bibliography's Patron Saint, *Italia medioevale e umanistica*, 5(1962)301-19=Selected Essays on the History of Letter-Forms in Manuscript and Print. D. McKitterick, ed. Cambridge, 1980-81, II, 383-92.
- Moro, G. Insegne librerie e marche tipografiche in un registro veneziano del '500, *La bibliofilia*, 91(1989)51-80.
- Mortimer, R. The Dimensions of the Renaissance Title Page, *Printing History*, 3 no. 1(1981)34-46.
- Moschonas, N. G. I Greci a Venezia e la loro posizione religiosa nel XV^o secolo, *Ὁ Ἑρανιστής*, 5(1967)105-37.
- Μοσχονᾶς, Θ. Δ. Κατάλογοι τῆς Πατριαρχικῆς Βιβλιοθήκης. Ἀλεξάνδρεια, 1945-47. 3v.
- Μοσχόπουλος, Θ. Ἡ ἐλληνικὴ κοινότης τῆς Βενετίας καὶ ἡ συμβολὴ αὐτῆς εἰς τὴν ἀναβίωσιν τῆς παιδείας τοῦ ἔθνους, *Παρνασσός*, 15(1973)48-53.
- Μουστοξύδης, Α. Ἄγγελος Φορτίας - Λεονάρδος Φόρτιος - Ἀλέξανδρος Φόρτιος, *Ἑλληνομνήμων*, 5(1843)293-94.

- _____. Ἰάκωβος καὶ Καντῖνος Τριβῶλαι, *Ἑλληνομνήμων*, 6(1843)321-22.
- _____. Ἰωαννίκιος Καρτάνος, *Ἑλληνομνήμων*, 7(1845)442-47; 8(1845)449.
- _____. Ἰουστῖνος Δεκάδου, *Ἑλληνομνήμων*, 4(1843)196-203.
- _____. Νίκανδρος Νούκιος, *Πανδώρα*, 7(1856)217-25.
- _____. Νίκανδρος Νούκιος, *Ἱστορικῶν καὶ φιλολογικῶν ἀναλέκτων ἐκδιδομένων ὑπὸ Μ. Α. Μουστοξύδου*. Ἐν Κερκύρα, 1872, 24-44.
- _____. Νικόλαος Σοφιανός, *Ἑλληνομνήμων*, 4(1843)236-56; 5(1843)257-64.
- _____. Παχώμιος [Ρουσάνος] *Ἑλληνομνήμων*, 10(1847)624-32; 11(1852)633-96; 12(1853)697-712.
- _____. Περὶ Καταρνιτῶν [sic] αἰρετικῶν, *Ἑλληνομνήμων*, 8(1845)449-52.
- _____. Ζαχαρίας Καλλιέργης, *Ἑλληνομνήμων*, 6(1843)328-36.
- _____. Ζαχαρίας Σκορδύλιος, *Ἑλληνομνήμων*, 5(1843)306-20.
- Μπουμπουλίδης, Φ. Κ. Ἀνέκδοτα ἔγγραφα περὶ τοῦ Ναυπλιέως ποιητοῦ Τζάνε Βεντράμου, *Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν*, 30(1960-61)194-201.
- _____. Ἀνέκδοτοι παραλλαγαὶ δημῶδων μεσαιωνικῶν κειμένων, *Ἀθηνᾶ*, 67(1963-64)107-44.
- _____. Δημῶδεις μεταβυζαντινοὶ ἀλφάβητοι, *Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν*, 25(1955)284-305.
- _____. *Κρητικὴ λογοτεχνία*. Ἀθήνα, 1955. (Βασικὴ βιβλιοθήκη, 7).
- _____. Παρατηρήσεις εἰς τὰς "Ἀποδημίας" τοῦ Νουκίου, *Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν*, 34(1965)218-21.
- _____. Παρατηρήσεις εἰς "Διορθώσεις" σὲ κείμενα τῆς δημῶδους λογοτεχνίας, *Ἀθηνᾶ*, 75(1974/75)49-53.
- _____. Παρατηρήσεις εἰς μεσαιωνικὰ κείμενα, *Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρὶς Φιλοσοφικῆς Σχολῆς Πανεπιστημίου Ἀθηνῶν*, 13(1963)364-74.
- _____. Παρατηρήσεις εἰς μεσαιωνικὸν κείμενον. Τζάνε Βεντράμου, *Ἱστορία τῶν γυναικῶν*, Ἀθηνᾶ, 59(1955)231-39.
- Μυστακίδης, Β. Α. Ἡ χειροτονία Γαβριὴλ τοῦ Φιλαδελφείας κατὰ τὴν 18 Ἰουλίου τοῦ 1577 ἐν τῇ Παμμακαρίστῳ, *Νέος Ποιμὴν*, 5(1923)1833-90.
- _____. Γλωσσικὸν μνημεῖον τοῦ 15 αἰῶνος ἐκδεδομένον-ἀνέκδοτον, *Νέος Ποιμὴν*, 4(1922)569-93.
- _____. Ὁ ἱερὸς κλῆρος κατὰ τὸν 15 αἰῶνα: Μάξιμος ὁ Μαργούνιος. Ἐν Ἀθήναις, 1892.
- _____. Notes sur Martin Crusius. Ses livres, ses ouvrages et ses manuscrits, *Revue des études grecques*, 11(1898)279-306.
- Νικηφορίδης, Μπ. Παρατηρήσεις στὸν "Ἀπόκοπο," *Νέα Ἑστία*, 92(1972)1234-40.
- Νικολόπουλος, Π. Γ. Μαξίμου τοῦ Μαργουνίου ἐπιστολαὶ δύο ἀνέκδοτοι, *Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν*, 20(1950)331-39.
- _____. Μαξίμου τοῦ Μαργουνίου Ὁμιλία ἐπὶ διαλλαγῇ, *Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν*, 21(1951)283-95.
- Noakes, S. The Development of the Book Market in Late Quattrocento Italy: Printers' Failures and the Role of the Middleman, *The Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 11(1981)23-55.
- Noiret, H. *Lettres inédites de Michel Apostolis*. Paris, 1889.
- Nolhac, P. de. Les correspondants d'Alde Manuce, *Studi e documenti di storia e diritto*, 8(1887)245-99.
- Norbert, C. L'histoire des livres liturgiques grecs, *Studi bizantini e neoellenici*, 6(1940)470-73.

- Norton, F. J. *A Descriptive Catalogue of Printing in Spain and Portugal 1501-1520*. Cambridge, 1978.
- . *Italian Printers, 1501-1520*. London, 1958. (Cambridge Bibliographical Society Monograph, 3).
- . *Printing in Spain, 1501-1520*. Cambridge, 1966.
- Novati, F. Donne tipografe nel Cinquecento, *Il libro e la stampa*, n.s., 1(1907)41-49.
- Οικονομάκης, Π. Δ. Ἡ Λαϊκὴ Βιβλιοθήκη Καλαμῶν, *Μεσσηνιακὰ Γράμματα*, 1(1956)263-408.
- Οικονόμος, Σ. Περὶ Ἀγγέλου Βεργικίου, *Πανδώρα*, 17(1867)356-57.
- Olsen, B. The Greek Translation of Boccaccio's *Theseid* Book 6, *Classica et Mediaevalia*, 41(1990)275-301.
- Olschki, L. S. *Libri antichi in greco: con un appendice di opere antiche di linguistica e letteratura greca*. Firenze, 1958.
- . *Riche et précieuse collection de livres à figures des XV^e et XVI^e siècles soigneusement décrits et mis en vente*. Florence, 1900. (Catalogue L).
- Omont, H. *Catalogue des livres grecs et latins imprimés par Alde Manuce à Venise (1498-1503-1513)*. Paris, 1892.
- . Catalogue de manuscrits grecs copiés à Paris au xvi^e siècle par Constantin Palaeocappa, *Annuaire de l' Association pour l' encouragement des études grecques en France*, 20(1886)241-79.
- . Catalogue des manuscrits grecs de Guillaume Pellicier, évêque de Montpellier, ambassadeur de François I^{er} à Venise, *Bibliothèque de l' Ecole de Chartes*, 46(1885)45-83; 594-624.
- . Essai sur les débuts de la typographie grecque à Paris (1507-1516), *Mémoires de la Société de l' histoire de Paris et de l' Ile-de-France*, 18(1891)1-72.
- . Inventaire des Grecs du Roi en 1556, *Bulletin de la Société de l' histoire de Paris et de l' Ile-de-France*, 8(1881)112-15.
- . *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque nationale et des autres bibliothèques de Paris et des départements*. Paris, 1888.
- . Spécimens de caractères hébreux, grecs, latins et de musique gravés à Venise et à Paris par Guillaume Le Bé (1545-1592), *Mémoires de la Société de l' histoire de Paris et de l' Ile-de-France*, 15(1888)273-83.
- Pächt, O. Notes and Observations on the Origin of Humanistic Book Decoration, Fritz Saxl, 1890-1948; *a Volume of Memorial Essays from his Friends in England*. D. J. Gordon, ed. London, 1957, 184-94.
- Painter, G. D. The First Greek Printing in Belgium with Notes on the First Greek Printing in Paris, etc., *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* 1960, 144-48.
- Παλιούρας, Α. Ἡ δυτικοῦ τύπου Ἀνάσταση τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ ὁ χρόνος εἰσαγωγῆς της στὴν ὀρθόδοξη τέχνη, *Δωδώνη*, 7(1978)385-97.
- . Ἡ εἰκονογράφηση τοῦ τρούλλου τοῦ Ἀγίου Γεωργίου Βενετίας, *Θησαυρίσματα*, 8(1971)63-86.
- . Τὰ ψηφιδωτὰ τοῦ Ἀγίου Γεωργίου τῶν Ἑλλήνων Βενετίας, *Θησαυρίσματα*, 15(1978)145-76.
- Παναγιωτάκης, Ν. Μ. Ἀντιγραφεῖς καὶ κείμενα τοῦ κώδικα Marcianus graecus IX. 17. Ἀνδρέας Σκλέντζας, *Ἀριάδνη*, 2(1984)88-125.
- . Τὸ κείμενο τῆς πρώτης ἐκδοσης τοῦ “Ἀπόκοπου,” *Θησαυρίσματα*, 21(1991)89-209.
- . Νικόλαος Παπαδόπουλος, Κρητικὸς στιχουργὸς τοῦ 16^{ου} αἰῶνα στὴ Βενετία, *Θησαυρίσματα*, 16(1979)113-52.
- . Περὶ Ναθαναὴλ Χίκα, *Μνημόσυνον Σοφίας Ἀντωνιάδη*. Βενετία, 1974, 265-75.

- Παναγιωτοπούλου, Κ. 'Ελληνες ναυτικοὶ καὶ πλοιοκτῆτες ἀπὸ τὰ παλαιότερα οἰκονομικὰ βιβλία τῆς 'Ελληνικῆς 'Αδελφότητος Βενετίας (1536-1576), *Θησαυρίσματα*, 11(1974)284-352.
- . Πατριαρχικὰ γράμματα καὶ ἄλλα ἔγγραφα (1571-1576) γιὰ τὸν 'Ιέρωνα- 'Ιωάννη Μποναφέ, *Θησαυρίσματα*, 12(1975)309-55.
- Panaiteacu, P. P. Despre Nichifor dascălul și legăturile lui cu noi, *Revista istorică*, 12(1926)83.
- Panaiteacu, P. P. *Mihai Viteazul*. București, 1936.
- Πανδῆς, Δ. 'Ο Νικόλαος Σοφιανὸς καὶ ἡ πρώτη γλωσσοεκπαιδευτικὴ ἀναγέννηση τοῦ νέου 'Ελληνισμοῦ, *Ἐπιθεώρηση Τέχνης*, 19(1964)132-49; 323-49.
- Panizzi, A. *Chi era Francesco da Bologna?* 2. ed. con nuova appendice. Londra, 1873.
- Παντελάκης, Ε. Γ. Τὰ λειτουργικὰ βιβλία τῆς ἡμετέρας ἐκκλησίας, *Νέα Σιών*, 26(1931)209-23; 274-88.
- . Les livres ecclésiastiques de l'Orthodoxie, *Irénikon*, 13(1936)521-57.
- Παντελεήμων Λαυριώτης, Κατάλογος ἀρχετύπων ἥτοι τῶν ἀρχαιοτέρων ἐκδόσεων (1488-1599) τῶν ἐν τῇ βιβλιοθήκῃ τῆς ἐν 'Αθῶν 'Ι. Μ. Μεγ. Λαύρας ἀποκειμένων, *Ἀγιορετικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, 6(1951)155-85.
- Panzer, G. W. *Annales typografici ab artis inventae origine ad annum [MDXXXVI]*. Norimbergae, 1793-1803. 11v.
- Παπαδία, Α. 'Ο 'Αρσένιος Μονεμβασίας ὁ 'Αποστόλης καὶ ἡ 'Ελληνικὴ 'Αδελφότης Βενετίας, *Θησαυρίσματα*, 14(1977)110-27.
- Papadopoli, N. Altre tariffe con disegni di monete stampate a Venezia nel secolo XVI, *Nuovo archivio veneto*, 20(1900)237-44.
- Παπαδόπουλος, Α. Βυζαντινὸν ἔπος ἐξ Αἰσωπίου μύθου, *Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν*, 23(1953)386-91.
- Παπαδόπουλος, Χ. 'Ιστορικὰ σημειώματα: α'. 'Ιωαννίκιος Καρτάνος, *Θεολογία*, 4(1926)5-7.
- . Συμβολὴ εἰς τὴν ἱστορίαν τοῦ Μαξίμου Μαργουνίου. 'Η θεολογικὴ αὐτοῦ ἔρις πρὸς τὸν Γαβριὴλ Σεβήρον, *Νέα Σιών*, 18(1923)708-27.
- Παπαδόπουλος, Θ. Ι. *Ἑλληνικὴ βιβλιογραφία (1466 ci-1800)*. Ἀθήναι, 1984-1986. 2v. (Πραγματεῖαι τῆς 'Ακαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν, 48).
- . *Ἑλληνικὴ βιβλιογραφία (1544-1863). Προσθήκες - Συμπληρώσεις*. Ἀθήνα, 1992.
- . Προσθήκες στὴν Ἑλληνικὴ βιβλιογραφία, *'Ο Ἑρανιστής*, 14(1977)138-84.
- Παπαδόπουλος-Κεραμεύς, Α. Σχεδιάσμα περὶ τῶν λειτουργικῶν μηναιῶν, *Vizantiskii vremennik*, 1(1894)341-88.
- Παπαδοπούλου, Σ. Κατηλιανὸς ἢ Κατελάνος, Διονύσιος, *ΘΗΕ*, 5(1966)39-40.
- Παπαϊωάννου, Α. Γ. 'Ελληνικὰ παλαιότυπα στὶς μονὲς Προφήτη 'Ηλία καὶ Πατέρων Ζίτσας ('Ιωαννίνων), *'Ο Ἑρανιστής*, 14(1977)209-316.
- . 'Ελληνικὰ παλαιότυπα τῆς Λαϊκῆς Βιβλιοθήκης τῶν ναῶν τῶν Ἀγίων Θεοδώρων καὶ τῆς Κοιμήσεως τῆς Θεοτόκου Δελβινακίου, *Μέλισσα τῶν Βιβλίων*, 2(1975-76)65-68.
- Παπαμιχαήλ, Γ. *Μάξιμος ὁ Γραικὸς ὁ πρῶτος φωτιστὴς τῶν 'Ρώσων*. Ἐν Ἀθήναις, 1950 [1951].
- Παπαθωμόπουλος, Μ. Διορθώσεις σὲ κείμενα τῆς δημόδους λογοτεχνίας, *Παρνασσός*, 16(1974)464-68.
- . Mediaevalia. I. Narratio neograeca Apollonii Tyri, *Δωδώνη*, 2(1973)283-90.
- Παπατριανταφύλλου-Θεοδωρίδη, Ν. "Σπανέας" καὶ "Λόγοι διδακτικοὶ" τοῦ Φαλιέρου, *Ἑλληνικά*, 28(1975)92-101.
- Παπαζῶτος, Θ. Τὰ παλαιότυπα τῶν ναῶν τῆς Βέροιας (16^{ος}-18^{ος} αἰ.). Προσθήκες στὸν Ε. Legrand καὶ στοὺς Γ. Λαδᾶ-Α. Χατζηδημό, *Κληρονομία*, 12(1980)353-65.

- Paradisi Maltese, D. & L. Sereni. *Arte tipografica del sec. XVI in Italia: bibliografia italiana (1850-1979)*. Roma, 1979.
- Πάρδος, Α. Δ. 'Αλφαβητικὸς κατάλογος τῶν πρώτων μελῶν τῆς 'Ελληνικῆς 'Αδελφότητος Βενετίας ἀπὸ τὸ κατάστιχο 129 (1498-1530), *Θησαυρίσματα*, 16(1979)294-386; 17(1980)149-205.
- Parent, A. Les 'Grecs du Roi' et l' étude du monde antique, *L'art du livre à l'Imprimerie nationale*. Paris, 1973, 55-67.
- . & J. Veyrin-Forrer. Claude Garamont: New Documents, *The Library*, ser. 5, 29(1974)80-92.
- Parker, M., K. Melis & H. D. L. Vervliet. Early Inventories of Punches, Matrices and Moulds in the Plantin-Moretus Archives, *De Gulden Passer*, 38(1960)1-139.
- Paschini, P. Un cardinale editore: Marcello Cervini, *Miscellanea di scritti di bibliografia ed erudizione in memoria di Luigi Ferrari*. Firenze, 1952, 383-413.
- Passavant, J. D. *Le peintre-graveur, contenant l'histoire de la gravure sur bois, sur métal et au burin jusque vers la fin du xvi siècle*. New York, 1966. 6v. Rpt. of 1860-64 ed.
- Pastorello, E. *Bibliografia storico-analitica dell' arte della stampa in Venezia*. Venezia, 1933 (Reale deputazione di storia patria per le Venezie. *Miscellanea di studi e memorie*, 1).
- . Di Aldo Pio Manuzio: testimonianze e documenti, *La bibliofilia*, 67(1965)163-220.
- . *L' epistolario Manuziano: inventario cronologico-analitico, 1483-1597*. Firenze, 1957.
- . *Tipografi, editori, librai a Venezia nel secolo XVI*. Firenze, 1924 (Biblioteca di bibliografia italiana, 5); and her Giunte e correzioni tratte da esemplari della Biblioteca Trivulziana di Milano e della R. Biblioteca Universitaria di Pavia, *La bibliofilia*, 30(1928)475-79.
- Πατρινέλης, Χ. Γ. 'Αγνωστες ἐκδόσεις τοῦ 16ου αἰῶνα, 'Ο 'Ερανιστής, 19(1993)16-26.
- . Δύο ἀνέκδοτα κείμενα περὶ τοῦ Μανουήλ Κορινθίου (Μιὰ ἐπιστολὴ τοῦ 'Ιουστίνου Δεκαδίου καὶ μιὰ "ἐνθύμησις"), *Πελοποννησιακά*, 8(1971)137-46.
- . 'Επιστολαὶ 'Ελλήνων πρὸς τὸν Πάπαν Γρηγόριον ΙΓ' (1572-1585) καὶ τὸν καρδινάλιον Σιρλέτον (+1585), *Ἐπετηρὶς Μεσαιωνικοῦ Ἀρχείου*, 17(1967)45-112.
- . 'Επιστολαὶ τοῦ 'Ιππόλυτου Βάρελη καὶ τοῦ Μανουήλ Γλυτζούνη, 'Ελλήνων ἐκδοτῶν στὴ Βενετία, *Μεσαιωνικὰ καὶ Νέα Ἑλληνικά*, 4(1992)283-319.
- . *Τὸ ἑλληνικὸ βιβλίον κατὰ τὴν Τουρκοκρατίαν (1476-1820)*. Θεσσαλονίκη, 1989.
- . Γαβριήλ ὁ Σεβήρος, *ΘΗΕ*, 4(1964)117-19.
- . Γλυζούνιος, 'Εμμανουήλ, *ΘΗΕ*, 4(1964)567-68.
- . 'Ελληνες κωδικογράφοι τῶν χρόνων τῆς 'Αναγεννήσεως, *Ἐπετηρὶς τοῦ Μεσαιωνικοῦ Ἀρχείου*, 8-9(1958-59)63-124.
- . Μαλαξός, Νικόλαος, *ΘΗΕ*, 8(1966)537-38.
- Παυλόπουλος, Ν. Τὸ Α, Β, Γ, τοῦ καταλόγου τῆς βιβλιοθήκης τῶν ἐντύπων τῆς 'Ιερᾶς Μονῆς Λειμῶνος. Μυτιλήνη, 1976.
- Peri, V. *Due date, un' unica Pasqua. Le origini della moderna disparità liturgica in una trattativa ecumenica tra Roma e Constantinopoli (1582-84)*. Milano, 1967.
- Pernot, H. Deux poèmes crétois sur les Enfers, *Etudes de littérature grecque moderne*. Paris, 1916, 194-229.
- . ed. P. Gentil de Vendosme & Antoine Achélis, *Le Siège de Malte par les Turcs en 1565*. Paris, 1910. (Collection de monuments pour servir à l' étude de la langue et de la littérature néo-hellénique, 3. sér., 2).
- Pertusi, A. ΕΡΩΤΗΜΑΤΑ. Per la storia e le fonti delle prime grammatiche greche a stampa, *Italia medioevale e umanistica*, 5(1962)321-51.

- Pesenti, G. Breve nota sull' episodio di Tagliapietra narrato da G. Trivolis, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 25(1925)322-26.
- . Libri censurati a Venezia nei secoli XVI-XVII, *La bibliofilia*, 58(1956)15-30.
- Petkanova-Toteva, D. *Damaskinite v bulgarskata literatura*. Sofia, 1965.
- Πετρής, Π. Π. Νικόλαος Μαλαξός, πρωτοπαπᾶς Ναυπλίου (1500 ci.-1594;), *Πελοποννησιακά*, 3/4(1958-59)348-75.
- . Νικολάου Μαλαξοῦ ἀνέκδρOTOS θρηνητικὸς κανὼν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀλώσει τοῦ Ναυπλίου (1540), *Ἐπετηρὶς Μεσαιωνικοῦ Ἀρχείου*, 8/9(1958-59)57-62.
- Pettas, W. A. *The Giunti of Florence*. San Francisco, 1980.
- . An International Renaissance Publishing Family: The Giunti, *The Library Quarterly*, 44(1974)334-49.
- . Nikolaos Sophianós and Greek Printing in Rome, *The Library*, 5th ser., 29(1974)206-13.
- Pfister, F. Alexander der Grosse in der byzantinischen Literatur und in neugriechischen Volksbüchern, *Probleme der neugriechischen Literatur*. Berlin, 1960, III, 112-30. (Berliner byzantinistische Arbeiten, 16).
- Φιλιτᾶς, Χ. Εἰδήσεις περὶ ἀντιτύπου τινὸς τοῦ ὑπὸ Ἀνδρονίκου Νουκίου ἐκδοθέντος Τυπικοῦ τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἀκολουθίας, *Πανδώρα*, 8(1857)413-16.
- . Ἐμμανουὴλ Γλυζώνιος, *Πανδώρα*, 9(1858)273-81.
- . Περὶ Ἰωαννικίου Καρτάνου, Δαμασκηνοῦ τοῦ Στουδίτου καὶ Παχωμίου Ρουζάνου. Ἐν Κερκύρα, 1847.
- Φιλίππου, Λ. Τὰ ἐλληνικὰ γράμματα ἐν Κύπρῳ κατὰ τὴν περίοδον τῆς Τουρκοκρατίας (1571-1878). Ἐν Λευκωσίᾳ, 1930. 2v.
- Φλάμπουρας, Δ. Τὰ "ἐλληνικὰ τοῦ Βασιλέως." Ἑλληνικὰ τυπογραφικὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ 16^{ου} αἰῶνα ποὺ μείνανε στὴν ἱστορία, *Βιβλιογραφικὴ Ἐπιθεώρηση*, 4/5(1974)218-28.
- Φορόπουλος, Ν. Α. Μάξιμος ὁ Μαργούνιος, *ΘΗΕ*, 8(1966)632-37.
- Φώσκολος, Μ. Τὰ παλαιὰ ἐλληνικὰ βιβλία τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Κολλεγίου τοῦ Ἀγίου Ἀθανασίου τῆς Ρώμης. Μὲ συμπληρώσεις στὶς βιβλιογραφίες τῶν E. Legrand καὶ Δ. Γκίνη-Β. Μέξα, *Ὁ Ἑρανιστής*, 9(1971)1-62.
- . Συμπλήρωμα στὶς ἐλληνικὲς ἱστορικὲς βιβλιογραφίες (1523-1874), *Ὁ Ἑρανιστής*, 12(1975)28-53.
- Pichard, M. Sur les fondements historiques des romans "d' Imberios et de Margarona" et "de Pierre de Provence et de la belle Maguelonne," *Revue des études byzantines*, 10(1952)84-92.
- Picot, E. Pierre Gentil, *Les français italianisants au xvi^e siècle*. Paris, 1906-07. II, 71-79.
- Pieler, P. E. Recht, Gesellschaft und Stadt im byzantinischen Roman der Palaiologenzeit, *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*, 20(1971)189-221.
- Pittaluga, M. *L' incisione italiana nel Cinquecento*. Milano, [1928].
- Plantin, C. *Index sive specimen characterum Christophori Plantini*. Antverpiae, 1567. Reprinted with title: *Index Characterum of 1567*. Facsim. reprod. with an Introduction by Douglas McMurtrie. New York, 1924.
- Πλουμίδης, Γ. Σ. Αἰτήματα καὶ πραγματικότητες τῶν Ἑλλήνων τῆς Βενετοκρατίας (1554-1600). Ἰωάννινα, 1985. (Πανεπιστήμιο Ἰωαννίνων. Φιλοσοφικὴ Σχολή. Τμῆμα Ἱστορίας καὶ Ἀρχαιολογίας. Δημοσιεύματα, 20).
- . Αἱ βοῦλλαι τῶν Παπῶν περὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων Ὁρθοδόξων τῆς Βενετίας (1445-1782), *Θησαυρίσματα*, 7(1970)228-66.

- . Considerazioni sulla popolazione greca a Venezia nella seconda metà del '500, *Studi veneziani*, 14(1972)219-26.
- . Τὰ ἐν Παδούῃ παλαιὰ ἑλληνικὰ βιβλία, *Θησαυρίσματα*, 5(1968)204-48.
- . Τὰ παλαιὰ ἑλληνικὰ βιβλία τῆς βιβλιοθήκης τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Ἰνστιτούτου Βενετίας, *Θησαυρίσματα*, 6(1969)120-56.
- . Τὰ παλαιὰ ἑλληνικὰ βιβλία τῆς Μαρκιανῆς βιβλιοθήκης Βενετίας μὲ προσθήκη ἀγνώστων ἐκδόσεων, *Ὁ Ἑρανιστής*, 9(1971)221-73.
- . Σχολεῖα στὴν Ἑλλάδα συντηρούμενα ἀπὸ κληροδοτήματα Ἑλλήνων τῆς Βενετίας (1603-1797), *Θησαυρίσματα*, 9(1972)236-49.
- . La stampa greca a Venezia nel secolo XVII, *Archivio veneto*, ser. 5, 93(1971)29-40.
- . & G. Fedalto, Emanuele-Massimo Margunio (1549-1602) e il Διάλογος περὶ ἀθλιότητος ἀνθρωπίνης dedicato a Giovanni Vincenzo Pinelli, *Memorie della Accademia patavina di scienze, lettere ed arti. Classe di scienze morali, lettere ed arti*, 80(1967-68)257-71.
- Pochert, C. *Die Reimbildung in der spät- und postbyzantinischen Volksliteratur*. Köln, 1991. (Neograeca medii aevi, 4).
- Πολίτης, Λ. Ἐντυπο περγαμηνὸ εἰλητάριο ἀπὸ τὸ τυπογραφεῖο τοῦ Ν. Σοφianoῦ, *Μνημόσυνον Σοφίας Ἀντωνιάδου*. Βενετία, 1974, 227-36.
- . Ἡ λογοτεχνία τῆς Ἀναγέννησης στὴν Ἑλλάδα, *Πνευματικὴ Κύπρος*, 2 no. 13(1961-62)59-69.
- . Παρατηρήσεις σὲ Κρητικὰ κείμενα. 2. Ἡ φυλλάδα τοῦ γαϊδάρου, *Κρητικὰ Χρονικά*, 12(1958)305-13.
- . Παρατηρήσεις στὸν “Ἀπόκοπο” τοῦ Μπεργαδῆ, *Προσφορὰ εἰς Στίλπωνα Π. Κυριακίδην*. Θεσσαλονίκη, 1953, 546-60. (Ἑλληνικά. Παράρτημα, 4).
- . *Ποιητικὴ Ἀνθολογία*. Ἀθήνα, 1975-77. 8v.
- . Venezia come centro della stampa e della diffusione della prima letteratura neoellenica, *Venezia, centro di mediazione tra Oriente e Occidente (secoli XV-XVI). Aspetti e problemi*. Firenze, 1977, II, 443-82.
- Πολίτης, Ν. Γ. Δημῶδη βιβλία. Β'. Γαδάρου, λύκου κι' ἄλουποῦς διήγησις χαρίης, *Λαογραφικὰ σύμμεικτα*. Ἐν Ἀθήναις, 1920, I, 186-95.
- . Παρατηρήσεις εἰς τὸ παραμῦθι τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου, *Λαογραφία*, 1(1909)77-81.
- Pollard, A. W. *An Essay on Colophons, with Specimens and Translations*. Chicago, 1905. Rpt. 1968.
- . Greek Types, Old and New, *The Library*, 4th ser., 7(1927)414-18.
- . *Italian Book Illustration*. London, 1894.
- . *Last Words on the History of the Title-Page, with Notes on Some Colophons and Twenty-Seven Fac-similes of Title-Pages*. New York, 1971. Rpt. of 1891 ed.
- . The Transference of Woodcuts in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries, *Bibliographica*, 2(1896)343-68.
- Pollard, G. & A. Ehrman. *The Distribution of Books by Catalogue from the Invention of Printing to A.D. 1800 Based on Material in the Broxbourne Library*. Cambridge, 1965.
- Pontani, A. Due scritti di Cristoforo Kondoleon sulle questioni religiose del secolo XVI, *Römische historische Mitteilungen*, 30(1988)113-76.
- . Le maiuscole greche antiquarie di Giano Lascaris. Per la storia dell' alfabeto greco in Italia nel '400, *Scrittura e civiltà*, 16(1992)77-227.
- Pontani, F. M. Una lettera inedita di Listarchos, *Byzantion*, 33(1963)427-47.

- Proctor, R. The French Royal Greek Types and the Eton Chrysostom, *Bibliographical Essays*. London, 1905, 89-119. Rpt. 1969.
- . *An Index to the Early Printed Books in the British Museum from the Invention of Printing to the Year 1500*. London, 1960. Rpt. of 1898-1906 ed.
- . *The Printing of Greek in the 15th Century*. Oxford, 1900. (Illustrated Monographs of the Bibliographical Society, 8). Rpt. 1966.
- Prosperi, A. *Tra Evangelismo e Controriforma. G. M. Giberti (1495-1543)*. Roma, 1969.
- Psichari, J. Le poème à Spanéas, *Mélanges Renier*. Paris, 1886, 261-83=Quelques travaux de linguistique, de philologie et de littérature helléniques, 1884-1928. Paris, 1930, I, 129-51.
- Quaranta, E. Kretzulesco. La formazione culturale di Aldo Manuzio ed il suo criterio nella scelta dei testi, *Studi bibliografici. Atti del Convegno dedicato alla storia del libro italiano nel V centenario dell' introduzione dell' arte tipografica in Italia (Bolzano 7-8 ottobre 1965)*. Firenze, 1967, 147-58.
- Quaranta, E. Osservazioni intorno ai caratteri greci di Aldo Manuzio, *La bibliofilia*, 55(1953)123-30=Scritti sopra Aldo Manuzio. R. Ridolfi, ed. Firenze, 1975, 93-100.
- Raes, A. Les livres liturgiques grecs publiés à Venise, *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant*. Città del Vaticano, 1964, III, 209-22. (Studi e testi, 233).
- . Les notices historiques de l' Horloge grec, *Analecta Bollandiana*, 68(1950)475-80.
- Rainò, B. *Giovanni Onorio da Maglie, trascrittore di codici greci*. Bari, 1972. (Quaderni magliesi, 1).
- Rangabé, E. R. *Livre d'or de la noblesse ionienne. Corfou*. Athènes, 1925.
- Rava, C. E. *Arte dell' illustrazione nel libro italiano del Rinascimento*. Milano, 1945.
- . *Supplément à Max Sander: Le livre à figures italien de la Renaissance*. Milano, 1969.
- Réau, L. *Iconographie de l'art chrétien*. Paris, 1955-59. 6v.
- Redig de Campos. D. Francesco Priscianese, stampatore e umanista fiorentino del sec. XVI, *La bibliofilia*, 40(1938)161-83.
- Reed, T. B. *A History of the Old English Letter Foundries*. New rev. and enl. ed. by A. F. Johnson. London, 1952.
- Renouard, A. A. *Annales de l' imprimerie des Alde*. 3. éd. Paris, 1834.
- . Notice sur la famille des Junte, et liste sommaire de leurs éditions jusqu' en 1550, *Annales de l' imprimerie des Alde*. 3. éd. Paris, 1834, i-lxvii.
- Renouard, Ph. Les 'grecs du roi', *Bulletin du bibliophile et du bibliothécaire*, 4(1901)157-68.
- . *Imprimeurs & libraires parisiens du xvi^e siècle*. Paris, 1964.
- . *Répertoire des imprimeurs parisiens du xvi^e siècle*. Paris, 1965.
- Rhodes, D. E. *Gli annali tipografici fiorentini del xv secolo*. Firenze, 1988.
- . L' attività tipografica di Bartolomeo Zanetti a Firenze 1514-1524, *Copyright 1984-1985. Miscellanea di studi in onore di Clementina Rotondi*. Roma, 1985, 25-32.
- . The Career of Thomas Ferrandus of Brescia, *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*, 67(1984)544-59.
- . Early Printed Books in Greece, *The Library*, 5th ser., 30(1975)183-98.
- . Early Printed Books in Greece, Δέκατον Διεθνές Συνέδριον Βιβλιοφίλων ('Αθήνα 30 Σεπτεμβρίου - 6 Οκτωβρίου 1977). Tenth International Congress of Bibliophiles (Athens 30 September - 6 October 1977). Athens, 1979, 61-74. Revised version of above.
- . The First Use of Greek Type in Spain, *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* 1960, 93-95.

- . Greece, *The Library*, 6(1984)420.
- . An Imperfect Greek Psalter at Meteora, *Ἑλληνικά*, 29(1976)356-57.
- . *Incunabula in Greece; a First Census*. Munich, 1980.
- . Notes on Early Florentine Printing, *La bibliofilia*, 84(1982)143-62.
- . The Printing of a Group of Greek Books in Rome, *The Library*, 5th ser., 31(1976)242-44.
- . Some Cretan Scholars in Italy, 1400-1600 with Special Reference to the Book Trade, *Κρητικά Χρονικά*, 25(1973)209-17.
- Richard, M. Florilèges spirituels grecs, *Dictionnaire de spiritualité*. Paris, 1962, V, 498-99.
- . Sur les fondements historiques des romans "d' Imberios et de Margarona" et "de Pierre de Provence et de la belle Maguelonne," *Revue des études byzantines*, 10(1952)84-92.
- Ridolfi, R. La biblioteca del cardinale Niccolò Ridolfi (1501-1550). Nuovo contributo di notizie e di documenti, *La bibliofilia*, 31(1929)173-93.
- . Nuovi contributi alla storia della stampa nel secolo XV. II. Lo 'stampatore del Virgilius, C. 6061' e l'edizione principe di Omero, *La bibliofilia*, 56(1954)85-101.
- . Nuovi contributi sulle 'stamperie papali' di Paolo III, *La bibliofilia*, 50(1948)183-97.
- . *La stampa in Firenze nel secolo XV*. Firenze, 1958.
- Rizzo, S. Gli umanisti, i testi classici e le scritture maiuscole, *Atti del Convegno internazionale Il libro e il testo, Urbino, 20-23 settembre 1982*. Urbino, 1984, 223-41.
- Robertson, E. Aldus Manutius, the Scholar-Printer, 1450-1515, *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*, 33(1950)57-73.
- Rodocanachi, E. *La première renaissance: Rome au temps de Jules II et de Léon X*. Paris, 1912.
- Rosenthal-Kamarinea, I. Die byzantinische Mahnrede im 12. Jahrhundert: Tradition und Wandlung dargestellt am Beispiel des Spaneas, *Folia Neohellenica*, 4(1982)182-89.
- Rossi, V. Altre donne tipografe nel Cinquecento, *Il libro e la stampa*, 1(1907)135-36.
- Πουσάνος, Π. Πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Βενετίᾳ χαλκογραφεῖς, *Ἑλληνομνήμων*, 11(1852)648-53.
- Rozemond, K. Aldus Manutius' Neakademia, Michael Trivolis en de Russische culturele centra in de zestiende eeuw, *Het Boek*, 3. ser. 37 no. 3(1966)163-77.
- . Het Psalterion van Aldus Manutius, *Het Boek*, 36(1963)94-99, 233.
- Ruland, A. Über einen unbekannten Aldinischen Druck, *Serapeum*, 18(1857)8-11.
- Ruysschaert, J. Trois recherches sur le XVI^e siècle romain, *Archivio della Società romana di storia patria*, 3. ser., 25(1971)11-29.
- Salaville, S. *An Introduction to the Study of the Eastern Liturgies*. London, 1938.
- Samek Lucovici, S. *Arte del libro. Tre secoli di storia del libro illustrato dal Quattrocento al Seicento*. Milano, 1974.
- Sander, M. *Le livre à figures italien depuis 1467 jusqu' à 1530*. New York, 1941. 6v.
- Sanuto, M. *I diarii*. Venezia, 1879-1905. 58v.
- Sartori, F. Un poeta corfiota nella Venezia del sec. XVI, *Archivio veneto*, ser. 5, 127(1986)31-46.
- Σάθας, Κ. Ν. Βιογραφικὸν σχεδιάσμα περὶ τοῦ πατριάρχου Ἱερεμίου Β' (1572-1594). Ἐν Ἀθήναις, 1870.
- . *Μνημεῖα ἑλληνικῆς ἱστορίας. Documents inédits relatifs à l'histoire de la Grèce au moyen âge*. Paris, 1880-1890. 9v. Rpt. 1972.

- . Νεοελληνική φιλολογία. Ἐν Ἀθήναις, 1868.
- . Ἡ πρώτη ἐν Βενετίᾳ ἐλληνικὴ τυπογραφία, 1499-1899, *Μελέτη*, 8(1908)470-85.
- . Le roman d' Achille. Texte inédit en grec vulgaire, *Annuaire de l' Association pour l' encouragement des études grecques en France*, 13(1879)126-75.
- Saunier, A. L. "Apokopos" de Bergadis et la tradition populaire. Essai de définition d'une méthode comparative, *Ἀμητὸς στὴ μνήμη Φωτίου Ἀποστολοπούλου*. Ἀθήνα, 1984, 295-309.
- Schiavone, M. I fratelli da Sabbio, tipografi a Venezia, *L' Esopo*, 49(1991)31-37.
- Schirò, G. Missione umanistica di Massimo Margunio a Venezia, *Rivista di studi bizantini e neoellenici*, n. s. 4, 14(1967)159-87=*Venezia e l'Oriente fra tardo Medioevo e Rinascimento*. Venezia, 1966, 241-65.
- . Un apografo della Cronaca dei Tocco prodotto da Nicola Sofianòs, *Revue des études Sud-Est européennes*, 6(1969)209-19.
- Σχίζας, Θ. Ε. Ὁ Ματθαῖος Γαλατιανὸς καὶ τὸ ὑμνογραφικὸν ἔργον του, *Πρακτικὰ Β' Διεθνoῦς Κυπριολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου*. Λευκωσία, 1986, II, 353-59.
- Schmitt, J. La Théseïde de Boccace et la Théseïde grecque, *Études de philologie néogrecque; recherches sur le développement historique du grec*. J. Psichari, ed. Paris, 1892, 279-345.
- . Über den Verfasser des Spaneas, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 1(1892)316-32.
- Schmitt, W. O. Die ersten griechisch gedruckten Bücher, *Marginalien*, 66 no. 2(1977)29-37.
- Scholderer, V. A Further Note on Red Printing in Early Books, *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* 1959, 59-60.
- . *Greek Printing Types, 1465-1927*. London, 1927.
- . Red Printing in Early Books, *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* 1958, 105-07.
- Schottenloher, K. Die Druckprivilegien des 16. Jahrhunderts, *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* 1933, 89-110.
- Schreiner, H. Der älteste Imberioستext, *Akten des XI. internationalen byzantinistenkongresses, München*, 1958. München, 1960, 556-62.
- . Die einleitenden Überschriften zu den von der gleichen Hand überlieferten Texten in cod. Neap. gr. III. AA. 9 und cod. Neap. gr. III. B. 27, *Byzantinische Forschungen*, 1(1966)290-320.
- . Der geschichtliche Hintergrund zu Imbérios/Pierre de Provence und Margarona/la belle Maguelonne, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 44(1951)524-33.
- . Neue Quellen zur Komposition und Entstehungsgeschichte des mitteligriechischen Romans Imberios und Margarona, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 30(1929-30)121-30.
- . Über die älteste Form der byzantinischen Belisarsage, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 21(1912)54-64.
- . Die zeitliche Aufeinanderfolge der im Cod. Vindob. Theol. gr. 244 überlieferten Texte des Imberios, des Belisar und des Florios, und ihr Schreiber, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 55(1962)213-23.
- Σεφέρης, Γ. Ἐνας Ἑλληνας ταξιδιώτης στὴν Ἀγγλία στὰ 1545, *Ἀγγλοελληνικὴ Ἐπιθεώρησης*, 5(1952)436-38.
- Σεραφετινίδης, Α. Μ. *Σπάνιαι ἐκδόσεις βιβλίων καὶ χειρογράφων τῆς Βιβλιοθήκης Λέρου*. Ρόδος, 1954.
- Sereni, L. *Arte tipografica del sec. XVI in Italia: Bibliografia italiana (1800-1983)*. Roma, 1984.
- Servolini, A. La stampa a Firenze nel sec. XV^o, *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* 1956, 84-90.
- Servolini, L. Eustachio Celebrino da Udine, intagliatore, calligrafo, poligrafo ed editore del sec. XVI, *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* 1944/49, 179-89.
- . Il maestro della xilografia a chiaroscuro: Ugo da Carpi, *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* 1937, 107-14.

- . Ugo da Carpi, illustratore del libro, *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* 1950, 196-202.
- . Le xilografie di Ugo da Carpi, *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* 1953, 105-10.
- Shaaber, M. A. *Sixteenth Century Imprints in the Libraries of the University of Pennsylvania*. Philadelphia, 1976.
- Sicherl, M. Manuel Glynzunos als Schreiber griechischer Handschriften, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 49(1956)34-54.
- . Die Musaios-Ausgabe des Aldus Manutius und ihre lateinische Übersetzung, *Italia medioevale e umanistica*, 19(1976)257-76.
- . Parerga zu Griechischen Kopisten der Renaissance, *Parerga. Studi in onore di Aristide Colonna*. Perugia, 1982, 265-81.
- Simoni, P. Stefano Nicolini e fratelli tipografi a Verona nel Cinquecento, *Civiltà veronese*, n. s. 1 no. 2(1988)23-40.
- Σκλαβενίτης, Τ. Ε. Τὰ ἐμπορικὰ ἐγχειρίδια τῆς Βενετοκρατίας καὶ τῆς Τουρκοκρατίας καὶ ἡ ἐμπορικὴ ἐγκυκλοπαίδεια τοῦ Νικολάου Παπαδοπούλου. Ἀθήνα, 1990 (Παράρτημα τοῦ περιοδικοῦ Μνήμων, 5).
- . Προσθήκες στὴν ἐλληνικὴ βιβλιογραφία (1536-1799), *Θησαυρίσματα*, 14(1977)127-56.
- Σκορδέλης, Β. Γ. Ἡ Ὀκτώηχος καὶ ἡ Φυλλάδα τοῦ Μεγάλου Ἀλεξάνδρου ἢ τὸ σχολεῖον καὶ ὁ λαός, *Παρνασσός*, 7(1883)197-211.
- Smith, O. L. ed. *The Oxford Version of the Achilleid*. Copenhagen, 1990. (Opuscula Graecolatina, 32).
- Σοφιανός, Ν. Γραμματικὴ τῆς κοινῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων γλώσσης. Θ. Χ. Παπαδόπουλος, ed. Ἀθήνα, 1977.
- Sorbelli, A. Il mago che scolpì i caratteri di Aldo Manuzio, Francesco Griffi da Bologna, *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* 1933, 117-23.
- Σωτηράκης, Ν. Δ. Μανουὴλ Γλυζώνιος καὶ Δωρόθεος Πρώϊος, *Χιακὴ Ἐπιθεώρησις*, 33(1973)183-98.
- Soyter, G. *Griechisches Humor von Homers Zeiten bis heute*. Berlin 1959, 108-71.
- Spadaro, G. L' 'Achilleide' e la 'Istorikḗ ἐξήγησις περὶ Βελισαρίου di Gheorghillàs, *Δίπτυχα*, 2(1980-81)23-41.
- . Antico e Nuovo Testamento in "Spaneas," *Folia Neohellenica*, 4(1982)204-12.
- . Due redazioni inedite di Spaneas, *Jahrbuch der Österreichische Byzantinistik*, 32/3(1982)277-88.
- . Edizioni critiche di testi greci medievali in lingua demotica: Difficoltà e prospettive, *Neograeca Medii Aevi. Text und Ausgabe. Akten zum Symposion Köln*. 1986. Köln, 1987, 327-55.
- . La fortuna del romanzo di Apollonio di Tiro in Grecia, *Θησαυρίσματα*, 21(1991)23-33.
- . "Imberio e Margarona" e "Florio e Plaziaflore," *Miscellanea neogreca. Atti del I Convegno nazionale di studi neogreci, Palermo, 17-19 maggio 1975*. Palermo, 1976, 181-86.
- . Il Πρὸς Δημόνικον pseudoisocrateo e Spaneas, *Δίπτυχα*, 3(1982-83)143-59.
- . Problemi relativi ai romanzi greci dell' età dei Paleologi, *Ἑλληνικά*, 28(1975)302-27; 29(1976)278-310; 30(1977-78)223-79.
- . Pseudo Spaneas. Apporti di codici inesplorati: cod. Collegio Greco S. Atanasio di Roma n. 17 e cod. Mityl. Bibl. Gymn. 37, *Il Collegio Greco di Roma. Ricerche sugli alunni, la direzione, l' attività*. A cura di A. Fyrigos. Roma, 1983, 363-72.
- . La redazione cipriota dello 'Spaneas,' *Lirica greca da Archiloco a Elitis. Studi in onore di Filippo Maria Pontani*. Padova, 1984, 259-71. (Università di Padova. Studi bizantini e neogreci, 14).
- . Spaneas e Glikas: note filologiche, *Δίπτυχα*, 1(1979)282-90.
- . Sul Teseida neogreco, *Folia Neohellenica*, 2(1977)157-60.

- . *Sulle fonti dell' Assedio di Malta* di Antonio Achelis, *Ο Έρανιστής*, 4(1966)80-116.
- Stadtmüller, G. Zur gereimten Version der Geschichte von Esel, Wolf und Fuchs, *Ελληνικά*, 7(1934)105-07.
- Στάϊκος, Κ. Σ. Χάρτα τῆς ἐλληνικῆς τυπογραφίας. Ἀθήνα, 1989-
- Στάθης, Σ. Τὸ παραμῦθι τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου, *Λαογραφία*, 1(1909)71-77.
- Σταυρίδης, Β. Θ. *Ἱστορία τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριαρχείου*. Ἀθήνα, 1967.
- Stevanoni, C. Il greco al servizio della riforma cattolica. Per uno studio della tipografia di Stefano Nicolini da Sabbio e di G. M. Giberti a Verona (1529-1532), *Origini della letteratura neogreca. Atti del secondo congresso internazionale "Neograeca Medii Aevi."* (Venezia, 7-10 novembre 1991). Venezia, 1993, II 606-32.
- Stoyanov, M. *Stari gretski knigi v Bulgariia. Livres grecs anciens en Bulgarie*. Sofia, 1978.
- Συκουτρή, Ι. Α. Γ. Ἐκθεσις τῆς κριτικῆς ἐπιτροπείας τοῦ Α' Φιλολογικοῦ διαγωνισμοῦ τῆς Α. Μ. τοῦ Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Κύπρου κ. κ. Κυρίλλου Βασιλείου τοῦ ἀπὸ Κερυνείας. Ἱστορία τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν γραμμάτων ἐν Κύπρῳ ἀπὸ τῆς τουρκικῆς κατακτῆσεως μέχρι τῆς ἀγγλικῆς κατοχῆς (1571-1878). Ἐν Λευκωσίᾳ, 1924.
- Tamizey de Larroque, Ph. Un document inédit relatif au calligraphe Ange Vergèce, *Revue critique d'histoire et de littérature*, 6(1872)159-60.
- Tasker, R. V. G. The Complutensian Polyglot, *Church Quarterly Review*, 154(1953)197-210.
- Τηλλυρίδης, Α. Ὁ Γαβριήλ Σεβήρος (1540-1616) καὶ οἱ Ἀγγλοι, *Ἐκκλησιαστικὸς Φάρος*, 61(1979)402-16.
- . Jeremias II Tranos, Patriarch of Constantinople (1536-1595), *Ἐκκλησιαστικὸς Φάρος*, 59(1977)242-64.
- Θωμόπουλος, Σ. *Ἱστορία τῆς πόλεως Πατρῶν ἀπὸ ἀρχαιοτάτων χρόνων μέχρι τοῦ 1821*. Πάτραι, 1950.
- Tietze, H. and Tietze-Conrat, E. Titian's Woodcuts, *The Print Collector's Quarterly*, 25(1938)333-60; 464-77.
- Tinto, A. *Gli annali tipografici di Eucario e Marcello Silber (1501-1527)*. Firenze, 1968. (Biblioteca di bibliografia italiana, 55).
- . *Il corsivo nella tipografia del Cinquecento dai caratteri italiani ai modelli germanici e francesi*. Milano, 1972. (Documenti sulle arti del libro, 8).
- . The History of a Sixteenth-Century Greek Type, *The Library*, 5th ser., 25(1970)285-93.
- . Nuovo contributo alla storia della tipografia greca a Roma nel secolo XVI: Nicolo Sofiano, *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* 1965, 171-75.
- . Per una storia della tipografia orientale a Roma nell' età della controriforma, *Accademie e biblioteche d' Italia*, 41(1973)280-303.
- . I tipi della stamperia del Popolo Romano (1561-1579), *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* 1967, 26-38.
- Τωμαδάκης, Β. Φ. Νεοελληνικαὶ μεταφράσεις, παραφράσεις καὶ διασκευαὶ τῆς "Βατραχομουμαχίας." Ἐν Ἀθήναις, 1973 (Ἀθηνᾶ. Σειρὰ διατριβῶν καὶ μελετημάτων, 17).
- Τωμαδάκης, Ν. Β. Ἡ ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ ἑκδοσις ἐλληνικῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν βιβλίων (κυρίως λειτουργικῶν) γενομένη ἐπιμελείᾳ Ἑλλήνων Ὁρθοδόξων κληρικῶν κατὰ τοὺς ιε'-ις' αἰῶνας, *Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν*, 37(1969-70)3-33=La Chiesa greca in Italia dall' VIII al XVI secolo. Atti del Convegno storico interecclesiale (Bari, 30 apr.-4 magg. 1969). Padova, 1972, II, 685-720. (Italia sacra, 21).
- . Ἐπισκοπὴ καὶ ἐπίσκοποι Κυδωνίας, *Κρητικὰ Χρονικά*, 11(1957)1-42.
- . I greci a Milano, *Rendiconti dell' Istituto lombardo di science e lettere. Classe di lettere*, 101(1967)568-80.

- . *Κλείς τῆς Βυζαντινῆς φιλολογίας ἥτοι εἰσαγωγή εἰς τὴν Βυζαντινὴν φιλολογίαν*. 3. ἔκδ. Ἀθήναι, 1965.
- . Λουκάρεια. Νικόλαος (ἱερεὺς)-Νικηφόρος (ἱερομόναχος), Ρόδιος, Κρῆς καὶ ἡ πρὸς τὸν ἐν Ἑνετίᾳ Λούκαριν ἀλληλογραφία του, *Θησαυρίσματα*, 16(1979)278-93.
- . Ὁ Νικόλαος Μαλαξός, πρωτοπαπᾶς Ναυπλίου (1505;-1587+) ἐν Κρήτῃ καὶ τὸ ἐν αὐτῇ ὕμνο-γραφικὸν του ἔργον, *Ἀμάλθεια*, 32(1977)195-204.
- . Πρωτοπαπάδες Κρήτης (1210-1669): Κρήτης (Χάνδακος), Ρεθύμνης, Χανίων (Κυδωνίας), *Κρητολογία*, 4(1977)39-48.
- Τριανταφύλλου, Κ. Ν. *Ἱστορικὸν λεξικὸν τῶν Πατρῶν*. 2. ἔκδ. Πάτραι, 1959.
- Trifonov, I. Ritor Teofan i ipodiakon Damaskin Studit, *Spisanie na bulgarskata akademiia na naukite*, 71(1950)1-27.
- Τσαντσάνογλου, Κ. Περὶ ὄνου..., *Ἑλληνικά*, 24(1971)54-64.
- Τσιρπανλῆς, Ζ. Ἀπὸ τὴ φιλορθόδοξη πολιτικὴ τῆς Βενετίας στὴν Ἑλληνικὴ Ἀνατολή (ἀνέκδοτα ἔγγραφα τῶν ἐτῶν 1581-1597), *Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν*, 39-40(1972-73)295-311.
- . *Τὸ Ἑλληνικὸ Κολλέγιο τῆς Ρώμης καὶ οἱ μαθητὲς του (1576-1700)*. Θεσσαλονίκη, 1980 (Ἀνάλεκτα Βλατάδων, 32).
- . *Τὸ κληροδότημα τοῦ καρδινάλιου Βησσαρίωνος γιὰ τοὺς φιλενωτικούς τῆς Βενετοκρατουμένης Κρήτης (1439-1705 αἰ.)*. Θεσσαλονίκη, 1967. (Ἀριστοτέλειον Πανεπιστήμιον Θεσσαλονίκης. Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρὶς Φιλοσοφικῆς Σχολῆς. Παράρτημα, 12).
- . *Οἱ Μακεδόνες σπουδαστὲς τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Κολλεγίου Ρώμης καὶ ἡ δράση τους στὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ στὴν Ἰταλία (1605 αἰ.-1650)*. Θεσσαλονίκη, 1971. (Μακεδονικὴ βιβλιοθήκη, 35).
- . *Il primo el il secondo Collegio greco di Roma, Il veltro*, 27(1983)507-21.
- Τσίτερ, Χ. *Λόγιοι Ἑλληνες μετὰ τὴ ἄλωσιν*. Ἐν Ἀθήναις, 1930.
- Τσίτσας, Α. Χ. *Ἡ ἐκκλησία τῆς Κερκύρας κατὰ τὴν Λατινοκρατίαν, 1267-1797*. Κέρκυρα, 1969.
- Τσοπανάκης, Α. Γ. Φιλολογικὲς παρατηρήσεις στὴν Διήγησιν Ἀλεξάνδρου (ριμάδα), *Ἑλληνικά*, 32(1980)141-60.
- Updike, D. B. *Printing Types, their History, Forms, and Use*. 2nd ed. Cambridge, MA, 1937. 2v.
- Vaccaro, E. *Le marche dei tipografi ed editori italiani del secolo XVI nella Biblioteca Angelica di Roma*. Firenze, 1983. (Biblioteca di bibliografia italiana, 98).
- Vaccaro-Sofia, E. I Blado tipografi a Roma nel secolo XVI, *La parola e il libro*, 3(1947)327-32.
- . Documenti e precisazioni su Antonio Blado ed eredi, tipografi camerali del sec. XVI, *Bollettino dell' Istituto di Patologia del Libro*, 9 no. 1-4(1950)48-85.
- Vaglia, U. I Da Sabbio stampatori in Brescia, *Commentari dell' Ateneo di Brescia per l' anno 1973*, 1-81.
- . *Storia della Valle Sabbia*. Brescia, 1964. 2v.
- van der Ham, A. B. A. M. Ἡ Ἱστορία τῶν γυναικῶν, τῶν καλῶν καὶ τῶν κακῶν τοῦ Τζάνε Βεντράμου καὶ τὸ πρότυπο του, *Ἑλληνικά*, 38(1987)342-49.
- van Gemert, A. F. Ὁ Ἀπόκοπος τοῦ Μπεργαδῆ καὶ τὸ τέλος του, *Πεπραγμένα τοῦ Ε' Διεθνoῦς Κρητολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου* (Ἅγιος Νικόλαος, 25 Σεπτεμβρίου - 1 Ὀκτωβρίου 1981). Ἡράκλειο, 1985, II, 388-93.
- . Die Belisariada: Mündliche Sage oder gelehrte Geschichte als Quelle des Verfassers, *Neograeca Medii Aevi. Text und Ausgabe. Akten zum Symposium Köln*, 1986. Köln, 1987, 121-36.
- . The Cretan Poet Marinos Falieros, *Θησαυρίσματα*, 14(1977)7-70.
- . Ἡ ἔκδοσις τῆς Βελισαριάδας, *Μαντατοφόρος*, 25-26(1987)69-76.

- . Τὸ καινούριο χειρόγραφο τῆς Διήγησις τοῦ Βελισαρίου, *Communications du XIV^e Congrès international des études byzantines* (Bucarest 1970). Bucarest, 1976, 77-81.
- . Τὸ Κρητικὸ ποίημα Βίος τοῦ Ἀγίου καὶ μεγάλου Νικολάου, *Ἑλληνικά*, 34(1982-83)489-93.
- . ed. Μαρίνου Φαλιέρου, *Ἐρωτικά ὄνειρα*. Θεσσαλονίκη, 1980. (Βυζαντινὴ καὶ νεοελληνικὴ βιβλιοθήκη, 4).
- . Μερικὲς παρατηρήσεις στὸν Ἀπόκοπο τοῦ Μπεργαδῆ, *Ἀφιέρωμα στὸν καθηγητὴ Λίνο Πολίτη*. Θεσσαλονίκη, 1979, 29-38.
- . The New Manuscript of the History of Belisarius, *Folia Neohellenica*, 1(1975)45-72.
- . & W. F. Bakker, *Ἡ Ἀχιλλήϊδα καὶ ἡ Ἱστορία τοῦ Βελισαρίου*, *Ἑλληνικά*, 33(1981)82-97.
- Veloudis, G. *Alexander der Grosse; ein alter Neugrieche*. München, 1969.
- . *Der neugriechische Alexander*. München, 1968. (Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia, 8).
- . ed. *Ἡ Φυλλάδα τοῦ Μεγαλέξαντρου. Διήγησις Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Μακεδόνο*. Ἀθήνα, 1977.
- Vervliet, H. D. L. The Garamond Types of Christopher Plantin, *Journal of the Printing Historical Society*, 1(1965)14-20.
- . Robert Granjon à Rome (1578-1589): Notes préliminaires à une histoire de la typographie romaine à la fin du XVI^e siècle, *Bulletin de l'Institut historique belge de Rome*, 38(1967)177-231.
- . *The Type Specimen of the Vatican Press 1628*. Amsterdam, 1967.
- Vespasiano da Bisticci. *Le vite*. Aulo Greco, ed. Firenze, 1970-76. 2v.
- Veyrin-Forrer, J. Antoine Augereau, graveur de lettres et imprimeur parisien (vers 1485?-1534), *Paris et Ile-de-France. Mémoires*, 8(1956)103-56.
- Vianello, N. Per gli "annali" dei Sessa, tipografi ed editori in Venezia nei secoli XV-XVII, *Accademie e biblioteche d'Italia*, 38(1970)262-85.
- Vitti, M. Βιβλιογραφικὰ στὸν 16^ο αἰῶνα (ὁ Κερκυραῖος γιατρὸς Ἀγγέλως Φορτίας alias Angelo Forte), *Ὁ Ἑρανιστής*, 3(1965)273-76.
- . Ἑλληνικὰ σὲ ἰταλικὴ κωμωδία τοῦ 1533. Ἡ συνεργασία τοῦ Νικολάου Σοφianoῦ στοὺς "Τρεῖς τυράννους" τοῦ Ricchi, *Θέατρο*, 27-28(1966)22-28.
- . Ἐνα θεατρικὸ πείραμα τοῦ Νικολάου Σοφianoῦ, *Πρακτικὰ Τρίτου Πανιονίου Συνεδρίου*, 23-29 Σεπτεμβρίου 1965. Ἐν Ἀθήναις, 1969, II, 254-56.
- . *Nicola Sofianòs e la commedia dei Tre tiranni di A. Ricchi*. Napoli, 1966. (Istituto universitario orientale. Seminario di greco moderno, 3).
- Vogel, M. and V. Gardthausen. *Die griechischen Schreiber des Mittelalters und der Renaissance*. Leipzig, 1909. (Beiheft zum Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen, 33).
- Wagner, K. Aldo Manuzio e i prezzi dei suoi libri, *La bibliofilia*, 77(1975)77-82.
- Wagner, W. *Carmina graeca medii aevi*. Leipzig, 1874.
- . *Medieval Greek Texts*. London, 1870.
- Walton, F. R. The Greek Book, 1476-1825, Δέκατον Διεθνὲς Συνέδριον Βιβλιοφίλων (Ἀθήνα 30 Σεπτεμβρίου - 6 Ὀκτωβρίου 1977). *Tenth International Congress of Bibliophiles* (Athens 30 September - 6 October 1977). Athens, 1979, 25-46.
- . Introduction, N. Λουκάνης, *Ὁμήρου Ἰλιάς. The Iliad of Homer*. 1526. Ἀθήνα, 1979, 1-11.
- . Janus Lascaris, *Τὸ βιβλίον στὶς προβιομηχανικὲς κοινωνίες*. Ἀθήνα, 1982, 45-54.
- Weale, W. H. J. & H. Bohatta. *Bibliographia liturgica. Catalogus missalium ritus latini, ab anno M.CCCC.LXXIV. impressorum*. London, 1928.

- Weisberg, R. Humanist Attitudes Toward the Illustration of Books, *Coranto*, 7 no. 2(1971)3-17.
- Winterwerb, H. Ένα χειρόγραφο σχεδιάσμα τῆς νεοελληνικῆς Θησηίδος, *Μνήμων*, 13(1991)49-55.
- Woody, K. M. A Note on the Greek Fonts of the Complutensian Polyglot, *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 65(1971)143-49.
- Xanthopoulos, T. Traductions de l'écriture sainte en néo-grec avant le XIX^e siècle, *Echos d'Orient*, 5(1902)321-32.
- Ξανθουδίδης, Σ. Παρατηρήσεις καὶ διορθώσεις εἰς τὸ ποίημα τοῦ Ἀντωνίου Ἀχέλη "Μάλτας Πολιορκία," *Χριστιανικὴ Κρήτη*, 1(1912)289-311.
- Ξυγγόπουλος, Α. Ἀγνωστος σειρὰ Μηναίων τοῦ 16^{ου} αἰῶνος μὲ ξυλογραφίας, *Ὁ Βιβλιόφιλος*, 6(1952)83-87.
- . *Σχεδιάσμα ἱστορίας τῆς θρησκευτικῆς ζωγραφικῆς μετὰ τὴ Ἀλωσιν*. Ἀθήναι, 1957. (Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας, 40).
- Yemeniz, N. *Catalogue de la bibliothèque de m. N. Yemeniz*. Paris, 1867.
- . *Catalogue de mes livres*. Lyon, 1865-66. 3v.
- Zacharakis, C. G. *A Catalogue of Printed Maps of Greece, 1477-1800*. 2nd ed. rev. and amplified. Athens, 1992.
- Ζαβίρας, Γ. Ι. *Νέα Ἑλλάς ἢ Ἑλληνικὸν θέατρον*. Ἀθήνησι, 1872. Rpt. 1972.
- Ζαχαριάδου, Ε. Ἡ πατριαρχία τοῦ Διονυσίου Β' σὲ μιὰ παραλλαγή τοῦ Ψευδο-Δωροθέου, *Θησαυρίσματα*, 1(1962)142-61.
- Ζακυθινός, Δ. Χαλκοτύποις σελίσιν... Τὰ πεντακόσια ἔτη τοῦ ἐλληνικοῦ βιβλίου, *μεταβυζαντινὰ καὶ νέα ἐλληνικά*. Ἀθήναι, 1978, 311-49.
- Zappella, G. *Le marche dei tipografi e degli editori italiani del Cinquecento: Repertorio di figure, simboli e soggetti e dei relativi motti*. Milano, 1986 2v. (Grandi opere, 1).
- . *Il ritratto nel libro italiano del Cinquecento*. Milano, 1968 2v. (Grandi opere, 2).
- Ζαρίδης, Κ. Φ. Ἀγνωστα στοιχεῖα γιὰ τὸν Κερκυραῖο ἱερομόναχο Ἰωαννίκιο Καρτάνο ἀπὸ ἀνέκδοτα ἔγγραφα τοῦ Ἱστορικοῦ Ἀρχείου Κερκύρας (1528-1529), *Δωδώνη*, 21(1992)57-77.
- . Ἀλέξιος Παρτοῦρος, ἓνας Κερκυραῖος λόγιος καὶ Πρωτοπαπᾶς τοῦ 16ου αἰ. Unpub. PhD. Dissertaion. University of Ioannina, 1991.
- Ζιώγας, Π. Χ. Μιὰ κίνηση πνευματικῆς ἀναγεννήσεως τοῦ ὑποδούλου ἐλληνισμοῦ κατὰ τὸν 16^ο αἰῶνα (1540-1550), *Ἑλληνικά*, 27(1974)50-78; 268-303.
- . *Προβλήματα παιδείας τοῦ Ἑλληνισμοῦ κατὰ τὸν πρῶτο αἰῶνα τῆς Τουρκοκρατίας*. Θεσσαλονίκη, 1982.
- Ζώης, Α. Χ. Ἐγγραφα τοῦ 15^{ου} αἰῶνος ἐκ τοῦ Ἀρχείου Ζακύνθου, *Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher*, 13(1937)1ε'-μζ'.
- . *Λεξικὸν ἱστορικὸν καὶ λαογραφικὸν Ζακύνθου*. Ἀθήναι, 1963. 2v.
- Ζώρας, Γ. Θ. Ἀγνωστα κείμενα καὶ νέα παραλλαγαὶ δημοδῶν ἔργων. Ἀθήναι, 1954. (Σπουδαστήριον Βυζαντινῆς καὶ Νεοελληνικῆς Φιλολογίας τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου Ἀθηνῶν, 5).
- . Ἀγνωστος Ἡπειρωτικὴ παραλλαγή τοῦ Σπανέα, *Rivista di Studi bizantini e neoellenici*, n. s. 1(1964)47-77.
- . *Βυζαντινὴ ποίησις*. Ἀθήναι, 1956. (Βασικὴ βιβλιοθήκη, 1).
- . Ὁ Χάρος καὶ ἡ ἀπεικόνισις αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ στιχουργήματι "Πένθος θανάτου," *Παρνασσός*, 12(1970)420-38.
- . Ἡ διαφήμησι στὰ παλαιὰ κείμενα, *Ἑλληνικὴ Ἐπιθεώρησις*, 2(1939)1-5.

- . *Διηγήματα τοῦ Βοκκακίου, πρότυπα τοῦ Τριβώλη καὶ τοῦ Βηλαρά*. Ἀθῆναι, 1957.
- . Μάρκου Δεφαράνα, Ἱστορία ἐκ τῶν τοῦ Δανιήλ περὶ τῆς Σωσάννης, *Νέα Ἑστία*, 60(1956)1177-85.
- . Πένθος θανάτου, ζωῆς μάταιον καὶ πρὸς Θεὸν ἐπιστροφή. Ἀθῆναι, 1970. (Βιβλιοθήκη Βυζαντινῆς καὶ Νεοελληνικῆς φιλολογίας, 49).
- . Πένθος θανάτου, ζωῆς μάταιον καὶ πρὸς Θεὸν ἐπιστροφή, *Παρνασσός*, 12(1970)279-311.
- . Ὁ ποιητὴς Μαρῖνος Φαλιέρος, *Κρητικὰ Χρονικά*, 2(1948)7-46; 213-34; 416-35.
- . Τζάνε Βεντράμου Ἱστορία φιλαργυρίας μετὰ τῆς περηφανίας (ἄγνωστον στιχούργημα τοῦ 15' αἰῶνος). Ἀθήνα, 1956.
- . Τζάνε Βεντράμου Ἱστορία φιλαργυρίας μετὰ τῆς περηφανίας, *Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν*, 24(1954)291-314.
- . Τζάνε Βεντράμου Ἱστορία φιλαργυρίας μετὰ τῆς περηφανίας, *Ὁ Βιβλιόφιλος*, 8 no. 3(1954)124-30.

Index

- Abbot, George, Abp. of
Canterbury, 171
- Accents and breathing marks
in Greek type, 4, 15, 21, 22,
319
- Accursius, Bonus, 8
- Achates, Leonardus, 10
- Achelis, Antonios, 207
*Βιβλίον σὺν θῶ περιέχον
τῆς μάλας πολιορκίαν,*
1571, 124, 207
- Achilleid*, 183
- Adramyttinos, Emmanouel,
381
- Aelianus, *Περὶ στρατηγικῶν
τάξεων ἐλληνικῶν*, **1552**,
33, 476, 477
- Aesop, 20, 58
1497 Μῦθοι Αἰσώπου, 19
c. **1498** Βίος...καὶ μῦθοι,
20, 319
1543 Μῦθοι, 198, 200, 201,
344, 345, 421
1564, 361
1644, 60
- Agapetus, *Diaconus*, 1509, 23,
322
- Ἀκολουθία τοῦ Ἀναγνώστου,
154, 310
Editions, 154
1549, 69, 154, 385
- Ἀκολουθία τοῦ ἀνοσίου τρα-
γογένη σπανοῦ. *See* Spanos
- Akontianos, Gabriel, 180
- Alcalà (Complutum), 276
Trilingual College of San
Ildefonso, 276, 277
- Aldine Academy, 272, 276,
383
- Aldine Press, 402
- Alexander of Aphrodisias,
*Commentaria in duodecim
Aristotelis*, **1527**, 278
- Alexander VI, Pope, 355
- Alexander the Great (ro-
mance). *See* Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ
Μακεδών
Alexandreida in rima, 188-89
Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μακεδών, 90,
187, 200, 344
- Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μακεδών, *cont.*
Editions, 188
1529, 90, 187, 435, 548
1553, 90, 345,
1600, 90, 339, 433, 435
1603, 90
1654, 90
Manuscripts, 189
- Alexandrou, Alexandros, 8, 9,
322, 337, 355-57
- Alexandrou, Georgios, 8, 355,
356
- Alexandrou, Ioannes, 356
- Aliprandi, Giovanni, 84, 152,
209, 267-71, 288, 292, 305,
307, 373, 433, 456, 473, 478,
483, 485-486
Types, 34, 269, 456, 536,
539
Works printed, 269-70
- Alopa, Lorenzo di, 11, 325,
327
- Alphabet books, 80, 385
- Alphabetum graecum*,
1541, 450
1543, 38
- Amadis, *de Gaula*, 309
*Aggiunta al secondo uolume
di don Rogiello di Grecia*,
309
- Amalteo, G.-B., 461
- Ammergau, Adam of, 4, 5
- Ammonius, 1500, 22, 320
- Ἀναγνώσματα προφητείας,
1545, 156
- Ἀναγνωστικόν, **1596/96**, 156
- Ancona, 397
- Ἀνθολογία διαφόρων ἐπιγραμ-
μάτων, **1494**, 11, 12
- Anthologion*, 131, 154, 159, 288,
291, 361, 363, 489, 494, 495,
496
Editions, 155
1548?, 496
1564, 395
1568, 490
1582, 528, 529
1587, 304, 390
1598, 536
- Ἄνθος τῶν Χαρίτων, 91, 191-
93, 310, 344
Editions, 191
1529, 548
1546, 339, 345, 347
1564, 361, 456
Manuscripts, 192-93
- Antipas, Anthimos, 334
- Antipater, 61
- Apocello, Jacopo, 464, 467
- Apokopos. *See* Bergadis,
Ἀπόκοπος
- Apollonios of Tyre (Διήγησις
ᾠραιότητι, Ἀπολωνίου τοῦ
ἐν Τύρῳ ῥιμάδα), 179, 180-
83, 205, 309, 408, 536
Editions, 181-82
1534, 549
1564, 361
Manuscripts, 180
- Apostolis, Arsenios, 160, 209,
325, 381, 404, 405, 406, 424
Ἀποφθέγματα φιλοσόφων,
c. **1519**, 325
Γέρας, c. **1519**, 325, 549
- Apostolis, Michael, 6, 49 n33,
355
- Apostolos, 70, 131, 140, 288,
291, 358, 361, 363
Editions, 140-41
1534, 549
1542, 344, 421
1550, 336, 345
1583, 528
1585, 288, 291
1596, 536
- Archistrata, 180
- Aristophanes, 383, 450
Κωμωδία, 1498, 382
- Aristoteles, *scribe*, 192
- Aristotle, 299, 381, 383
De coloribus, **1548**, 465
- Arkoudios, Antonios, 47, 155
- Arlenius, A., 522
- Arrigoni, Giovanni Giacomo,
318
- Arrivabene, Andrea, 404, 515
- Askew, A., 164
- Athenaeus, 1499, 3
- Athos, Mount, 461, 462, 467

- Augereau, Antoine, 37
 Augsburg. Library, 200, 201, 344
 Augustin, Antonio, Cardinal, 304, 642
- Bade, Josse, 36
 Ball, James, 309
 Barbaro, Ermolao, 272
 Barbarossa, 421
 Barberi, Francesco, 327
 Barker, Nicolas, 3, 5, 6, 11, 15, 20, 21, 24, 320, 321, 327, 355, 381, 382, 383
 Barone, Giacomo, 450
 Barone, Ottavio, 450
 Bartolomeo da Bressa. *See* Zanetti, Bartolomeo
 Bartholomaeus Brixianus. *See* Zanetti, Bartolomeo
 Basadonna, Pietro, 456, 457
 Basel, 37, 347, 361
 Basilius, *Saint, the Great*, Abp. of Caesarea, *Opera*, 1535, 29, 157-58, 347, 406, 408
 Bassiano, 381
 Bathas, Markos, 85, 128 n79, 456
 Beck, Hans-Georg, 204
 Bees, Nikos, 198
 Belgium, 421
 Belisarios (Διήγησις εἰς τὰς πράξεις τοῦ περιβοήτου στρατηγοῦ τῶν ῥωμαίων, μεγάλου Βελισσαρίου), 202-03, 310, 344
 Editions, 203
1548, 30, 90, 345
1554, 90
1562, 90
1567, 90, 360
1577, 90
 Manuscripts, 203
 Bellarmino, Roberto, 388
Dottrina christiana, 513
Διδασκαλία χριστιανική, **1616**, 513
 Bembo, Giovanni, 272
 Bembo, Pietro, 323
 Benigno, Cornelio, 324
 Bergadis, Ἀπόκοπος, 179-80, 183, 309, 339, 344
 Editions, 180
1509, 23, 179, 322-23, 337, 348
1534, 90, 549
1543, 90, 200, 344
1553, 90, 205
 Manuscripts, 179
 Bernoni, Domenico, 385
 Bertochus, Dionysius, 8, 19, 20, 62
 at Modena, 20
- Bertochus, Dionysius, *cont.*
 at Reggio Emilia, 20, 62
 at Venice, 8, 19
 at Vicenza, 8, 19
 Bessarion, Cardinal, 158, 381, 460
 Bible
 Old Testament, 27, 131, 272
 New Testament, 24, 25, 27, 131, 153
 Editions:
1516, 62
1538, 153
1546, 38
1550, 38
1687, 153
1695, 153
 Polyglot, 24, 25, 27, 276, 277, 284
 Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan, 383
 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 25, 179, 304, 325, 462, 548
 Biblioteca Estense, Modena, 202
 Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Vittorio Emanuele II, Rome, 87, 341
 Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice, 158, 206
 Biblioteca Riccardiana, Florence, 3
 Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, 455, 460, 462, 548
 Bindoni, Alessandro, 441
Βίος τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ μεγάλου Νικολάου, 206-07, 283, 310
 Bissoli, Giovanni, 20, 21, 319, 381
 Blado, Antonio, 31, 32, 300, 406, 407, 408, 410, 456, 463, 464, 467
 Boccaccio, Giovanni,
Decameron, 201
Teseida, 193
Θησέος καὶ γάμοι τῆς Ἑμήλιας, **1529**, 91, 179, 193, 344, 408, 548
 Manuscripts, 193-95
 Bocchi, A., 468
 Boiardo, Matteo Maria, *Il quarto libro d' Orlando innamorato*, **1545**
 Boistallé, Hurault de, 455
 Bolzanio, Urbano, 272
Grammaticae institutiones, **1512**, 277, 284
1553, 450
 Bonaccorso. *See* Accursius, Bonus
 Bonafès, Ioannes. *See* Vonapheus, Ioannis
- Bonini, Eufrosino, 297
 Bookfairs, 305
 Bouas, Merkourios, 204
 Bouniales, Marinos Tzanes, 479
 Braccio, Gabriele, 20, 319, 381
 Bragadin, 179
 Brescia, 5, 10, 355, 402, 403
 Brest, Council of, 427
Breuissima introductio ad litteras graecas
c. 1497, 3, 48 n6, 124 n8, 385
1526, 385
 Brocar, Arnao Guillén de. *See* Guillén de Brocar, Arnao
 Brucioli, 35, 307, 522
 Brucioli, Antonio, 515
 Brussels, 36
 Bucephalus, 188
 Bühler, Curt, 61, 383
 Burrana, Pietro, 209, 405
- Calendaria-lunaria, 496, 497
 Callisthenes, 189
 Calvo, Francesco, 324
 Cambiano, Giuseppe, 207
 Cambrai, League of, 276, 323
 Camerini, L. S., 297
 Camillus Venetus. *See* Zanetti, Camillo
 Canart, Paul, 6, 304, 461
 Candia. *See* Herakleion, Crete
 Cantacuzenos, Seitanoglu, Michael, 427
 Capi del Consiglio dei Dieci, 283, 307, 360, 372, 373, 511, 516, 527
 Carafà, Antonio, Cardinal, 396, 397
 Carafà, Pietro, Cardinal, 408
 Carmelio, Vittore, 326, 327
 Carnesecca, artist, 87, 341
 Caroli, Bartolomeo, *Regola utile e necessaria*, 126 n44
 Carpi, Ugo da, 381, 442, 448
 Carpinato, C., 549
 Carter, Harry, 47
 Carteromachos. *See* Forteguerrri, Scipione
 Castellani, C., *Meditatione della morte*, 87
 Catholic Church, 390
Breviary, 155
 Cebes, 325
 Celebrino, Eustachio, 91, 441, 443, 448
 Cennini, Bernardo, 3
 Cennini, Domenico, 3
 Cerulli, E., 327
 Cerutto, Giovanni, 292, 309
 Cervini, Marcello, Cardinal, 29, 31, 32, 35, 211, 300, 317

- Cervini, Marcello, Cardinal, *cont.*
406, 408, 409, 456, 460, 462,
463-64, 465, 468, 495, 539
Types, 32, 52 n97, 456, 539
- Cessi, Roberto, 513, 536
- Chalcondyles, Demetrios, 5,
6, 8, 21, 324, 549
- Charles V, Emperor and King
of Spain, 279, 304, 421, 461,
550
- Charos, 207
- Chiesa, Giovanni dalla, 515
- Chigi, Agostino, 324
- Chikas, Nathanael, 281
- Chios, 206, 303, 309
- Chrysoloras, Manouel, 10
Graeca interrogationes,
1543, 30
Erotemata
c. 1475 (Florence), 3
1471 (Venice) 4, 5
c. 1475 (Vicenza), 5
c. 1481 (Parma), 49 n30
1484 (Venice), 8, 9
c. 1498-1500 (Florence),
297
c. 1499 (Florence), 8
1501 (Reggio Emilia), 21
1509 (Ferrara), 21
1514 (Complutum), 276
1522 (Rome), 324
1538 (Venice), 450
- Chrysopege (monastery), 389
- Cibeli, Adriana, 486
- Cicero, *De officiis*, 1465, 3, 4
Cato, 1537, 515
- Cicogna, E., 358
- Clement VII, Pope, 277, 279,
421
- Clement VIII, Pope, 390
- Clement of Alexandria, *Τὰ
εύρισκόμενα ἅπαντα*,
1550, 468
- Clenardus, Nicolas,
*Institutiones absolutissimae
in linguam graecam*
1543, 30
1559, 443
- Climacus, Joannes, *Saint*. *See*
Joannes Climacus, *Saint*
- Colines, Simon de, 37
- Colocci, Angelo, 323, 324, 325,
326, 327
- Colonna, Francesco,
Hypnerotomachia Polifili,
1499, 61
- Colonna, Paolo, 388
- Colonna family, 388
- Comin da Trino, 91
- Complutensian Polyglot
Bible. *See* Bible, Polyglot
- Constantinople, 80, 376, 429,
511
Fall of, 179
- Contarini family, 489
- Conti, Vincenzo, *notary*, 288,
309
- Corfu, 376, 377, 421, 422, 460,
500, 549
- Cornelio, Geronimo, 476
- Corona pretiosa...See*
Introduttore nuovo...
- Cosenza, Mario, 345
- Council of Ten. *See* Capi del
Consiglio dei Dieci,
- Crastonus, Joannes, 8
Dictionarium, 272
Lexicon
1497, 19
c. 1500, 20
- Crete, 9, 321, 355, 369, 372,
376, 377, 378, 456, 467, 476,
478, 489, 495, 496, 497
- Crisostomo, Francesco de, 486
- Croesus, 206
- Crusius, Martinus, 161, 191,
198, 201, 206, 345, 390, 549
- Curi Nicolardi, S., 441
- Cyprus, 303, 358, 369, 506
- Cyrus, 206
- Da Sabbio. *See* Nicolini da
Sabbio
- Damaskenos Stoudites, 157,
164, 166-67, 525
*Βιβλίον ὀνομαζόμενον
Θησαυρός*, 123, 164, 166-
67, 360, 525
Editions, 167
1557-58, 123, 166, 360, 525
1561, 123, 166, 360, 525
1562, 123, 166, 360, 525
c. 1565, 360
1568, 360
1570, 360
1589, 536, 539
1594, 123, 433
1779, 60
1793, 60
- Damaskenos, Michael, 500
- Damilas, Demetrios, 3, 6, 8, 9,
11, 297, 299, 328
- Damodos, Antonellos, 211
- Dampier, Thomas, 448
- Daphni (monastery), 198
- De litteris graecis*, c. 1507, 276
- De Poloni, Andrea. *See*
Poloni, Andrea de
- De Poloni, Domenico. *See*
Poloni, Domenico de
- Dekadios, Ioustinos, 272-75,
381, 384
Works edited, 274
- Delfiol, R., 297
- Della Barba, Girolamo, 358
- Demetrios of Crete. *See*
Damilas, Demetrios
- Demosthenes, 383, 522
- Depharanas, Markos, 190-91,
206
Λόγοι διδακτικοί, 1543, 80,
200, 206, 339, 358, 360
Ἱστορία τῆς Σωσάννης,
1567, 200, 206, 310, 344,
358, 360
*Νουθεσίαι διδακτικαί, τοῦ
πατρὸς πρὸς τὸν υἱόν*, 200
- Devaris, Matthaios, 460, 463,
464
- Devaris, Petros, 460
*Διάλογος κατὰ ἀλφάβητον
ἀνθρώπου καὶ τοῦ χάρου*,
209, 269, 536
- Diassorinos, Iakovos, 424
- Dictionarium graecum*, 1525,
448
- Διδασκαλία παραινετική
κυροῦ Ἀλεξίου κομνηνοῦ
τοῦ λεγομένου σπανέα*. *See*
Spaneas
- Didot, Ambroise Firmin, 272,
318, 319
- Διήγησις εἰς τὰς πράξεις τοῦ
περιβοήτου, στρατηγοῦ τῶν
ῥωμαίων, μεγάλου
Βελισαρίου*. *See* Belisarios
- Dieredes, Markos. *See*
Depharanas, Markos
- Dionysios II, Patriarch of
Constantinople, 154, 376,
476, 477
- Dioscorides, *Περὶ ὕλης
ιατρικῆς*, 1499, 27, 321,
383
- Diurnale monasticum*, 1515, 93,
319
- Dolcibelli, Benedetto, 20, 21, ,
319, 381
- Donatus, Aelius, *Grammatices
rudimenta*, 1526, 80
- Doni, Anton Francesco, 516
- Doria, Andrea, 372
- Doukas, Demetrios, 27, 63,
144, 166, 276-80, 284, 381
Type, 526
Works edited, 279
- Drimytinos, Nikolaos, 207
- Duchastel, Pierre, 549
- Ehinger, Elias, 344
- Eideneier, Hans, 204, 205
- Eleavoulkos, Theophanes,
164, 273
- Εἰλητάριον*, 1545, 150, 466,
496, 497
- Emboros, Nathanael, 281-82,
435
Works edited, 281-82
Ἐγχειρίδιον γραμματικῆς,
1514/15, 297

- Enea, Paolo, 324
 England, 421
 Eparchos, Antonios, 33, 206, 283, 303, 421, 464, 465, 476, 477, 511, 515, 516
 Eparchos, Michael, 511
 Eparchos, Nikolaos, 466
 Episcopus, 29-30, 409
 Episkopoulos, Antonios, 153, 283, 486
 Episkopoulos, Venediktos, 206, 283, 486
 Works edited, 283
Epistolae Divi Pauli Apostoli, 1533, 29
Ἐπιστολαὶ διαφόρων φιλοσόφων, 1499, 321
Epistole et euangelij volgari hystoriade, 1522, 402
 Erasmus, Desiderius, 318, 322
 Escorial Library. *See* Real Biblioteca de el Escorial
 Esecutori sopra l' heresia, 528
 Essling, Victor Massena, Prince, d', 65
 Estaço, Achille, 396
 Este, Hippolito d', Cardinal, 207
 Estienne, Robert, 37-38, 40, 41
 Estienne, Robert II, 40
Ἑτυμολογικὸν μέγα, 1499, 21, 22, 319, 320
Euchologion, 131, 142, 144, 283, 288, 291, 361
 Editions, 142-43
 1545, 456, 466
 1570-71, 473, 483
 1585, 288, 291, 347, 363
 1596, 536
 Eudokia, Byzantine Empress, 207
 Euripides, 11, 383
 Eustachius. *See* Celebrino, Eustachio
 Eustathios, Abp. of Thessalonica, *Παρεκβολαὶ εἰς τὴν Ὀμήρου Ἰλιάδα καὶ Ὀδύσειαν*, 1542, 32, 408, 463, 464, 467, 468
 Eustratios, Leontios, 395, 456
Evangelion, 70, 131, 153, 288, 291, 361
 Editions, 153
 1539, 347
 1550, 69, 435
 1560, 69, 358
 1575, 69, 528
 1586, 84
 1599, 435
Evangelistarion, 153, 283, 304-05, 307
Ἐξήγησις τοῦ θαυμαστοῦ Ἡμερίου. *See* Imberios
Exepsalmata, 1509, 23, 133, 322
Exomologetarion, 310
 Fabriano, Giacomo, 466
 Faliero, Marino, Doge, 202
 Farnese, Alessandro, Cardinal, 460, 462
 Farri, Domenico, 161, 358
 Farri, Giovanni, 34, 161, 515, 516
 Fausto, Vettore, 273, 277, 284-85, 290, 338, 424-25
 Works edited, 284-85
 Fell, John, 47, 500
 Ferrandus, Thomas, 5, 49 n18, 355
 Ferrara, 21, 276, 381
 Filelfo, Francesco, 48-49 n17
Fior di virtù, 1534, 69, 91, 191
 Fiorentino, Joanne, *Historia dei doi invidiosi e falsi accusatori*, n.d., 108
Fioretto della bibbia hystoriato, 1515, 66, 93, 103
 Florence, 513, 522
 Follieri, Enrica, 194, 410, 548
 Fondulo, Girolamo, 549, 550
 Fontebuono, 513
 Forte, Angelo, 211, 404
 Forteguerris, Scipione, 323
 Fortias, Angelo. *See* Forte, Angelo
 Fracasso, Marino, 124, 207
 Francesco da Padenghe or Padenghi. *See* Giuliani, Francesco
 Francini, Antonio, 298
 François I, King of France, 35, 37, 40, 376, 460, 549
 Frankfurt-am-Main, 40
 Froben, Johann, 29-30, 36-37, 62, 409, 448
 Fulin, Rinaldo, 402
 Fumagalli, Giuseppe, 448
 Furlano, Daniele, 388
 Fust, Johann, 3
 Gabriele of Brisighella. *See* Braccio, Gabriele
Γαδάρον, λύκου κι' ἄλουποῦς διήγησις ὠραία, 195, 310, 549
 Editions, 198
 Manuscripts, 198
 Gaian, Domenico de, 309
 Galatianos, Matthaïos, 435
 Galenus, *Θεραπευτικῆς μεθόδου λόγος*, 1500, 22, 61, 320
 Galilei, Galileo, 388
 Garamont, Claude, 37-38
 Garanta, Nicolò, 404
 Garrone, Francesco, 419 n51
 Gaza, Theodorus, 196, 290, 297, 514-15
 Geanakoplos, Deno John, 278, 320
 Gellius, Aulus
Noctes Atticae, 1472, 5
Noctes micantissimae, 1509, 277
 Gemelli, Antonio, 267, 269, 286-89, 291, 292, 305, 361, 473
 Gemelli, Augustin, 212, 286-89, 490
 Gemelli, Nicola, 286
 Gentile, Pietro, 124, 207
 Georgilas Limenites, Emmanouel, 203
 Georgios Aitolos, 164
 Georgios of Cyprus, 156
 Gerbel, Nicolas, 462
 German College, Rome, 396
 Germany, 347, 361, 421
 Gesner, Conrad, 461
 Giannini, Bartolomeo, 150, 476
 Giannotti, Donato, 463
 Giberti, Gian Matteo, Bp. of Verona, 30-31, 404, 405, 409, 549
 Giolito de' Ferrari, Giovanni, 515
 Giraldi de Marendellis, Geronimo, 348
 Girlandi, Ercole, 284, 290, 338, 425, 549
 Works edited, 290
 Giuliani, Andrea, 479
 Giuliani, Baldissera, 291-92, 307, 362
 Giuliani, Francesco, 123, 124, 144, 152, 156, 206, 269, 291-96, 305, 307, 309, 310, 339, 362, 433, 435
 Works printed, 292-95
 Giuliani, Giovanni Antonio, 307
 Giunta, Benedetto, 32, 298, 407, 464, 467, 468
 Giunta, Bernardo, 298, 299, 468
 Giunta, Filippo, 8, 62, 63, 297, 298, 321, 513
 Giunta, Lucantonio, 68, 126 n51, 297, 298, 299, 318, 338
 Giunti of Florence, 22, 23, 63, 297-302, 321, 318, 513, 516, 522
 Device, 300, 448
 Types, 297, 299-300
 Glycas, Michael, 204
 Glykys, Giustos, *Πένθος θανάτου*, 179, 180, 183, 344, 345, 408, 546

- Glykys, Giustos, Πένθος
θανάτου, *cont.*
Editions, 180
1524, 86, 339, 546, 547
1528, 86, 546, 547
1543, 87, 200, 344, 546
1564, 87, 361
1600, 87
Manuscripts, 180
- Glykys, Ioannes, 180
- Glyzounis, Emmanouel, 41,
123, 124, 144, 152, 153, 154,
156, 171, 206, 211, 267, 269,
288, 292, 303-315, 372, 390,
433, 435, 473
Βιβλίον πρόχειρον τοῖς
πᾶσι περιέχον τὴν
τετρακτικὴν ἀριθμητικὴν ἢ
μᾶλλον εἰπεῖν τὴν
λογαριαστικὴν, **1568**, 123,
303, 304
Device, 307
Editions, 211
1569, 123, 304, 309
1596, 123, 307, 536
Types, 42, 47, 305, 307
Works published, 310-12
- Glyzounis, Ioannis, 304
Γινώμαι μονόστιχοι, **1494-96**, 11
- Gobbi, Angelina de, 527, 536
- Gobbi, Orazio de, 527, 528,
536
- Gourmont, Gilles de, 36
- Graeco-Latin types, 5, 8, 10
- Graecum alphabetum*, **1555**, 450
- Granjon, Robert, 42, 47, 305,
433, 500
Types, 42, 47, 500
- Greco du roi*, 35, 38, 40, 41, 42,
47, 305, 500
- Greek Brotherhood of Venice,
200, 281, 336, 337, 372, 376,
384, 395, 398, 421, 422, 424,
433, 455, 467, 473, 489, 494,
500, 508
- Greek Gymnasium, 24, 183,
278, 323, 325, 327, 341, 460,
547
- Greek Gymnasium Press, 325-28
Type, 325-27
- Greek in Latin books, 3, 4
- Greek Orthodox Church, 9,
62, 131, 155, 159, 204, 390
- Greek printing in
Brescia, 5, 10
Ferrara, 5
Florence, 3, 8, 11, 35, 36, 56
France, 36-42
Germany, 3, 4, 36
Italy, 3
Milan, 5, 6, 8
Modena, 20
Padua, 5
- Greek printing in, *cont.*
Parma, 10
Reggio Emilia, 3, 20, 21
Rome, 4, 5, 48 n10, 56, 324-28
Spain, 24-28, 276
Treviso, 5
Venice, 4, 55, 8, 9, 10, 56
Verona, 30-31
Vicenza, 5, 10
- Greek Scuola, 8, 334, 384
- Gregorian calendar, 511
- Gregorius Nazianzenus, Saint,
Νικήτα φιλοσόφου τοῦ καὶ
Δαβίδ ἐρμηνεία εἰς τὰ
τετράστιχα τοῦ...Γρηγορίου
τοῦ Ναζιανζηνοῦ, **1563**,
85, 158, 170, 455, 457, 526
- Gregoropoulos, Ioannes, 50
n56, 318, 320, 321, 355, 381
- Gregoropoulos family, 15, 355
- Gregory XIII, Pope, 171, 304,
511
- Grendler, Paul, 528
- Griffi, Giovanni, 34, 515
- Griffo, Francesco, 12, 15, 382,
383
- Gritti, Andrea, Doge, 209,
284, 405, 461
- Gritti, Luigi, 461
- Grünenberg, Johann, 4
- Guarino, Battista, 381
- Guarino of Favera, Bp. of
Nocera, 324
- Guarino of Verona, 4, 381
Grammatices regulae, **1488**
- Guild of Printers and
Booksellers, 292, 305, 307
- Guillén de Brocar, Arnao, 27,
276
Types used, 24-25, 27, 276,
277
- Guise, Charles de, Cardinal,
424, 457
- Guise, Jean de, Cardinal, 462
- Gymnasio Mediceo. *See*
Greek Gymnasium
- Hagios Ioannes Prodromos
(church), 377
- Hamman, Johannes, 59
- Haultin, Pierre, 41, 47, 166,
170, 307, 429, 526, 527
Types, 41, 47, 307
- Heirmologion*, 131, 155, 159,
291, 496
Editions, 155
1549, 483, 495, 496
1568, 360
1584, 362, 363
- Helladius, Alexander, 204
- Herakleion, Crete, 276, 377,
388, 397, 476, 508
- Hermoniakos, Konstantinos, 183
- Herodotos, 383, 462
- Herp, H., *Speculum
perfectionis*, **1524**
- Hesiod, *Ἔργα καὶ ἡμέραι*,
1533, 37, 514, 515
- Heumann, Christoph August,
87, 341
- Hieremias II, Patriarch of
Constantinople, 388, 389,
390, 397, 427, 505, 511, 512
- Historia de li doi nobilissimi
amanti*, **1524**, 201
- Ἱστορία τῶν γυναικῶν. *See*
Ventramos, Tzanes,
Ἱστορία τῶν γυναικῶν
- Ἱστορία τοῦ ρέ τῆς σκοτίας.
See Trivolis, Iakovos,
Ἱστορία...
- Hobson, Anthony, 326, 327
- Hoeschel, David, 390
- Holbein, Hans II, 448
- Holland, 47, 421
- Holton, D., 548
- Holy Synod, 390
- Holy Trinity (monastery),
494, 495
- Homer
Batrachomyomachia
c. **1474**, 5, 10, 49 n18, 196,
355
1486, 9, 196, 198, 322, 337,
355, 549
1513, 4
1539, 195-96, 198, 461, 549
Ποίησις ἅπασα
1488/89, 3, 6, 8, 49 n22, 297,
299
Ἰλιάς
1526 87, 88, 90, 183-84, 188,
195, 199, 203, 341, 344, 429,
547, 548
1603, 90
1640, 90, 91
Σχόλια παλαιά... εἰς τὴν
ᾠμῆρον Ἰλιάδα
1517, 325, 327
- Honate, Benignus de, 8
- Honate, Joh. Ant. de, 8
- Horae*, 66
1493, 59
1494, 59
1497, 59, 60, 131, 272, 337,
382, 384
1505
1516, 324, 337
1520/1521, 298, 338
1521, 385
- Horologion*, 70, 131, 288, 291,
310, 361, 450
Editions, 132-33
1505, 385
1509, 23, 1313, 22
1520, 62, 298, 321, 338

- Horologion, cont.*
 1523, 29, 62, 65, 403, 408, 444, 546
 1524, 66, 339, 341, 347, 404, 545, 546
 1532, 66
 1535, 160, 514
 1538, 549
 1545, 456, 466
 1546, 35, 360, 522
 1549, 68
 1552, 317
 1561, 361
 1569, 360
 1563, 68, 361, 477, 478
 1574, 360
 1581, 456, 467, 473, 483, 485
 1584, 288, 291, 362, 363
 1584-86, 486
 Huet, P. D., 211
- Ignatios, 303
 Imberios (Ἐξηγήσεις τοῦ θαυμαστοῦ Ἡμεριίου) 179, 198-200, 201, 310, 344, 408
 Editions, 200
 1543, 90, 179, 345
 1553, 90, 205
 Manuscripts, 199
 Imperatore, Bartolomeo, 316-17, 385
 Imprimerie Nationale, 40
 Incunabula, 3
 Greek, 3, 4, 56
 Italian, 3
 Latin, 3, 56
Index librorum prohibitorum, 1596, 390
Introdottorio nuovo intitolato Corona preciosa, 209, 404-05
 Editions, 209, 384
 Ioannes II Komnenos, *Byzantine Emperor*, 204
 Ioannina, 267, 361
 Ioasaph II, *Patriarch of Constantinople*, 455
 Ionian Islands, 548
 Ioseph of Thessalonica, 140
 Irmischer, Johannes, 184, 201
 Isaac, F. S., 448
 Isocrates, 48 n7, 325
 Λόγοι, 1535, 347
 Πρὸς Δημόνικον, 290
Istoria di Susanna e Daniello, 206
 Iveron monastery, Mount Athos, 391
- Jenson, Nicolas, 4, 5, 48 n16
 Jesus, Nicolò dal, 402, 404, 410
 Jesus, Domenico dal, 402, 404, 410
- Jiménez, Francisco, Cardinal, 24, 25, 276, 284
 Joanne, *Fiorentino, Historia dei doi invidiosi e falsi accusatori*, 108
 Joannes Chysostomus, *Saint*, 204
 Εἰς πάσας τὰς τοῦ Παύλου τοῦ Ἀποστόλου ἐπιστολὰς ἐρμηνεία, 1529, 30, 406, 409
 Joannes Climacus, *Saint*, Κλῆμαξ τοῦ παραδείσου, 1590, 124, 157, 303, 307, 309, 390
 Joannes Damascenus, *Saint*, 133, 171
 Ἐκδοσις τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως, 1531, 30-31, 406, 409
 Λόγοι τρεῖς, 1553, 408
 Joseph, *Saint, the Hymnographer*, 135
 Justizia Vecchia, 437
- Kaklamanis, Stephanos, 154, 159, 184, 200, 339, 494
 Kakoulide, Eleni, 192, 548
 Kallierges, Antonios, 396
 Kallierges, Nikolaos, 23, 322-23, 337
 Kallierges, Zacharias, 11, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 41, 50 n42, 61, 62, 63, 125, 132, 133, 277, 278, 297, 298, 299, 318-33, 322, 324, 337, 460, 513, 516
 Device, 318, 320, 322, 324
 Padua, 321-22
 Rome, 23, 48 n10, 323-24, 337
 Types, 21-22, 23-24, 41, 321, 322, 324, 327, 328, 513
 Venice, 11, 20, 21, 23, 318-21, 322-23
 Works printed, 328-29
 Kallimachos, Εἰς λουτρὰ Παλλάδος, 25
 Ὕμνοι, 1555, 477
 Kariophyllis, Ioannis Matthaios, 512
 Karmalis or Karmalikes, Antonios, 376
 Kartanos, Ioannikios, 91, 156-57, 160, 161, 490
 Τὸ παρὸν βιβλίον εἶναι ἡ Παλαιὰ τε καὶ Νέα Διαθήκη
 Editions, 161
 1536, 91, 93, 103, 108, 160-61, 345, 514
 c. 1540, 345
 1549, 93, 103, 108, 161, 345
 1556, 103, 108, 527
 1567, 103, 108, 360
- Katelianos, Dionysios, 334-35, 486, 508, 536
 Works edited, 335
 Katelianos, Sophronios, 334
 Katrames, Nikolaos, 334, 377
 Kavadatos, Nikolaos. *See* Laonikos of Crete
 Kidonia, Crete, 455
 Kigalas, Konstantinos, 396
 Kilani, Cyprus, 369
 Knös, B, 203
 Kokkonas, Giannis, 325
 Kokkos, Phrankiskos, 309
 Komnenos, Alexios, 204
 Kontoleon, Christophoros, 336, 460
 Kontoleon, Michael, 336, 345
 Kontoleon, Theodoros, 336
 Kosmas Melodos, 140
 Kotronas, Eustathios, 511
 Kounadis, Andreas, 28, 62, 63, 64, 135, 290, 337-54, 358, 402, 403, 404, 408, 409, 410, 424, 425, 435, 442, 489, 490, 545, 546
 Device, 66, 291, 292, 339, 347, 490
 Types, 28, 29, 292, 345, 347, 360, 362, 363, 546
 Works published, 348-51
 Kounadis, Dionora, 286
 Kounadis, Elisabetta, 286
 Kounadis, Petros, 339, 404, 546
 Kriaras, Emmanouel, 199, 201
 Kristeller, Paul, 339
 Krumbacher, Karl, 204
 Kydonia, Crete, 283, 424
 Kythera, 334
- Lactantius, *Opera*, 1465, 4
 Lambros, Spyridon, 199, 310
 Lami, Giovanni, 334, 457
 Landos, Agapios, 335
 Laonikos of Crete, 8, 9, 49 n33, 337, 355-57, 549
 Lapethos, Cyprus, 364
 Lascaris, Constantinos, 10, 58, 642
De octo orationis partibus, 1533, 449
 1540, 385
 Ἐπιτομὴ τῶν ὀκτῶ τοῦ λόγου μερῶν, 1476, 6
 1489, 58, 59
Graecae institutiones, 1537, 514
 1542, 512
In hoc libro haec continentur, 1495, 382
 1521, 441, 449

- Lascaris, Constantinos, *cont.*
Προοίμιον τοῦ περὶ ὀνόμα-
τος καὶ ῥήματος, 1489, 5, 10
- Lascaris, Giovanni Hector,
 surnamed Pirgoteles, 284,
 424
- Lascaris, Ianos, 11, 20, 24, 41,
 323, 325, 327, 460
 Florence, 11, 24, 325
 Types, 11, 12, 20, 24, 325,
 327, 328
- Lascaris, Janus. *See* Lascaris,
 Ianos
- Lausanne fair, 324
- Lavra monastery, Mount
 Athos, 281
- Le Bé, Guillaume I, 32, 33,
 205, 209, 212, 429, 476, 522,
 525, 536
- Lecuir, C., 305, 476
- Legrand, Émile, 62, 123, 124,
 184, 189-90, 199, 200, 201,
 202, 204, 205, 207, 211, 269,
 272, 298, 303, 309, 324, 325,
 336, 339, 456, 462, 465, 483,
 522, 536, 546, 547, 549
- Leitourgikon*. *See* *Theiai*
Leitourgiai
- Leo X, Pope, 24, 25, 170, 183,
 278, 323, 324, 326, 341, 421,
 460, 547
- Leonardus, *artist*. *See*
 Lunardus, *artist*
- Leoncini, Giacomo, 28, 66, 69,
 80, 85, 123, 151-52, 170,
 206, 286, 288, 291, 292, 307,
 339, 347, 358-68, 369, 373,
 396, 398, 429, 433, 435, 437,
 456, 457, 473, 485, 486, 490,
 506, 522
 Devices, 360-61
 Types, 28, 35, 52 n91, 307,
 360
 Works published, 364-67
- Leoniceno, Nicolò, 320
- Lepanto. *See* Naupaktos
- Lestarchos, Hermodoros, 273
- Lestarchos, Michael, 303
- Librarius Florentinus. *See*
 Damilas, Demetrios
- Liechtenstein, Petrus, 69
- Limassol, Cyprus, 369
- Lippomano, Tomaso, 321
- Liprandi, Giovanni. *See*
 Aliprandi, Giovanni
- Litarchis, Hieronymos, 206,
 283
- Little Office, 437
- Locatelli, Martino, 62, 65, 403,
 408, 444
- Lodrone, Da, Bartolomeo. *See*
 Imperatore, Bartolomeo
- Logara, Loukia, 369
- Logaras, Theophanes, 358,
 369-71, 505, 528
 Works edited, 369-70
- Lollino, Luigi, 388
- Loredan, Geronimo, 341
- Loukanis, Nikolaos, 87, 183,
 188, 195, 203, 341, 429, 547,
 548
- Loukaris, Kyrillos, succes-
 sively Patriarch of
 Alexandria and
 Constantinople, 171, 389,
 427
- Lowry, Martin, 12, 321, 383
- Lucian, 211, 461
- Lunardus, *artist*, 127 n51
- Mainz, Germany, 3
- Maiorano, Niccolò, 300, 464
- Maittaire, Michael, 179, 180,
 322, 513, 546
- Malaxos, Demetrios, 377
- Malaxos, Gregorios, 269, 303,
 358, 372-75, 376, 377,
 478, 486
 Works edited, 373-74
- Malaxos, Manouel, 376
- Malaxos, Nikolaos, 150, 154,
 269, 358, 369, 372, 373, 376-
 380, 476, 477, 478, 494, 495,
 496, 515
 Works edited, 378-79
 Writings, 377
- Malaxos, Stavrakis, 376
- Malaxos, Stavrakis, *the*
younger, 377
- Malta. Siege 1565, 124, 207
 Knights of Saint John, 207,
 489, 494
- Mangius or Manzius,
 Benedictus. *See* Dolcibelli,
 Benedetto
- Manouel Chartularius. *See*
 Xanthinos, Manouel
- Manousakas, Manousos I.,
 184, 319, 460
- Manutius, Aldus, 3, 8, 11, 12, 15,
 20, 21, 28, 58, 60-61, 62, 69,
 272, 276, 277, 297, 298, 299,
 319, 321, 322, 337, 381-87
 Device, 384, 448
 Greek types, 15, 19, 22, 27,
 382-83
 Works printed, 387 n40,
 402, 643
- Manuzio, Paolo, 32, 41, 42,
 170, 406, 461, 462, 463
- Marciana. *See* Biblioteca
 Nazionale Marciana,
 Venice
- Margarona, 198
- Margounios, Maximos,
 Bishop of Kythera, 124
- Margounios, Maximos,
 Bishop of Kythera, *cont.*
 171, 281, 303, 304, 307, 334,
 388-94, 395, 430, 536
 Works written, translated,
 edited, 391-92
- Margounios, Michael, 389
- Maria Thermiriotissa
 (church), 309
- Marinis, Tammaro de, 199
- Marmaretos, Demetrios, 154,
 155, 159, 485, 494, 495
- Martini, E., 515, 516
- Martyrologium secundum*
morem Romane curie, 1522,
 125 n31, 129 n109
- Maserio, Girolamo, 284
- Mavroidi, Fani, 496, 500
- Mavrommatis, Ioannes, 461
- Mazzocchi, Giovanni, 21, 514,
 515
- Medici, Cosimo de', 35
- Medici, Fernando, Cardinal,
 159, 456
- Medici, Giovanni de'. *See* Leo
 X, Pope
- Medici, Lorenzo de', 323
- Medici, Piero de', 11
- Mediolaneus, Demetrios. *See*
 Damilas, Demetrios
- Megale Oktoechos. *See*
Parakletike
- Menaia*, 69, 322
 Editions:
 G. Aliprandi, 152, 267, 269,
 288, 292, 305
 Damiano di Santa Maria,
 150, 547
 Fr. Giuliani, 84, 292
 E. Glyzounis, 152-53
 G. Leoncini, 84, 151-52,
 358, 403
 D. de Poloni, 153, 433
 A. Spinelli, 68, 150-51, 373,
 376, 377, 476
 Z.-B. Tauroceni, 80, 84,
 152, 483
 H. Valeris, 152, 485, 490
 C. Zanetti, 69, 80, 151, 373,
 376, 377
 P. Zanetti, 151
- Mendoza, Diego Hurtado de,
 421, 461, 464, 550
- Mendoza, Iñigo de, 309
- Mertzios, Konstantinos D.,
 309, 361, 377
- Metamorphosis monastery,
 Meteora, Greece, 189
- Metellus, Jean, 642
- Metrophanes III, Patriarch of
 Constantinople, 154, 160,
 166, 303, 304, 376, 422, 494,
 495



Metrophanes, Metropolitan of
 Caesare. *See* Metrophanes
 III, Patriarch of
 Constantinople
 Meyer, G., 199
 Mezio, Federico, 512
 Michailidis, D. 206
 Milan, 319, 347
 Mindonios, Ioannes, 377, 478
 Mirandola, 381
 Miscomini, Antonio, 25, 27
 Mitsakis, K., 204
 Modena, 381
 Moldavia, 427
 Monemvasia, 336
 Monghistos, Leontios, 395,
 456, 491
 Works edited, 395
 Montefeltro, Federigo da, 56
 Morel, Frédéric, 38, 40
 Morel, Frédéric II, 38, 40
 Morel, Guillaume, 38, 40
 Morgan, Gareth, 182, 194, 548
 Moschiotes, Manousos, 391
 Moscholeos, Theologitos. *See*
 Theologites, Moscholeos
 Moschopolis, 80
 Moschos, Demetrios, *Tò καθ'*
Ἑλένην καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον,
 c. 1500, 3, 19-20, 62
 Moschos, Ioannes, 272, 273
 Mourmouris, Ioannis, 455
 Mourmouris, Nikolaos, 461
 Mourmouris family, 204
 Mousaios, *Tà καθ' Ἡρώ καὶ*
Λέανδρον, c. 1497, 60-61
 1514, 276
 Mousouros, Markos, 15, 21,
 22, 61, 273, 284, 298, 318,
 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 381,
 383, 424
 Moustoxydes, Andreas, 184,
 186, 201, 395, 456
 Mussolente, 281
 Nastasia, Marco de, 267, 486
 Nathanael, Antonios, 396
 Nathanael, Eustathios, 396
 Nathanael, Ioannes, 85, 152,
 358, 396-401, 491
 Works edited, 398-99
 Nathanael, Nikolaos, 396
 Naupaktos, 373
 Nauplia, 372, 376, 377, 395,
 476
 Naxos, 455
 Neakademia. *See* Aldine
 Academy
 Nebrija, Antonio de, 276
 Negri, Francesco, 422
 Neobar, Conrad, 37
 Νέον Ἀνθολόγιον, 1598, 47,
 155

Nerli, Bernardo, 49 n22
 New Testament. *See* Bible.
 New Testament
 Nicolini, Domenico, 358, 402,
 404
 Nicolini da Sabbio, 28, 29, 30,
 34, 62, 63, 64, 65, 87, 123,
 166, 184, 186, 187, 337, 344,
 345, 358, 361, 384, 385, 402-
 20, 421, 439, 450, 489, 545,
 546, 547
 Device, 410, 525
 Types, 29, 30, 34, 347, 403,
 408-10, 442-44, 450, 525,
 526, 547
 Works printed, 410-17
 Nicolini da Sabbio, Cornelio,
 402, 404
 Nicolini da Sabbio, Giovanni
 Antonio, 31, 32, 153, 198,
 209, 290, 345, 347, 402, 406,
 549
 Nicolini da Sabbio, Giovanni
 Maria, 32, 402, 403, 404
 Nicolini da Sabbio, Lodovico,
 403
 Nicolini da Sabbio, Pietro, 32,
 198, 203, 345, 402, 403-04,
 406
 Nicolini da Sabbio, Stefano,
 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 157, 209,
 337, 338, 341, 345, 347, 348,
 402, 403, 404-05, 406, 442,
 463, 525, 545, 546, 548, 549
 Device, , 348, 410
 at Rome, 32, 406-08
 at Verona, 30, 31, 405-06,
 459
 Nicolini da Sabbio, Vincenzo,
 403
 Nikephoros Trikes. *See*
 Parasches, Nikephoros
 Νικήτα φιλοσόφου...*See*
 Gregorius Nazianzenus,
 Saint, Νικήτα φιλοσόφου,
 Ἑρμηνεία....
 Nikolaos of Cyprus, 529
 Nomimon, 159-60, 495
 Norton, F. J., 297, 513
 Notara, Anna, 320, 321
 Notaras, Chrysanthos,
 Patriarch of Jerusalem,
 Συνταγματίον περὶ τῶν
 ὁφικίων, 1715, 172
 Notaras, Loukas, 320
 Noukios, Andronikos, 154,
 198, 344, 345, 347, 404, 421-
 23, 461, 494
 Works edited, 422
 Noukios, Menandros, 404,
 547

Νουθεσίαι διδακτικά...*See*
 Depharanas, Markos
 Odino, Sylvestro de, 154,
 422, 494
 Oecumenius, Ἐξηγήσεις
 παλαιαί, 1532, 31, 406, 409
 Österreichische
 Nationalbibliothek,
 Vienna, 179
 Officia beate marie, 1493, 59
 Officium hebdomade sancte,
 1522, 65
 Oktoechos, 80, 131, 133, 135,
 288, 291, 361, 450, 496, 522
 Editions, 133-34
 1520, 50 n42, 324, 327, 338
 1523, 64, 68, 93, 108, 123,
 338-39, 344, 505, 545
 1540, 406
 1549, 66, 70, 80, 496
 1598, 536
 1602, 433
 Olsen, B, 194
 Omont, H., 522
 Onorio, Giovanni, 32, 36,
 317, 410, 464, 539
 Orpheus, Ἀργοναυτικά,
 1500, 297
 Orsini, Fulvio, 396
 Orsini-Ducataris, Giorgio, 292
 Oxford University Press, 47,
 500
 Pachomios, Patriarch of
 Constantinople, 424
 Padenghi or Padenga,
 Baldissera. *See* Giuliani,
 Baldissera
 Padenghi or Padengha,
 Francesco. *See* Giuliani,
 Francesco
 Padua. University, 171, 303,
 427, 455, 511, 545
 Palaiokapas, Konstantinos,
 284, 290, 338, 424-26, 549
 Works edited, 424
 Palaiokapas, Konstantinos,
 scribe, 424
 Panayotakis, Nikolaos M., 355
 Panayotopoulou, Krista, 511
 Panigarola, 427
 Pannartz, Arnold, 4
 Panzer, G. W., 402
 Papadopoulos, Markos, 171
 Papadopoulos, Nikolaos,
 206, 207, 283, 310
 Papandrea (monastery), 511
 Parakletike, 131, 135, 272, 288,
 290, 291, 322, 358, 361,
 384, 489
 Editions, 135-36
 1522, 28, 284, 338

Parakletike, cont.

1538, 348

1550, 345

1559/60, 68, 69, 377, 478

Parasches, Nikephoros. 427-28, 505

Works edited, 427

Paravisinus, Dionysius, 6

Parga, 212

Paris, 40

Parma, 476

Paruta, Paolo, 390

Paschini, P., 464

Pasquale, Peregrino de, 8

Pasquati, Lorenzo, 466

Passione (La) del nostro signor iesu Christo, 1513

Patras, 337, 511

Patriarchike Megale tou

Genous Schole, 164, 376, 388, 389

Patrinelis, Christos G., 319

Paul III, Pope, 170, 421, 462, 463, 465, 466

Pausanias, 462

Pavia, 324

Pederzano, Giovanni, 404

Pegas, Meletios, Patriarch of Alexandria, 171, 388, 389, 427

Pellicier, Guillaume, 12, 211, 376, 515, 549, 550, 515, 549, 550

Peloponnesus, 304

Pelusius, Bartholomaeus, 20, 50 n56, 319

Pencio, Giacomo, 322

Pentekostarion, 131, 142, 272, 288, 290, 291, 322, 345, 361, 384, 479

Editions, 142

1525, 403

1552, 478

Penthos thanatou. See Glykys, Giustos, Πένθος θανάτου

Persio, Ascanio, 391

Pettas, William A., 297, 298, 468, 513

Phalaris, Ἐπιστολαί, 1498, 20, 319

Phalieros, Marinos, 202

Λόγοι διδακτικοί, 200

Σταύρωσις τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, 201-02, 345

Phaustos, Niketas. See Fausto, Vettore

Philaras, Leonardos, 513

Philetas, Christophoros, 184

Philip II, King of Spain, 303, 304

Philostratus, 20, 319

Phortios, Diamantina, 211

Phortios, Hieronymos, 211

Phortios, Leonardos, 211

Ποίημα νέον, πάνυ ὠραῖον καὶ ὠφέλιμον, τοῖς ἀναγινωσκομένοις, περὶ στρατιωτικῆς πραγματίας, 91, 211, 443

Phrynichos, 324

Φυλλάδα τοῦ γαδάρου. See

Γαδάρου, λύκου κι

ἀλουποῦς...

Pico, Giovanni, 381

Picot, Émile, 207, 339

Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, NY, 3

Pierre de Provence et la belle Maguelonne, 198

Pindar, 383

Ὀλύμπια, 1515, 24, 324

Pinelli, 184, 201, 536

Pinelli, Antonio, 33, 281, 310, 429-32

Device, 430

Works printed, 430-31

Pinelli, Giovanni Antonio, 171, 281, 430

Pinelli, Giovanni Vincenzo, 388

Pio, Alberto, 272, 381

Pio, Lionello, 381

Pius V, Pope, 304

Plantin, Christopher, 41, 42, 47, 305, 500

Plato, 383

Plutarch, 383

Opuscula, 1509, 276, 381

Παιδαγωγός, 1545, 211, 461, 462, 466, 516

Politis, Linos, 150, 184, 201, 204, 466, 497, 549

Poliziano, Angelo, 297, 298

Miscellaneorum centuria prima, 1489, 25

Pollux, 20, 319

Poloni, Andrea de, 433, 435

Poloni, Domenico de, 42, 127 n46, 153, 281, 309, 339, 433-36, 479, 505

Device, 435

Types, 34, 47, 433

Works printed, 435-46

Pontificio Collegio Greco di San Atanasio, Rome, 283, 309, 512

Porphyrios, 299, 325

Portolanos, 1573, 286, 490, 522

Portulan, 212

Pozzo, Paris del. See Puteo, Paris de

Premuda, Zuan, 429

Priscianese, Francesco, 516

Proctor, Robert, 3, 5, 11, 15, 20, 21, 24, 40, 321, 355, 383

Prodromos, Theodoros, 204

Prophetologion, 156

Provataris, Emmanouel, 286, 304, 489, 490, 491

Proveditori di Comun, 305

Psalterion, 70, 131, 288, 291, 322, 361, 450, 496

Editions, 131-32

1481, 355

1486, 9, 322, 337, 355,

c. 1496-98, 59, 60, 272, 337, 381, 384

1521, 28, 64, 338, 402

1524, 339

1525, 65, 66, 93, 448

1534, 549

1546, 345, 496

1547, 35, 360, 522

1578, 369

1584, 288, 291, 362, 363

1586, 304, 390

Psellus, 406

Ptolemy, 206, 462

Pucci, Antonio, *Istoria d' Apollonio di Tiro*, 182Puteo, Paris de, *Duello*, 91, 443

Quaranta, E., 383

Quirinal Hill, 278, 325, 460

Rallis, Konstantinos, 460

Rampazetto, Francesco, 30, 123, 204, 206, 307, 309, 345, 347, 358, 361, 437-40, 450

Device, 439, 443

Types, 437, 438, 450, 525, 526

Works printed, 439-40

Rartouros, Alexios, 85, 157, 170

Διδαχαί, 1560, 85, 170

Ratdolt, Erhard, 321

Ravani, Luchina, 443

Ravani, Pietro, 34, 65, 91, 403, 408, 409, 441-47, 448, 449

Device, 443

Types, 34, 442-43

Works printed, 444-46

Ravani, Vittore, 441-47

Real Biblioteca de el Escorial, 421, 461, 550

Reggio Emilia, 3

Renner, Giovanni. See Reno, Giovanni da

Reno, Giovanni da, 5

Renouard, A. A., 69, 272

Rethymnon, Crete, 179, 207, 283, 318, 396, 508

Rhetores in hoc volumine habentur, 1508-09, 276, 381

Rhousotas, Emmanouel, 15, 382

Ricardinus, Benedictus, 8, 297

Ricchi, Agostino, *I tre tiranni*, 461

- Richeni. *See* Tauroceni, Zuan Battista
- Ridolfi, Niccolò, Cardinal, 460, 463, 464
- Riformatori dello Studio di Padova, 286, 373
- Rikenius. *See* Tauroceni, Zuan Battista
- Rizikaris, Demos, 170
- Robortello, Fr., *De historia facultate disputatio*, 1548, 648
- Rodios, Petros, 397
- Roman Inquisition, 390, 437
- Rome. University, 279, 512
- Roseto, G. V., 437
- Rosetos, Michael, 464
- Rostogni, Giorgio, 324, 327
- Rousanos, Pachomios, 161, 179, 199, 204, 408
- Royal Greek types. *See* Grecs du roi
- Rozemond, K., 272
- Ruffinelli, Giacomo, 456
- Rusconi, Elisabetta, 443
- Rusconi, Giorgio, 443
- Saint Antonios Savatianes (church), 391
- Saint Catharine of Mount Sinai (monastery), Crete, 124, 388, 389, 391
- Saint Catharine of Mount Sinai (monastery), Egypt, 466, 497
- Saint Demetrios of Perati (church), 377
- Saint George of the Greeks. *See* San Giorgio dei Greci (church)
- Saint Mavra (church), 369
- Salò, Francesco di Tomaso da, 206
- Samariaris, Markos, 466
- San Antonin (district), 489
- San Atanasio College. *See* Pontificio Collegio Greco di San Atanasio, Rome
- San Atanasio (church), 512
- San Crucio (district), 495
- San Fantin (district), 402
- San Giorgio dei Greci (church), 84, 171, 307, 334, 369, 376, 377, 378, 388, 391, 396, 397, 427, 455, 467, 489, 494, 500, 505, 508
- San Giovanni Crisostomo (district), 337, 338, 341
- San Marco (square), 316
- San Martino (parish), 391
- Sander, Max, 56, 64
- Sansovino, Francesco, *Historia universale dell' origine, guerre, et imperio de Turchi*, 207
- Santa Maria, Damiano di, 28, 29, 30, 62, 63-64, 87, 88, 91, 125 n32, 150, 153, 157, 161, 181, 184-86, 187, 190, 198, 203, 286, 337-54, 358, 403, 404, 406, 408, 409, 410, 421, 422, 433, 437, 442, 489, 494, 496, 545, 546, 547, 548-49
- Device, 339
- Types, 28, 29, 30, 62, 63, 64, 158, 345, 347, 360, 546
- Works published, 348-51
- Santa Maria Formosa (church), 341, 373
- Santa Maria Nova, Treviso, 450
- Santa Trinità (parish)
- Santa Severina. *See* Santoro, Giulio Antonio, Cardinal
- Santoro, Giulio Antonio, Cardinal, 390
- Sanuto, Marino, 424
- Saros, Nikolaos, 171
- Sathas, Konstantinos, 88, 201, 334
- Savile, Sir Henry, 171, 391
- Savioni, Vittorio, 184, 186
- Schirò, Giuseppe, 461
- Schöffner, Peter, 3
- Schöffner, Peter II, 30, 409
- Scholderer, Victor, 25, 383
- Schreiner, H., 198
- Schuhmaier, Daniel, 202, 345
- Scinzenzeler, Ulrich, 8
- Scinzenzeler, H., 347
- Scotland, 421
- Scoto, Ottaviano, 404
- Selve, Georges de, 460
- Sepúlveda, Juan, 278
- Sessa, Bernardino, 450
- Sessa, Giovanni Battista, 448
- Sessa, Giovanni Battista II, 450
- Sessa, Giovanni Bernardo, 450
- Sessa, Faustina, 450
- Sessa, Isabeta, 450
- Sessa, Marchio. *See* Sessa, Melchiorre
- Sessa, Melchiorre, 34, 65, 91, 153, 403, 404, 406, 408, 410, 437, 441, 442, 448-54, 494, 515, 525
- Device, 410, 441, 448
- Types, 34, 91, 450
- Works published, 451-53
- Sessa, Melchiorre II, 450
- Sessa, Veronica, 450
- Severos, Gabriel, Abp. of Philadelphia, 303, 304, 334, 369, 388, 389, 390, 427, 508
- Συνταγμάτων περὶ τῶν ἁγίων καὶ ἱερῶν μυστηρίων, 1600, 157, 171, 430
- Sicherl, Martin, 304
- Siena, 36
- Sigouros, Sigouros, 511
- Silber, Marcello, 24, 277, 327, 328
- Silvestros, Patriarch of Alexandria, 511
- Simon, R. *Fides Ecclesiae Orientalis seu Gabrielis Metropolitae Philadelphiensis Opuscula*, 1671, 171-72
- Simonos Petras (monastery), Mount Athos, 310
- Simplicius, 1499, 22, 320
- Sinai, Mount, 124
- Sirleto, Guglielmo, Cardinal, 304, 396, 397
- Skordylis, Zacharias, 85, 157, 158-59, 170, 395, 455-59, 478, 491
- Περὶ τῶν τῆς συγγενείας βαθμῶν, 1564, 85, 170, 358, 360
- 1575, 360, 455, 456, 477, 478
- c. 1581, 85, 456, 467, 473, 483, 485
- 1588, 170, 456, 457, 536, 539
- Works edited, 457-58
- Soldo, Pietro di, 36
- Soncino, Girolamo, 69
- Sophianos, Nikolaos, 32, 150, 211, 300, 406, 421, 456, 460-72, 473, 483, 485, 491, 495, 496, 497, 515, 516
- Device, 466
- Nomina antiqua et recentia urbium Graeciae descriptio*, 462
- Περὶ κατασκευῆς... ἀστρολάβου, c. 1542, 463, 466
- Totius Graeciae descriptio*, 1552, 462, 467
- Type, 456, 462-68
- Works published, 468-69
- Sophianos, Pavlos, 460
- Sophocles, 1522, 62, 299, 325, 383
- Τραγωδίαί, 1502, 383
- Soterchos, Hilarion, 397
- Sougdouris, Loukas, 267, 269, 286, 288, 291, 292, 305, 361, 362, 473-75, 483, 485, 486
- Works financed, 474-75
- Sougdouris, Ioannis, 473
- Soutsos, Ioannis, 199
- Spaneas (Διδασκαλία παραινετική κυροῦ ἀλεξίου κομνηνοῦ τοῦ λεγομένου σπανέα), 204, 522

- Spaneas, cont.*
 Manuscripts, 204
Spanos (Ἀκολουθία τοῦ ἁγίου τραγομένη σπανοῦ), 123, 179, 204-05, 496, 516, 522
 Editions, 205
 1553, 123
 1562, 123
 1579, 123
 Manuscripts, 205
 Spic, 341, 545
 Spinelli, Andrea, 33, 66, 68, 69, 70, 85, 127 n46, 150-51, 170, 209, 269, 305, 307, 360, 363, 373, 376, 377, 378, 433, 435, 456, 457, 476-82, 483, 489, 494, 496
 Device, 456, 478-79, 483, 500
 Types, 33, 52 n105, 269, 456, 476-78, 522, 536
 Works published, 479-81
 Spinelli, Giacomo, 476
 Spira, John de, 5
 Spira, Wendelyn de, 5
 Stagnino, Bernardino, 69
Statuta communis Brixiae, 1473, 5
 Stichera. *See* Menaia
 Stoudion (monastery), 164
 Stoudites, Damaskenos. *See* Damaskenos Stoudites
 Strabo, 462
 Strophades (monastery), 334, 511
 Subiaco (monastery), 4
 Suidas, *Lexicon*, 21, 549
 Suleiman I, the Magnificent, Sultan, 207, 421
 Sweynheym, Conrad, 4
 Sylberg, Frederick, 390
 Συναξάριον τοῦ τιμημένου γαδάρου, 198
 Synod of 1485, 355
Synopsis Minor, 160
 Σύνταγμα τινῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀκολουθιῶν... ἐκ τοῦ Εὐχολογίου, 1594, 144
 Tacuino, Giovanni da Cerreto detto Tacuino, 27, 51 n78, 277, 284
 Tagias, Demetrios, 212, 286
 Tagliapietra, Giovanni Antonio, 184
 Tagliapietra, Pietro
 Tarsia, 180
 Tartaglia, Nicolò, 404
 Tasker, R. V. G., 25
 Tasso, Torquato, 388
 Tauroceni, Laura, 486
 Tauroceni, Perin, 267, 486
 Tauroceni, Zuan Battista, 80, 84, 152, 209, 267, 269, 283, Tauroceni, Zuan Battista, *cont.* 305, 307, 335, 373, 433, 456, 473, 476, 478, 483-88, 512
 Device, 456, 483
 Types, 33, 456
 Works printed, 487-88
 Temenos, Konstantinos, 181
Theia Leitourgia, 1528, 66, 547
 1574, 84, 85, 360, 397
Theiai Leitourgeiai, 1526, 28, 63, 131, 144, 277, 291, 310, 526
 Editions, 145
 1578, 360
 1584, 363
 Theodoros Stoudites, 140
 Theokritos, *Εἰδύλλια*, 1516, 324
 Theologites, Moscholeos, 207
 Theonas, Exarch, 170
 Theophylaktos, Abp. of Achrida, *Ἑρμηνεία εἰς τὰ τέσσαρα εὐαγγέλια*, 1542, 32, 406, 408, 463, 464, 467, 468
 Θεσαυρός, κέρας Ἀμαλθείας, 1496, 382
Theseid. *See* Boccaccio, Θεσέος καὶ γάμοι τῆς Ἑμήλιας
 Thessaly, 427, 461, 462
 Thomas, *Magister*, 324
 Thucydides, 383
 Tinto, Alberto, 300, 406, 463, 464, 466, 468
 Torelli, Lelio, 35
 Torre, Nikolaos de la. *See* Tourrianos, Nikolaos
 Torrentino, Lorenzo, 35, 36, 300, 468
 Torres, Francisco, 455
 Torresano, Andrea, 28, 69, 209, 297, 337, 381, 384, 385, 402, 403, 404
 Torresano, Federico, 154, 385, 404, 515
 Torresano, Giovanni Francesco, 316, 385, 404
 Torresano, Lia or Rosalia, 316, 385
 Tory, Geoffroy, 41
 Toscolano, 402
 Tosi, Bartolomeo, 456
 Tourrianos, Nikolaos, 455
 Trajani, Io. Dom., *Funebria carmina in D. Aloisium Delphinem Venetum sepultum*, 1587, 292, 435
 Tramezzino, Francesco, 464
 Tranos, Hieremias. *See* Hieremias II, Patriarch of Constantinople
 Trevisan, Tomaso. *See* Trivizanos, Thomas
 Trifonov, I. 123, 166
 Trincavelli, Giovanni Francesco, 160, 513-14, 515
 Trincavelli, Vettore, 160, 513
 Trincavelli, Vincenzo, 513-14
Triodion, 131, 135, 140, 272, 291, 304, 322, 361, 384, 489-90
 Editions, 140
 1522, 28, 290, 338, 425
 1538, 348, 549
 1551, 345, 424, 425
Triodion-Pentekostarion, 1555, 495-96
 Trivizanos, Thomas, 388
 Trivolis, Iakovos, 184, 344, 464
Ἱστορία τοῦ ῥέ τῆς Σκότζι-ας, 179, 200-01, 344
 Editions, 201
Ἱστορία τοῦ Ταγιαπιέρα, 184, 186-87, 201, 339, 344, 404, 547
 Editions, 187
 Trivolis, Kantinos, 464
 Tübingen. University, 161
 University Library, 192, 201
 Turnèbe, Adrien, 38, 40, 42
Typikon, 131, 153, Editions, 154
 1545, 344, 345, 421, 494
 1577, 369
 Typographia Apostolica Vaticana, 41, 47, 155, 512
 Uberti, Luc' Antonio degli, 65, 80, 126 n36, 130 n104, 441, 448
 Ugolinis, Nicola de, 36
 Ugo da Carpi. *See* Carpi, Ugo da
 Vaccaro, Emerenziana, 527
 Valerianos, Athanasios, 334
 Valeris, Georgios, 154, 489, 494, 496
 Valeris, Hippolitos, 152, 154, 286, 358, 395, 396, 397, 456, 457, 467, 473, 483, 485, 489-93, 494, 495, 496, 497
 Device, 491
 Works published, 491-92
 Valeris, Ioannis, 154, 489, 494, 496
 Valeris, Matthaios, 489, 494
 Valeris, Nikolaos, 154, 489, 494
 Valeris, Vasileios, 154, 345, 377, 378, 422, 456, 467, 468
 Valeris, Vasileios, *cont.* 477, 478, 483, 485, 489, 490, 491, 494-99
 Device, 496
 Works edited, 497-98

- Valturio, Roberto, *De re militari*, 1472, 91
 Valvassore. *See* Vavassore
 Van der Ham, A. B. A. M., 204
 Van Gemert, A. F., 207
 Varelis. *See* Valeris
 Varisco, Giovanni, 34, 409, 443, 444
 Device, 443
 Type, 443
 Varouchas, Athanasios, 171
 Varvate, Phrosyne Lazarou, 372
 Vathas, Markos. *See* Bathas, Markos
 Vatican, 286, 300, 304, 305, 326, 406, 489, 511
 Vatican Library. *See* Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
 Vatican Press. *See* Typographia Apostolica Vaticana
 Vavassore, Florio, 87
 Vavassore, Giovanni Andrea, 87, 129 n85, 441, 448
 Vegetius, Flavius, *Scriptores rei militaris*, 1540, 91
 Velmazio, Giovanni Maria, *Ueteris & noui testamenti opus singulare*, 1538, 60
 Veloudis, Georgios, 190
 Veloudis, Ioannis, 309
 Veltwyck, Gerhard of Ravenstein, 421
 Venetiano, Vittorio. *See* Carmelio, Vittorio
 Venetus, Camillus. *See* Zanetti, Camillo
 Veneziano, Francesco, 316
 Veneziano, Natale, 36
 Venice, 511, 548, 549
 Archivio di Stato, 476
 Istituto Ellenico di Studi Bizantini e Postbizantini, 281, 309
 Museo Civico Correr, 476
 Ventramos, Tzanes, 203-04
 Ἱστορία τῶν γυναικῶν, 1549, 30, 203-04, 206, 339, 345
 Ἱστορία φιλαργυρίας, 1567, 204, 205-06
 Verantio, Antonio, Bp. of Agria, 207
 Verdizotti, Giovanni Maria, *Cento favole morali*, 1570, 60
 Vergetios. *See* Vergikios
 Vergezio. *See* Vergikios
 Verghis, Alexandros, 500
 Verghis, Antonios, 42, 369, 433, 500-05
 Device, 500
 Type, 500, 505
 Works published, 505
 Verghis, Demetrios, 500
 Verghis, Ioannis, 500
 Verghis, Matthaios, 500
 Vergikios, Angelos, 35, 38, 41, 54 n133, 421, 424
 Vergikios, Ioannis, 35
 Vergikios, Petros, 36
 Verivelos, Symeon, 358, 506-07
 Works edited, 506-07
 Verona, 30-31
 Vespasiano da Bisticci, 56
 Vettori, Pietro, 298, 300, 463
 Vidou, Pierre, 36
 Virgin of Kilani (church), 369
 Virgin of Lindos (church), 466
 Virgin Portaitissa (monastery). *See* Iveron monastery, Mount Athos
 Vitti, Mario, 461
 Viviano, Gaspare, 388, 397
 Vlastos, Georgios surnamed Pounialetos, 508-10, 536
 Books edited, 508-10
 Vlastos, Ioannis, *the elder*, 508
 Vlastos, Ioannis, *the younger*, 508
 Vlastos, Nikolaos, 21, 22, 61-62, 63, 297, 298, 318, 319, 320, 321, 513
 Device, 320
 Works published, 328
 Vlastos, Nikolaos, surnamed Pounialetos, 334
 Vonapheus, Ioannis, 486, 511-12
 Works edited, 512
 Vretos, Andreas
 Papadopoulos, 201, 324, 327, 334
 Wallachia, 427
 Warsaw, 427
 Wechel, Andreas, 40
 Wittenberg, Germany, 4
 Woody, Kennerly M., 25
 Xanthinos, Manouel, 170
 Xenakis, Theophanes, 334
 Xenophon, 383
 Ximenez, Francisco. *See* Jiménez, Francisco, Cardinal
 Xyngopoulos, Andreas, 80
 Zaguri, Angelo, 286, 291, 361, 362, 473
 Zaguri, Giambattista, 286, 291, 361, 473
 Zakinthos, 377, 511, 545, 549
 Zaltieri, Bolognino, 527
 Zanetti, Bartolomeo, 34, 35, 63, 91, 160, 161, 204, 211, 297, 345, 385, 408, 450, 465, 466, 513-21, 522, 529, 536
 Device, 516-17
 Types, 34-35, 450, 515, 516
 Works printed, 518-19
 Zanetti, Battista, 513
 Zanetti, Camillo, 455, 516, 522
 Zanetti, Comino, 513
 Zanetti, Cristoforo, 30, 33, 35, 41, 63, 69, 103, 123, 124, 151, 166, 170, 204, 205, 207, 209, 212, 269, 286, 291, 307, 345, 360, 361, 362, 369, 408, 410, 429, 439, 450, 476, 489, 490, 522-35, 536
 Device, 527
 Types, 30, 35, 41, 52 n105, 53 n114, 54 n138, 286, 307, 347, 522, 525
 Works printed, 529-33
 Zanetti, Cristoforo, *the elder*, 513
 Zanetti, Francesco, *the elder*, 513
 Zanetti, Francesco, 41, 158, 159, 170, 456, 457, 522, 526-27
 Device, 526-27
 Zanetti, Daniele, 528, 536
 Zanetti, Matteo, 528, 536
 Zanetti, Pietro, 33, 123, 151, 269, 310, 335, 429, 456, 508, 528, 536-44
 Device, 539
 Types, 536, 539
 Works printed, 540-42
 Zanettini, Dionisio, 211, 460, 461
 Zani, Troilus, 339
 Zemelli. *See* Gemelli
 Zenobios, *Ἐπιτομή*, 1497, 297
 Zenos, Alexandros, 545
 Zenos, Demetrios, 64, 125 n32, 181, 186, 189-91, 195, 198, 290, 338-39, 341, 344, 347, 404, 461, 545-52
 Works edited, 550-51
 Ziletti, Giordano, 41, 170
 Zoan Andrea, 93, 441, 448
 Zoppino, Nicolò, 404
 Zygomalas, Ioannis, 511
 Zygomalas, Theodosios, 160, 511

Περίληψη

Ὁ σκοπὸς τοῦ παρόντος ἔργου εἶναι ἡ παρουσίαση καὶ ἡ μελέτη τῶν ἑλληνικῶν βιβλίων ποὺ τυπώθηκαν στὴν Ἰταλία κατὰ τὴ διάρκεια τοῦ δέκατου ἑκτοῦ αἰῶνα μὲ προορισμὸ νὰ χρησιμοποιηθοῦν ἀπὸ Ἑλληνες τῆς Βενετίας καὶ νὰ ἐξαχθοῦν στὶς ἑλληνόφωνες περιοχὲς τῆς ἀνατολικῆς Μεσογείου.

Στὸ πρῶτο κεφάλαιο δίδεται μιὰ σύντομη παρουσίαση τῶν ἀρχῶν τῆς ἑλληνικῆς τυπογραφίας καὶ παρακολουθεῖται ἡ ἐξέλιξη τῶν ἑλληνικῶν τυπογραφικῶν στοιχείων κατὰ τὸν δέκατο πέμπτο αἰῶνα. Ταυτίζονται ἐπίσης σημαντικὰ εἶδη τυπογραφικῶν στοιχείων ποὺ χρησιμοποιήθηκαν τὸν δέκατο ἑκτο αἰῶνα ὄχι μόνο στὴν Ἰταλία ἀλλὰ καὶ στὴ Γαλλία καὶ στὴν Ἰσπανία. Ἐφιστᾶται, τέλος, ἡ προσοχὴ τῶν μελετητῶν σὲ μερικὰ ἀπὸ τὰ χαρακτηριστικότερα τυπογραφικὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ δέκατου ἑκτοῦ αἰῶνα ποὺ χρησιμοποιήθηκαν ἀπὸ ὀρισμένους τυπογράφους καὶ ἐκδότες ἑλληνικῶν βιβλίων προοριζόμενων γιὰ ἑλληνικὸ ἀναγνωστικὸ κοινό.

Στὸ δεύτερο κεφάλαιο ἐξετάζονται ἡ διακόσμηση καὶ ἡ εἰκονογράφηση τοῦ ἑλληνικοῦ βιβλίου. Πρόκειται γιὰ μιὰ περιοχὴ ποὺ ἔχει πολὺ λίγο μελετηθεῖ, παρόλο ποὺ ἔχουν γίνεи κάποιες προσπάθειες ἀναγωγῆς τῶν εἰκονογραφικῶν τῶν λειτουργικῶν βιβλίων στὰ ἀρχικά τους πρότυπα. Καὶ στὸ παρὸν βιβλίο, ὅπουδῆποτε εἶναι ἐφικτό, ἐπισημαίνονται οἱ βυζαντινὲς ἢ μεταβυζαντινὲς ἐπιδράσεις στὴν εἰκονογράφηση τῶν βιβλίων. Ὡστόσο, ἂν ληφθεῖ ὑπόψη ὅτι τὰ βιβλία αὐτά, κατὰ τὸ μεγαλύτερο μέρος τους, ἐκδίδονταν ἀπὸ τυπογράφους ποὺ εἶχαν ὡς κύριο ἔργο τους τὴν ἐκτύπωση λατινικῶν καὶ ἰταλικῶν βιβλίων, καθὼς καὶ ὅτι οἱ ξυλογραφίες στοίχιζαν ἀκριβὰ, διαπιστώνεται γενικότερα ἡ τάση νὰ χρησιμοποιοῦνται ξυλογραφίες ποὺ εἶχαν ἤδη χρησιμοποιηθεῖ. Ἔτσι, στὴ μεγάλη πλειονότητά τους, τὰ ἑλληνικὰ λειτουργικὰ βιβλία ἔχουν εἰκονογραφηθεῖ μὲ ἀναγεννησιακὲς ξυλογραφίες δυτικοῦ ὕφους. Οἱ βυζαντινὲς ἐπιδράσεις ἦταν λιγοστές. Στὰ ἔντυπα μὲ νεοελληνικὰ κείμενα, ποὺ συνήθως τὰ ἀποκαλοῦμε φυλλάδες ἢ ριμάδες, ἡ εἰκονογράφηση ἦταν ἀποκλειστικὰ ἀναγεννησιακοῦ ὕφους καὶ εἶχε φιλοτεχνηθεῖ ἀπὸ Ἰταλοὺς καλλιτέχνες καὶ τεχνίτες.

Στὸ τρίτο κεφάλαιο ἐξετάζονται τὰ λειτουργικὰ καὶ ἄλλα θρησκευτικοῦ περιεχομένου ἔργα ποὺ τυπώθηκαν στὴ διάρκεια τοῦ δέκατου ἑκτοῦ αἰῶνα καὶ δημοσιεύονται κατάλογοι τῶν λειτουργικῶν βιβλίων, καθενὸς χωριστά, καὶ τῶν ἐκδόσεών τους ποὺ εἶναι γνωστὸ ὅτι τυπώθηκαν κατὰ τὴν περίοδο αὐτή. Ἐπειδὴ στὴ διάρκεια τῆς τουρκοκρατίας μερικὰ λειτουργικὰ βιβλία, ὅπως ἡ Ὁκτώηχος, τὸ Ὁρολόγιον καὶ τὸ Ψαλτήριον, χρησιμοποιοῦνταν ταυτόχρονα καὶ ὡς σχολικὰ ἐγχειρίδια, ἔγιναν πολλὲς διαδοχικὲς ἐκδόσεις τῶν βιβλίων αὐτῶν τὸν δέκατο ἑκτο αἰῶνα. Ἐκτὸς ἀπὸ τὰ λειτουργικὰ βιβλία, κατὰ τὴν περίοδο αὐτὴ τυπώθηκαν καὶ ἄλλα εἶδη θρησκευτικοῦ περιεχομένου ἔργων. Τὰ δημοφιλέστερα ἀπὸ τὰ θρησκευτικὰ βιβλία ἦταν τὰ γραμμένα στὰ νέα ἑλληνικά, ὅπως ὁ Θησαυρὸς τοῦ Δαμασκηνοῦ Στουδίτη καὶ τὸ Ἄνθος τοῦ Ἰωαννικίου Καρτάνου. Τὸ εἶδος αὐτὸ τῶν βιβλίων εἶχε πολὺ μεγάλη κυκλοφορία, καὶ πολλὲς ἀπὸ τίς πρῶτες ἐκδόσεις τους ἔχουν χαθεῖ.

Στὸ τέταρτο κεφάλαιο ἐξετάζονται μὲ παρόμοιο τρόπο τὰ κοσμικὰ κείμενα τὰ γραμμένα στὰ νέα

έλληνικά καὶ ἐπιχειρεῖται ἀπαρίθμηση τῶν ἔργων αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ἐκδόσεών τους. Δίδεται ἐπίσης σύντομη περίληψη τοῦ περιεχομένου κάθε φυλλάδας καὶ σημειώνεται, ἂν εἶναι γνωστό, τὸ ἐρευνητικὸ ἔργο ποὺ συντελεῖται στὸν χώρο αὐτόν. Στὸ κεφάλαιο αὐτὸ περιλαμβάνονται καὶ ἄλλα ἔργα στὰ νεοελληνικά, ὅπως ἡ νεοελληνικὴ μετάφραση τοῦ *Περὶ παιδων ἀγωγῆς* τοῦ ψευδο-Πλουτάρχου ἀπὸ τὸν Νικόλαο Σοφιανό, ἡ *Λογαριαστικὴ* τοῦ Ἑμμανουὴλ Γλυτζούνη καὶ τὸ ἐκτενὲς στιχούργημα *Περὶ στρατιωτικῆς πραγματείας* τοῦ Λεονάρδου Φορτία.

Τὸ πρῶτο μέρος τῆς μελέτης κατακλείεται μὲ ἓναν κατάλογο τῶν τίτλων τῶν ἐλληνικῶν βιβλίων τῶν προοριζόμενων γιὰ Ἑλληνες ἀναγνώστες. Κάθε τίτλος ἀρχίζει μὲ τὴν πρώτη λέξη ποὺ ἔχει τυπωθεῖ στὴν προμετωπίδα τοῦ βιβλίου, ἀκολουθούμενη ἀπὸ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ τυπογράφου καὶ τοῦ ἐκδότη. Σὲ κάθε τίτλο σημειώνονται οἱ κυριότερες βιβλιογραφικὲς παραπομπές σὲ δημοσιεύματα ὅπου τὸ βιβλίο περιγράφεται λεπτομερέστερα καὶ στὸ τέλος ἀναγράφονται οἱ κυριότερες βιβλιοθηκὲς ὅπου ὑπάρχει ἀντίτυπο τοῦ βιβλίου. Ὅπως εἶναι φυσικό, δὲν ἦταν δυνατόν νὰ ἀνευρεθεῖ καὶ νὰ ἐντοπιστεῖ ἀντίτυπο καθενὸς ἀπὸ τὰ πολλὰ βιβλία ποὺ περιλαμβάνονται στὸν κατάλογο. Ὡστόσο, ὑποδεικνύονται ἀρκετὲς βιβλιοθηκὲς ὅπου φυλάσσονται ἀντίτυπα, καὶ ἔτσι ὁ μελετητὴς μπορεῖ νὰ ὁδηγηθεῖ σὲ μιὰ τουλάχιστο βιβλιοθήκη, καὶ συχνὰ σὲ περισσότερες ἀπὸ μιὰ, γιὰ καθένα ἀπὸ τὰ βιβλία τοῦ καταλόγου. Ἀφοῦ, ἂν ἐξαιρεθοῦν λίγα μόνο ἀπὸ τὰ βιβλία τοῦ καταλόγου, τὰ ὑπόλοιπα, στὴ μέγιστη πλειονότητά τους, τυπώθηκαν στὴ Βενετία, γιὰ ὅλα, ἐκτὸς ἂν ἀναφέρεται διαφορετικὰ, ἡ Βενετία πρέπει νὰ θεωρηθεῖ ὡς τόπος τῆς ἐκδόσής τους. Ἕνας ἀστερίσκος πρὶν ἀπὸ τὸν τίτλο δηλώνει ὅτι κανένα ἀντίτυπο τοῦ συγκεκριμένου αὐτοῦ βιβλίου δὲν ἔχει ἀκόμη ἐντοπιστεῖ, ἀλλὰ ὑπάρχουν μαρτυρίες ποὺ πιστοποιοῦν ὅτι κάποτε ὑπῆρξε. Δυὸ ἀστερίσκοι δηλώνουν βιβλία-φαντάσματα, ποὺ ἔχουν πάντως περιληφθεῖ σὲ ἓνα ἢ περισσότερα βιβλιογραφικὰ μελετήματα. Τὰ βιβλία ὅμως αὐτὰ εἶναι βέβαιο ὅτι δὲν τυπώθηκαν ποτέ.

Ἐνῶ στὸ πρῶτο μέρος ἐξετάζονται τὰ βιβλία, οἱ τυπογραφικοὶ χαρακτῆρες, ἡ εἰκονογράφηση καὶ οἱ ἐκδόσεις τους, στὸ δεύτερο γίνεται λόγος γιὰ τοὺς ἐπιμελητές, τοὺς τυπογράφους καὶ τοὺς ἐκδότες, Ἑλληνες καὶ Ἰταλούς, ποὺ τύπωναν αὐτὰ τὰ βιβλία. Παρόλο ποὺ καταβλήθηκε προσπάθεια νὰ ληφθοῦν ὑπόψη ὅλη ἡ ὑπάρχουσα βιβλιογραφία καὶ ὅλες οἱ πληροφορίες γιὰ καθένα ἀπὸ τὰ πρόσωπα ποὺ συμπεριλαμβάνονται στὸ δεύτερο μέρος, μεγαλύτερη ἔμφαση δόθηκε στὶς δραστηριότητές τους ποὺ σχετίζονται ἀμέσως μὲ τὴν παραγωγή τοῦ ἔντυπου βιβλίου. Πολλοὶ ἀπὸ τοὺς ἐπιμελητές ὑπῆρξαν διακεκριμένοι ἀντιγραφεῖς χειρογράφων, θεολόγοι καὶ κληρικοί. Οἱ τυπογράφοι καὶ οἱ ἐκδότες ἐξετάζονται μόνο ἀναφορικὰ μὲ τὰ ἑλληνικά βιβλία ποὺ τύπωσαν, ἄσχετα ἂν σὲ μερικὲς περιπτώσεις ἡ ἑλληνικὴ ἦταν ἀμελητέα σὲ σύγκριση μὲ τὴ συνολικὴ τυπογραφικὴ παραγωγή τους. Ἐχει ἐνδιαφέρον νὰ σημειωθεῖ ὅτι στὴ διάρκεια τοῦ πρώτου μισοῦ τοῦ δέκατου ἔκτου αἰῶνα οἱ τυπογράφοι ποὺ ἀναλάμβαναν νὰ τυπώσουν ἑλληνικά βιβλία γιὰ τὸ ἑλληνικὸ ἀναγνωστικὸ κοινὸ ἦταν οἱ ἴδιοι ποὺ τύπωναν καὶ ἐκδόσεις ἐλληνικῶν κειμένων. Ἀνάμεσα στοὺς τυπογράφους αὐτοὺς συμπεριλαμβάνονται οἱ ἀδελφοὶ Nicolini da Sabbio, ὁ Bartolomeo Zanetti, ὁ Melchiorre Sessa καὶ οἱ Ravani. Ἀκόμη καὶ διακεκριμένοι ἐκδοτικοὶ οἴκοι ὅπως οἱ Aldi καὶ οἱ Giunti δοκίμασαν νὰ τυπώσουν ἓνα ἢ δυὸ ἑλληνικά λειτουργικά βιβλία. Στὸ δεύτερο μισὸ τοῦ δέκατου ἔκτου αἰῶνα, οἱ τυπογράφοι ποὺ τύπωναν ἑλληνικά βιβλία γιὰ Ἑλληνες ἀναγνώστες ἐξεδικέονταν στὸ ἔργο αὐτὸ καί, ἀπ' ὅσο εἶναι γνωστό, κανεὶς τους δὲν τύπωνε ἐκδόσεις κλασσικῶν κειμένων, μὲ μιὰ μόνο ἐξαίρεση, τὸν Andrea Spinelli, ποὺ τύπωσε δυὸ τέτοιες ἐκδόσεις στὰ μέσα τοῦ αἰῶνα.

Τὸ δυσκολότερο καὶ ἐπιπονότερο ἔργο ἦταν ὁ καταρτισμὸς τοῦ corpus τῶν ἐλληνικῶν ἐκδόσεων κάθε τυπογράφου. Παρόλο ποὺ τὰ ἐλληνικὰ βιβλία τοῦ δέκατου πέμπτου αἰῶνα ἔχουν μελετηθεῖ καὶ καταγραφεῖ συστηματικά, γιὰ τὰ ἐλληνικὰ βιβλία τοῦ δέκατου ἑκτοῦ αἰῶνα ποὺ τυπώθηκαν στὴν Ἰταλία δὲν ὑπάρχουν κατάλογοι καὶ καταγραφές. Ἄς σημειωθεῖ, τέλος, ὅτι οἱ κατάλογοι στὸ παρὸν βιβλίό δὲν περιλαμβάνουν τὴν παραγωγή τῶν τυπογράφων ποὺ εἰδικεύονταν ἀποκλειστικὰ σὲ ἐκδόσεις κειμένων κλασσικῶν συγγραφέων.

CORRIGENDA

Page xxv, line 38: instead of printed as: printed in demotic Modern Greek and indeed, as is now revealed, printed as. **P.** xxvi, **l.** 39: almost. **P.** xxvii, **l.** 28: word. **P.** xxxi, **l.** 29: until the establishment. **P.** 5, **l.** 9: minuscule. **P.** 21, **l.** 9: another. **P.** 48, **l.** 20: 26, See. **P.** 85, **l.** 3: Rartouros'. **P.** 85, **l.** 22: copy (fig. 90b), but. **P.** 130, **l.** 19: Damaskenos. **P.** 154, **l.** 30: Hippolytos. **P.** 159, **l.** 2: Fernando. **P.** 170, **l.** 39: Δαβίδ. **P.** 213, **l.** 47: Inspiration. **P.** 216, **l.** 23: Tesi. **P.** 276, **l.** 15: Toledo (1436-1517), to. **P.** 353, **l.** 29: M. I., **l.** 40: Ἀρχειακές. **P.** 357, **l.** 1: CORNELIUS. **P.** 380, **l.** 21: Νικόλαος. **P.** 383, **l.** 2: Ὑλῆς. **P.** 396, **l.** 37: Carafa. **P.** 397, **l.** 12: colophon, **l.** 19: Carafa. **Pp.** 403-420, **headings:** The Nicolini da Sabbio. **P.** 408, **l.** 13: Carafa. **P.** 456, **l.** 30: Hippolitos, **l.** 31: Hippolitos. **P.** 457, **l.** 4: interfaith. **P.** 458, **l.** 34: Χριστιανικῆς. **P.** 460, **l.** 35: Kea and Thermia. **P.** 467, **l.** 6: cessation. **P.** 469, **l.** 44: sur. **P.** 485, **l.** 15: Sougdouris'. **P.** 514, **l.** 12: Hesiod. **P.** 545, **l.** 29: as he. **P.** 547, **l.** 36: liturgy.

Page XXV line 15: instead of libraries: libraries known to possess copies of the books which interested her, mainly from the large libraries.